This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

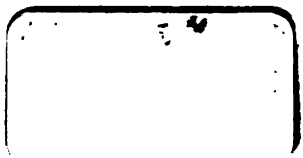
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

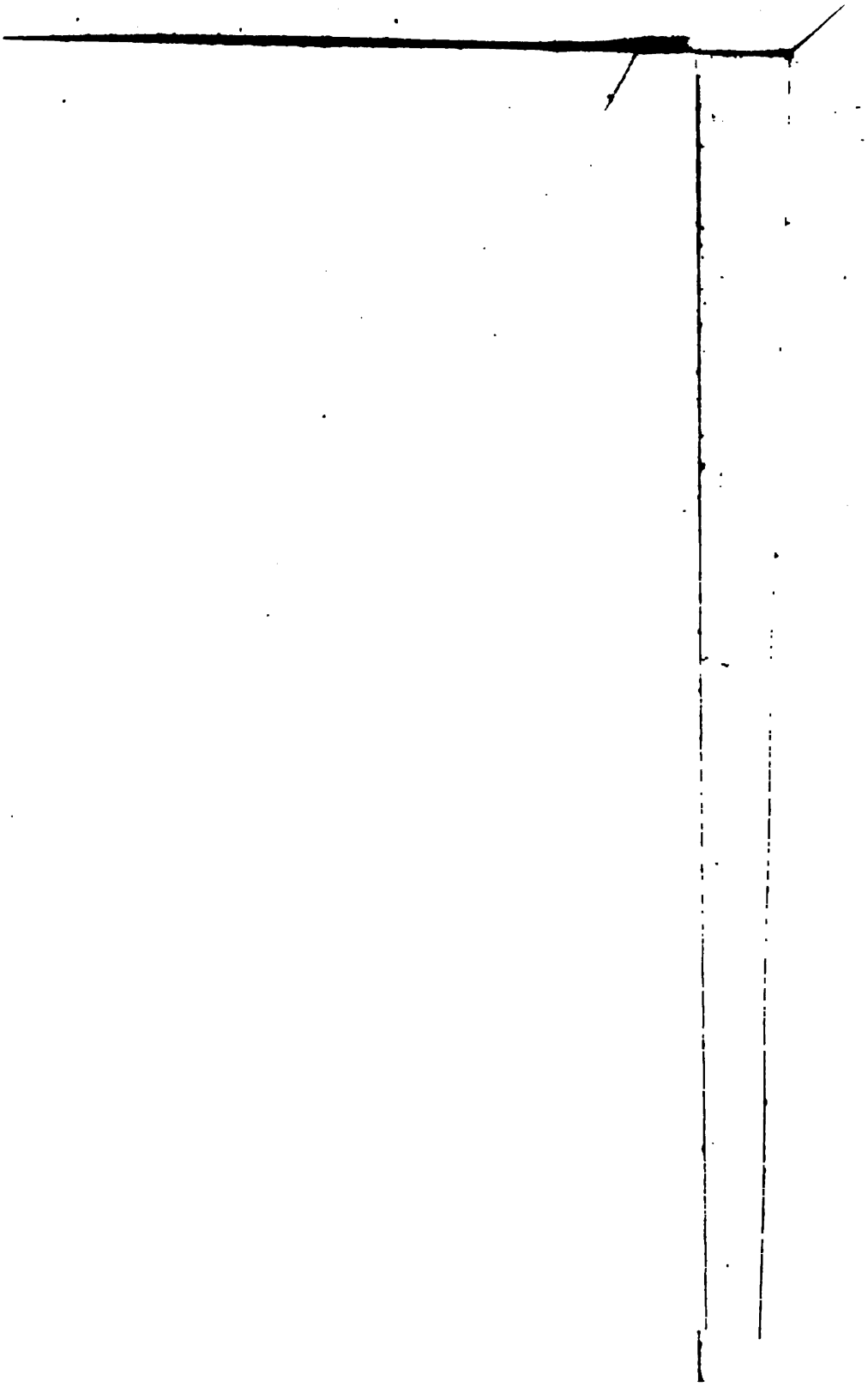
G. A. Oxon 4° 668

FROM THE LIBRARY OF
E. A. GREENING LAMBORN
PRESENTED BY
MISS E. M. LAMBORN



THE
EARLY HISTORY OF OXFORD

727-1100



THE

EARLY HISTORY

OF

OXFORD

727–1100

PRECEDED BY A SKETCH OF THE MYTHICAL ORIGIN OF THE CITY AND UNIVERSITY

BY

JAMES PARKER, HON. M.A. OXON.

Oxford

PRINTED FOR THE OXFORD HISTORICAL SOCIETY

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1885

[*All rights reserved*]

Oxford

PRINTED BY HORACE HART, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

PREFACE.

An apology is due to the subscribers to the Oxford Historical Society for the somewhat tardy appearance of this volume. In acceding to the request of my friend Mr. Madan to compile a summary of the historical material on which the Early History of Oxford was based, I did not at the moment quite realise what I had undertaken. In 1871 I had printed a series of notes on the Early History of Oxford, which had been arranged for a lecture delivered before the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, Feb. 28 in that year. A few copies only were printed, and presented to such members of the Society and friends as seemed to be interested in the subject; but it was not published, because I felt that the notes were imperfect, and hoped at some future time to revise them, and fill in certain details which were wanting.

For instance, I gave but a few lines to the mythical history of Oxford, intending on some other occasion to work out the 'Greeklade,' the 'Mempric' and 'Alfred' myths, all of which seemed to belong to the same category, and to have been made the basis of most of what had then been written on the early history of Oxford; and I dismissed the story of S. Frideswide also, in a page or so, but knew that I had not done justice to a subject which was so intimately connected with that early history. My notes began practically with the year 912, and although the true history of Oxford, in the full acceptance of the term, does not begin till that date, still I felt that the commencement at this period was somewhat abrupt, and that some preliminary notes were wanted upon the part which the district of Oxford had played in earlier history. Lastly, I felt that in so briefly chronicling the passages in which the name of Oxford occurred or which referred in any way to Oxford, I had treated them too narrowly, and that I ought to have shown their bearing upon the general history of the country.

The purport, however, of my pamphlet of 1871 was to bring into prominence not only what we knew of the early history, but how we knew it, in contradistinction to the mythical stories which had grown up around recorded facts; and such digressions would have been far

beyond the limits of the seventy-eight pages which that pamphlet occupied, and these in themselves were already an undue expansion of the notes of the hour's lecture.

But when the compliment was paid to me by the Committee of the new Oxford Historical Society in asking me to contribute some notes upon the early history of my native city, and when it was suggested that practically what was required of me was an expansion of the notes of 1871, I accepted, somewhat rashly, the task, being glad of the opportunity which would thus be afforded of carrying out my previous intention, but not anticipating either the labour, or the amount of time it would involve. I found, however, that after the lapse of fourteen years much which was in my mind then had been forgotten, and further, that when I began to build on what had been then somewhat hastily put together, I could not work satisfactorily without going down to the foundations, and in most parts without building *de novo*. Besides this, I found the digression upon the mythical history involved a larger amount of new reading and research than I had anticipated: not that the results would lead the reader to suppose this, but such was the fact, since in choosing what seemed to be the salient points much had to be read and sifted which was productive of nothing worth recording. Although there was little to alter in the conclusions expressed in a few short paragraphs in the pamphlet of 1871, the exposition of the evidence in detail, and in such a way as to bring the points clearly before the reader, and yet not to be guilty of injustice to the work of those who had followed different lines of research from my own, involved a considerable expenditure of time in searching for passages and verifying references.

Again, although I thought it would be a comparatively easy matter to treat the passages which were quoted as touching upon Oxford in connection with the general history of the country, I found myself constantly obliged to enter upon controverted matters. It is one thing to put on paper one's own views, but another to give fairly and fully the chapter and verse for the evidence on which those views are based. This again occupied more of the limited time at my disposal than was anticipated. Hence the delay in the issue of the volume; and I venture to plead the above circumstances as an excuse for the non-fulfilment of my pledge to the Committee as to time, not as a justification.

It is true, that as regards the later chapters, Professor Freeman's grand historical work on the Norman Conquest, which had been completed since my notes were published in 1871, affords a rich quarry

from which to obtain material, but the system I had adopted, namely of relying upon the original authorities independently of what use had been made of them by later historians, prevented my availing myself so much of this valuable work as I should otherwise have done. I have, however, in consulting that work often found occasion to add to my notes, and in one or two cases to modify my original conclusions. At the same time I have to confess that upon some of the controverted points treated in the following pages, I have allowed the conclusions at which I had arrived, independently of Professor Freeman's work, to remain as written. I hold for instance, that the evidence points strongly in favour of Oxford being the scene of Eadmund's death in 1016; but I am not convinced that the evidence which he has adduced for William's march through Wallingford and Berkhampstead, and for connecting the Oxford district with that march, is sufficient to support his conclusions. Again, as to the supposed siege of Oxford, I have by no means followed his work as my guide; in laying considerable stress upon the temporising policy of Harold at the important Gemot at Oxford in 1065, and upon the traitorous character of Eadwin and Morkere's conduct on that occasion; upon the rebel character of the mob which they led, and upon Harold's unwise sacrifice of Tostig in the hope of appeasing them, I find that I have followed a different line of argument from that adopted by Professor Freeman; but the circumstances, here given in detail, and on which I have relied so much, seemed to me to bring out the importance of the part which the decision of the Oxford Gemot played in the history of the Norman Conquest, as well as to account for that great destruction of houses at Oxford which had taken place at some time before the Domesday Survey, and which has been accepted as the chief evidence of a siege of Oxford being one of the incidents of William's march either before his coronation or afterwards.

Although in this expansion of the material given in the little brochure of 1871, I have now treated it much more from an historical point of view, and attempted to show the place which Oxford seems to have held in the general history of the country, I have not lost sight of one of the purposes with which the original treatise was compiled, namely, to point out clearly the sources of the history. I have, as far as possible, given the chapter and verse for all the statements, and searched, as a rule, for the earliest form in which the statement occurs, and, where necessary, shown the evidence of the expansion of it by later historians. In detailing the character and date of the historian followed, and the nature of the MSS. on which reliance is

placed, I am conscious of having inserted details which must be tedious to the reader, as this part of the work has been oftentimes ted cus to myself: but if one of the chief objects of the Oxford Historical Society be to provide ready access to the material on which the history of Oxford rests, then a full description of the references, so that every quotation can be readily verified as well as read in connection with its context and its value determined, will not be out of place.

There was one difficulty, and this was in deciding whether the passages quoted should be given in the original or in a translation. For my own part I would, of course, have preferred to have been relieved of the task of turning medieval Latin into English, but on the other hand, it was thought that the work would be useful to a larger class of readers if, in the course of the book itself, the chief passages were given in English, and if the originals were printed in an appendix, so that scholars would not be deprived of a ready opportunity of reference. I have felt a satisfaction in this latter part of the plan, inasmuch as, though my blunders are thus exposed, no future writer can, or, at least, should be misled by them, when he has the original before him by which to correct them. In translating, I may add, I have as far as possible attempted to follow closely the original, at the expense sometimes perhaps of even intelligible English. In respect of the rendering of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle I have followed, I believe, almost uniformly the late Mr. Thorpe's translation, and as regards one or two charters I will here take the opportunity of acknowledging the kind assistance of Professor Earle in revising my translation.

In giving the originals, where they have been already printed, I have followed the best texts available, and in some few cases I have compared them with the MSS.: with those issued in the Rolls Series, this of course was not needed. In certain cases I have supplied various readings, especially of proper names; and though such will not be found to be of much value in themselves, they may help sometimes to show the source whence the chronicler or the transcriber derived his material.

I may here too say that I have retained the name of 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,' or 'Chronicles,' using sometimes one form, sometimes the other, as occasion required. If it is recognised that there was a series of chronicles, though as regards the early parts of all based on a common original, it has seemed to me that it was best to retain the old and generally received name, and less likely to mislead than the terms Abingdon Chronicle, Peterborough Chronicle, &c., which

names, to say the least, rest on no very satisfactory basis, while they are open to the objection of creating confusion between them and chronicles which bear commonly the same or at least very similar names.

Some exception may perhaps be taken to the titles and to the division of some of the chapters, but the following circumstances must be borne in mind. The foundation of S. Frideswide's in 727 seemed to require a chapter to itself, and therefore left the period before and afterwards, which otherwise should have been treated as one, to be divided into two parts, and it was difficult to make any real distinction in the titles of the two chapters IV. and VI. It was thought, however, that while speaking of the site of Oxford in one, it was only right to speak of the town of Oxford in the other, the recorded foundation of S. Frideswide providing the line of demarcation. Again, it was thought that the event described under the year 912, and the circumstances which appeared to surround it, such as the formation of the county, and the general history of the fortification of the town against the Danes, would justify separating the period of the Danish incursions (and giving that title to Chapter VII.) from the period of the Danish invasions, leaving that title for Chapter VIII. It seemed, also, convenient to embrace in this one chapter the latter part of the reign of Æthelred the Unready, beginning, as far as Oxford was concerned, with the massacre there in 1002 as a detail in the unhappy policy of that unwise monarch, which culminated in the accession of Cnut to the English throne; and with his agreement made at the Oxford Gemot of 1018 the chapter practically closes.

As it has been thought useful to refer to the ecclesiastical history of the district as well as the political, I have grouped, as far as possible, such events as belong to the tenth, or to the early part of the eleventh century, respectively under the two chapters above named.

After the accession of Cnut, it seemed impossible to group the events which followed under any very definite title, and thus the general one of 'Forty years before the Norman Conquest' was adopted for Chapter IX. At the same time, since this chapter practically closes with the account of the Oxford Gemot in 1065, the decision of which is shown to have played an important part in hastening that Conquest, the title is not without some meaning. Taking the Norman Conquest in the limited sense—that is, including the events of the three months between the battle near Hastings and the coronation at Christmas, 1066, and viewing the battles fought afterwards in the light of the suppression of rebellion—the division is a convenient one.

The twenty years which succeed this event give an opportunity of explaining the reasons why the theory of a siege of Oxford is rejected, and of recording the advent of Robert D'Oilgi and what he did for Oxford. This Chapter X. practically includes William the Conqueror's reign.

At the very close of his reign, however, came the Domesday Survey. This was thought to be worthy of a chapter to itself, and it is treated somewhat fully, as it provides the data upon which it has been attempted to base a description of Oxford at this time. Advantage has also been taken of this separate chapter to refer to such details respecting the plan and condition of the town or existing remains of buildings which did not fall so readily under the historical narrative in the previous chapter; and also, since the Survey introduces many names of note amongst the holders of mansions in Oxford, it has not been thought out of place to introduce here and there such remarks as tend to show in what way the data, afforded in the Oxford Domesday, illustrate the general history of the confiscation and distribution of the land throughout the country by William the Conqueror.

This then forms Chapter XI, and with that chapter it has been thought well to bring to a close this contribution to the Early History of Oxford. The reign of William Rufus is a blank as regards Oxford, and all the light which is thrown upon it comes from the Domesday Survey, or from documents which have been introduced in illustration of it; so that this chapter may be said to bring down the history of Oxford to the close of the eleventh century.

Here and there, for the sake of illustrations to the descriptive portion, I have trenched somewhat upon the charters and other material belonging to the next century; but I have avoided as far as possible entering upon any of the historical questions which distinctly belong to it.

Throughout the treatise I have attempted to deal fairly with the facts before me. I have not thought it my duty to magnify the importance of Oxford—a duty which the majority of local historians seem to consider as devolving upon them. If in places I have dismissed popular and interesting traditions as untenable, I trust by bringing together a fuller summary than has yet been done of records which exist, I have built up, so to speak, as much as I have pulled down; and if I have not surrounded Oxford with a mysterious halo of glory, and contended for an antiquity which there is no reason to suppose it possessed, I still hope I may have done something to show the position which Oxford really occupied in the early history of the country.

A tolerably full alphabetical index of places and persons named in the course of the book has been given. An alphabetical index of subjects I have, as a rule, found to be practically useless, since on the one hand it is impossible to know for certain under what word the subject should be indexed, and on the other hand, there cannot be many historical subjects, if indeed there be any, which are not associated with some known place or person, and which cannot therefore be far more readily found in the index under such a reference; consequently but a few technical words, and others under which it has been thought useful to group several references have been introduced. Moreover the somewhat full 'Table of Contents' will, it is anticipated, supply a ready means of reference to the various subjects treated in the work.

But I have kept distinct an index to the books and MSS. from which the data given in my work have been extracted, or which for various reasons may have been quoted; and my reason for doing this is because I have laid so great a stress upon the importance of knowing whence we derive the facts on which we depend for our history. Scattered throughout the pages of a somewhat long index of names and places, the list of authorities would scarcely fulfil its purpose; but arranged as it is, besides exhibiting the sources whence that which has been stated is deduced, it exhibits also in a measure what has not been explored or made use of. By turning to this index the student or any historian of Oxford who may make use of the material here brought together, can see at once what new ground he will have to explore or how far the ground already explored has been properly dealt with. I am aware that this conspectus may expose my shortcomings, just as the printing of the originals exposes my errors in translation; but if it advances in any way the true study of the history of Oxford I shall be only too pleased that both are exposed.

Besides the Appendix of Documents (A), already referred to, it has been thought worth while to add a few pages upon the name of Oxford (B), upon the disputed question of Alfred's coins (C), a brief description of the plates (D) which the courtesy of the Committee have permitted me to add to the book; and finally, as a last appendix (E), such minor additions, and one or two corrections, which have suggested themselves to me in reading the work through after it was printed for the purpose of making the index.

I cannot conclude these remarks without tendering my acknowledgments to the Committee of the Oxford Historical Society—first, for the honour which they did me in asking me to contribute such a treatise to their undertaking, and next for the patience and courtesy with which

they have treated my delay in completing the work, a delay however which, with my many engagements, I found to be unavoidable. To Mr. Madan also my thanks are especially due for the kind manner in which he has met so many of my suggestions, though his patience must have been tried by my slow progress, and for the assistance which in several matters he has afforded me during the revision of the proofs. I am also requested to tender the thanks of the Committee, with which I would join my own, to Col. Taylor and Mr. Basevi Sanders, of the Ordnance Survey, Southampton, for the facilities afforded in reproducing the facsimile of the page of the Domesday Survey relating to Oxford, which appears as the frontispiece.

THE TURL, OXFORD,
October, 1885.

Apage igitur illos Cantabrigiensium Libros Nigros, necnon Higdeni, Bruntonii, Rudburni, Rossii, et aliorum recentiorum deliria; credamus tantum eis quae fidem merentur; nec cum Pueris delectemur fabulis Antiquis novisse[1].

If I should lose time to reckon up the vaine allegations produced for the Antiquity of Oxford by Twyne, and of Cambridge by Caius, I should but repeat Deliria senum; for I account the most of that they have published in print to be no better[2].

[1] From the preface to Smith's Annals of University College, ed. 1728, p. x.

[2] Speech of Sir Simon D'Ewes, Knight, in the Long Parliament, Jan. 2, 1640–1641.

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTORY.

PAGE

The question at what date the History of Oxford begins 1

(1) The 'mythical' history ascribes the origin of the town to Mempric, B.C. 1009; of the University to the arrival of Greek philosophers at Greeklade, at an uncertain date, or to the supposed foundation by King Alfred in A.D. 873 1

(2) The 'theoretical' origin of the town would be the arrival of certain settlers, their names and date of settlement being unknown . 2

(3) The 'legendary' history ascribes the foundation of a nunnery here by S. Frideswide to A.D. 727 2

(4) The 'actual' recorded history begins with A. D. 912, when King Eadward the Elder took possession of Oxford 2

The proposed plan of dealing with these different views of history . . 3

CHAPTER II. THE MYTHICAL ORIGIN OF OXFORD.

John Rous at the close of the *fifteenth* century the first historian to combine the myths about Oxford into a connected series 5

His story of the foundation by Mempric, B. C. 1009; the successive names of Oxford; the transference from Greeklade to Beaumont; and thence to within the walls of Oxford 5

Illustration of Rous's critical faculty in weighing evidence; e. g. his reference to the Noachian Deluge 6

Geoffrey of Monmouth's fiction of the *twelfth* century as to a certain Mempric expanded and connected with Oxford by Rous 7

Examples of Geoffrey and Rous's habit of inventing names of persons to fit different places 8

Rous fits the mythical history of Cambridge on to a passage from Geoffrey's romance in the same way he does that of Oxford 9

The Oxford *Historiola*, which ascribes the foundation of the University to Greek philosophers arriving at Greeklade 10

Greeklade is but a perversion of Cricklade, of which the history is fairly well known 11

Nor is there any difficulty as to the origin of the name 12

Rous obtained part of his story from this '*Historiola*,' since he was in his youth a scholar at Oxford 12

PAGE

The origin of his story of Oxford being once situated at Beaumont derived from the erroneous passage in the Hyde Abbey Chronicle of the close of the *fourteenth* century 13

The *Chronicon Jornallense*, also late in the *fourteenth century*, has the story of Bede and of Bishop Felix founding Cambridge; also the story of a school at Greeklade for Greek scholars and at Lechlade for Latin scholars 14

Notes adduced to prove that Leland believed in these myths 16

Of the other myths raised on an etymological basis; origin of the name *Bellesitum* 17

The names of *Caer-bossa*, of *Ridohen*, *Boso Devadoboum*, *Boso Ridocencis*, &c. all attributable to Geoffrey's invention of names in his Romance, when he comes to the story of King Arthur 17

The Cambridge controversy as to the relative antiquity of the two Universities, in which the above myths are marshalled as history 20

The literature of the subject:—(1) A book by John Caius of Cambridge, styling himself 'Londinensis,' entitled '*De Antiquitate Cantab. Academiae, libri duo*,' together with (2) a treatise (to which it was supposed to be an answer) by Thomas Caius of Oxford, entitled '*Assertio Antiquitatis Oxoniensis Academiae*,' both printed by John Caius in 1568 . 20

A reprint after the death of John Caius of the two books, together with (3) a general history of the University of Cambridge, entitled *Historia Cantabrigiensis Academiae*, in 1574 (the whole probably edited by Archbishop Parker) 22

The treatises (1) and (2), together with (4), a MS. treatise in reply to the first by Thomas Caius of Oxford, entitled, '*Animadversiones*,' printed by Hearne under the title of '*Vindiciae Antiquitatis Academiae Oxoniensis*,' 1730 23

The speech of the Cambridge Orator (William Masters) in 1564 on Queen Elizabeth's visit to Cambridge, the origin of the controversy . . . 24

The speech based upon a memorandum given to the Orator by 'Antiquary,' supposed to be John Caius 25

The passage refers to the story in the Cambridge Black Book of a certain Cantaber coming over from Spain 25

The argument used by the Cambridge Orator 25

The manner in which Thomas Caius the Oxonian meets the arguments of the Cambridge Orator is first by attacking the story of 'Cantaber,' and next by supporting the story of the transference from Greeklade to Oxford found in the *Historiola*. He supposes that the transference took place under King Alfred 26

Incidental references to the antiquity of Oxford; e.g. from Walter Burley's treatise on Aristotle 27

The Cambridge champion, after giving the letter of 'Antiquary' and the Orator's speech above referred to, replies by supporting the Cambridge story of Cantaber, which he shows has as much authority as the Oxford story of Alfred 28

He next attacks the fiction about Greeklade given in the Oxford *Historiola* . 29

Then certain details as to *Bellositum*, *Ridohen*, &c. 30

PAGE

Then the discrepancies as to when the Greeklade schools were transferred to Oxford 31

He next attacks the authorities employed by the Oxford controversialists in support of their theories, and even that of Alfred founding the University 32

For the sake of comparison an outline of the Cambridge fiction is given from the Cambridge *Historiola* in the Black Book, supposed to be compiled by Nicholas Cantelupe in the fifteenth century. The story of Cantaber and King Gurguntius is to be compared with that of Mempric . . . 34

The other Cambridge myths in connection with King Sigbert and Bishop Felix, which may be compared with the Oxford myth of King Alfred . 36

The Cambridge stories of Lucius, Constantine, and King Arthur in connection with the University 37

The charters granted by King Arthur and others to Cambridge 38

A consideration of the controversy as a whole 39

An edition of Asser issued by Archbishop Parker in 1574, showing that the contemporary of King Alfred knew nothing of Oxford, much less of Alfred founding it 39

A rival edition issued in 1603 under Camden's auspices, with a passage directly referring to Oxford and King Alfred's interest and influence therein 40

There is clear evidence that the only ancient copy of Asser, viz. that in the Cottonian Library (but burnt in 1731), did not contain the passage . 40

The passage first appears in Camden's *Britannia*, printed in 1600, and transferred to his edition of Asser, although in the preface he professes to have followed Archbishop Parker's edition 41

Some existing correspondence shows that Twyne and others had doubts about the passage, though Twyne implies that Archbishop Parker deliberately omitted it from his edition 42

Twyne's interview with Camden in 1622, in which Camden implies he had followed a MS. *temp.* Richard II, with the passage in it 43

The passage supposed to have been supplied to Camden by Sir Henry Savile 43

A summary of the evidence as to Camden's interpolation 45

The passage relating to King Alfred and the University of Oxford in the Hyde Abbey Chronicle 45

The passage in full respecting King Alfred and Oxford and Grimbald's Crypt; first appearing in this edition of Camden's *Britannia* issued 1600, and afterwards in his edition of Asser 1603 46

Ralph Higden (who died 1363), in his *Polychronicon*, refers to King Alfred founding schools at Oxford 47

The *Chronicon Jornallense* (fourteenth century) similarly refers to King Alfred founding his schools at Oxford 47

The mistaken reference to William of Malmesbury—really to John of Glastonbury, who wrote his Chronicle after 1456 48

Rudborn, in his *Historia Major*, compiled circa 1440, refers to Alfred founding Oxford, and sending his son Ethelward there 49

Rous treats the myth of Alfred as he treated that of Mempric, by expansion and addition of other circumstances 49

PAGE
He makes three different Colleges to have been founded by Alfred . . 50
The difference between the two myths; one that Alfred founded Oxford, the other that Alfred restored a previous foundation 51
Chronological and other objections to the story that Alfred founded Oxford . 51
University College the result of the incorporation of certain masters enjoying the bequest of William of Durham in 1249 of 310 marks . . . 52
The account of that foundation, in which there is no mention of Alfred's name directly or indirectly 53
But in 1363 University College acquires property which led to certain law-suits 54
In 1379, in order to obtain a verdict from the Court of Appeal in their favour, they invented the plea that their College was founded by King Alfred . 54
The French petition and its results 54
Further pleadings 56
The Alfred story introduced again in 1427 in the suit with the Abbot of Oseney 57
Bryan Twyne's Apologia, 1608 58
He takes up the Elizabethan controversy and goes over all the points raised by John Caius, and adduces other arguments in favour of the antiquity of Oxford 59
His reference to the German astronomers of 1552 and 1574, viz. Peter Appianus and Cyprian Leowitz, quoted by Ingram as if they were Appian and S. Cyprian 59
Further arguments adduced by Twyne 60
Hearne follows on in the same strain 61
Followed by Ingram and numerous later writers 61
The myths more or less apparent in all books relating to the history of Oxford 61
The thousandth anniversary of the foundation by King Alfred celebrated at University College in 1872 62

CHAPTER III. The Site of Oxford during the British and Roman Settlement.

The site of Oxford wanting in the requirements of a British settlement . . 63
Scant remains of British times found in Oxford 64
Nearest points of British remains 64
The Roman roads in the neighbourhood, viz. on the south, the great road from London to Bath via *Pontes* and *Spinae*, and on the north, the Akeman Street 65
The cross road southward from Alchester to Dorchester 66
The traces of the ancient roads in the immediate vicinity of Oxford . . 67
The British trackways 70
The early years of the Roman occupation of this district as gleaned from the Classical historians 70

PAGE

The absence of historical data during the remainder of their occupation . 74
The Roman villas and numerous traces of Roman occupation in the neighbourhood of Oxford, but not in Oxford itself 74

CHAPTER IV. THE SITE OF OXFORD DURING THE SAXON SETTLEMENT TO THE CLOSE OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

The gradual occupation of the Oxford district by the Saxons during the sixth century 80
Especial mention of Ensham and Benson, A. D. 571 81
The site of Oxford at the close of the sixth century in the midst of one great West Saxon kingdom which stretched from the sea on the south to Northumbria on the north 82
The rise of the Mercian kingdom in the first quarter of the seventh century, and Wessex contracted to the district south of the Thames . . . 83
The site of Oxford therefore on the southern border of Mercia, A. D. 628 . 83
The encroachment of Mercia upon the kingdom of Wessex as far as Æscesdun, A. D. 661 84
The site of Oxford well within the Mercian dominions 84
At the close of the century the site, though still in Mercia, probably again on the southern border 85

CHAPTER V. THE FOUNDATION OF S. FRIDESWIDE'S NUNNERY, A.D. 727.

The probabilities of the truth of the tradition considered by a survey of surrounding circumstances 86
The Mercian king a Christian 87
Nunneries had begun to be founded before the close of the seventh century, and examples of the same 87
The circumstances of the foundation of a neighbouring Nunnery at Abingdon circa A. D. 675 89
The removal of the Nuns to Wytham, close to Oxford 90
The material existing for the story of the foundation of S. Frideswide's Nunnery 91
The recital of the story of the foundation prefixed to the charter of refoundation of the monastery A. D. 1004 92
Independent testimony to the existence of this charter c. 1125 by William of Malmesbury, and his version of the story of the foundation . . . 93
The story of the foundation as told in two different 'Lives of the Virgin' . 95
A comparison of the details of the two stories with each other, and with the prefatory story to the Charter, and with the story as handed down by William of Malmesbury 95
S. Frideswide's parents and her early instruction; her desire for a nun's life . 96
She founds a Nunnery at Oxford; her temptations 97
Algar, king of Leicester, pursues her 98
In one story his servants are struck blind, in another the king himself . . 98

PAGE
S. Frideswide escapes to Binsey (or Benson) 98
She takes refuge in a hut 99
Her miracles; the cure of the blind girl; of the woodman's paralysed hand, of the epileptic fisherman, and of the leper 99
Builds an oratory at Binsey, near Seacourt 100
Her death and burial 100
Notes upon the name of S. Frideswide 102
The introduction of the name Algar 102
The difficulties as to the name *Bentonia*, whether Bampton or Benson . . 103
The probabilities are perhaps in favour of Binsey being meant . . . 104
A general view of the whole, however, points to the establishment of a religious community in and also near Oxford early in the eighth century 105

CHAPTER VI. OXFORD A BORDER-TOWN DURING THE EIGHTH AND NINTH CENTURIES.

Oxford may now be spoken of by name 107
Situated on the Thames, it is a border-town between the two kingdoms of Mercia and Wessex 107
The capture of Somerton, A.D. 733, by the Mercian King Ethelbald, probably has no reference to this district 110
The battle of Burford, A.D. 752, implies that the West Saxons under King Cuthred conquered the southern part of Mercia, and Oxford was again within the West Saxon kingdom 108
The Battle of Benson, A.D. 777, implies that the Mercian King Offa won back to Mercia all that his predecessor had lost 109
The Mercian conquest stretched southward to the long range of the Berkshire hills between Wallingford and Ashbury, so that Oxford was again well within the Mercian territory 110
Ashbury seems to mark the county boundary between Berkshire and Wiltshire 110
Under Egbert, who succeeded A.D. 800, the West Saxon power progressed, and that of Mercia declined, and the foundation of the one kingdom being laid, Oxford ceased to be a border town 111

CHAPTER VII. THE DANISH INCURSIONS IN THE NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES.

The Danes began their ravages in Wessex A.D. 832. In 851 they ventured as far up the Thames as London, reaching Reading in 871 . . . 113
Their further progress checked by the battle of Æscesdun, A.D. 871 . . 114
The details of the battle of Æscesdun 115
King Ælfred is not recorded to have visited Oxford at all 116
King Eadward takes possession of Oxford A.D. 912 116
It is presumed that at this time Oxford was fortified 117
The Castle mound the chief fortification 117
The natural advantages of Oxford as regards fortification 118
The general aspect of the town of Oxford at this date 119

PAGE

The road from the north into Oxford and that from the south over 'the ford' meet in the centre of Oxford 120
The growth of Oxford round that centre whence roads went east and west . 121
S. Martin's at Carfax the first church built in the centre 121
The other parishes congregated round it 122
On the authority of the earliest record of Oxford, i. e. under A. D. 912, in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 122
The various editions of the Chronicle 123
A. The Winchester Chronicle in C. C. C. Cambridge. No. CLXXIII. Earlier portion of the Ninth century.
B. The Canterbury Chronicle in the Cottonian Library. Tiber. A. VI. Earlier portion of the Tenth century.
C. The Abingdon Chronicle in the Cottonian Library. Tiber. B. I. Eleventh century.
D. The Worcester Chronicle in the Cottonian Library. Tiber. B. IV. Eleventh century.
E. The Peterborough Chronicle in the Bodleian Library. Laud. 636. Twelfth century.
F. Another Chronicle in the Cottonian Library. Domit. A. VIII. Twelfth century.
Some account of the chroniclers who chiefly copy the above, viz. Florence of Worcester, writing before 1118; Simeon of Durham, before 1120; Henry of Huntingdon, in 1135; Geoffrey of Gaimar, c. 1150 . . 125
On the meaning to be attached to the expression 'took possession of Oxford,' in the Chronicle A. D. 912 127
The probable origin of the county of Oxford 129
The existence of the various Wessex shires, and their nomenclature . . 129
The demarcation of the Mercian shires, and their nomenclature after the central towns 131
The year 912 sees Oxford both a fortified town and the centre of a shire . 134
Ælfward, King Eadward's son, dies at Oxford A. D. 924 135
Supposed to have been a studious man 136
The policy of Eadward as regards Mercia carried on by his three sons, 925–955 136
On the death of Eadred, A. D. 975, dissensions begin, and the Danes, taking advantage of the same, again ravage the kingdom 137
The ecclesiastical history of the district during the tenth century . . . 138
The diocese of Dorchester and the Bishops of the same 138
S. Frideswide's monastery and the supposed expulsion of the monks and introduction of secular canons 139
The synod near Oxford at Kyrtlington, and death of the Bishop of Crediton there 140

CHAPTER VIII. OXFORD DURING THE DANISH INVASION IN THE EARLY PART OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

The disastrous reign of Æthelred the Unready 141
The massacre of S. Brice, and how it affected Oxford, A. D. 1002 . . . 141

PAGE

The story told in the Cartulary of S. Frideswide, and the restoration of S. Frideswide's monastery in 1004 142
The lands there given or confirmed to S. Frideswide's 143
The signatures to Æthelred's charter agree with the date 1004 144
The story as told by William of Malmesbury 144
The error of William of Malmesbury in confusing the massacre of the Danes in 1002 with the assassination of Sigeferth and Morkere in 1015 . . 146
The story of the massacre as told by Henry of Huntingdon 147
General state of the kingdom at this time 148
The Danish invasion continued; the Danes gain possession of the Berkshire hills by marching to Cwichelmshloewe 149
Æthelred's miserable policy continued 149
The Danes, having marched out through Chiltern, burn Oxford, A. D. 1009 . 151
They again visit Oxfordshire, A. D. 1010 151
Oxford submits to the Danish King Sweyn, A. D. 1013 152
The Gemot at Oxford, and Sigeferth and Morkere, the chief Thanes of the Seven Burghs, treacherously slain there, A. D. 1015 153
The assassination attributed to Eadric 154
Eadric's treachery shown throughout, and its consequences 155
King Ethelred dies, A. D. 1016 157
Eadmund Ironside succeeds, and attempts to drive out the Danes 157
The treaty at Olney, near Gloucester, in November 1016 158
Eadmund assassinated, probably at Oxford, on his way back to London, November 30, 1016 158
The story as told by the chroniclers Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmesbury, &c. 158
Consideration of the surrounding circumstances 159
Reasons for supposing Henry of Huntingdon had good authority for his statement 160
Gemot at Oxford under King Cnut, A. D. 1018, where Danes and Angles were unanimous for Eadgar's law 161
The Witan probably met in the Castle precincts 162
The historical associations of the Castle at this time 162

CHAPTER IX. Oxford during the Forty Years before the Norman Conquest.

The Church of S. Martin erected, the land being granted by King Cnut to Abingdon Abbey, 1039 164
The nature of that grant 165
The poor condition of S. Frideswide's 165
A passage relating to S. Frideswide's being granted to an Abbot of Abingdon, and the secular canons expelled, and for a time monks instituted . . 166
A passage given in Leland's Collectanea from a Rochester Chronicle relating to the Canons of S. Frideswide's 167

PAGE

The importance of Abingdon Abbey as contrasted with that of S. Frideswide, and its acquisition of property on the Berkshire side of the river . . 168
The rise of the monastery of Ensham on the west of Oxford, originally an adjunct to S. Mary at Stowe, Lincolnshire 170
St. Ebbe's Church at Oxford belonged to the same 170
The diocese of Dorchester and its Bishops up to the Norman Conquest . 171
Bishop Eadnoth, Bishop Ulf, and Bishop Wlfwi 172
On the death of Cnut a Gemot of the Witan at Oxford in 1036, and the claim of Harold Harefoot and Harthacnut 173
Harold Harefoot dies at Oxford, 1039 175
Note of an incident while Harold was lying ill at Oxford 175
Accession of Eadward the Confessor in 1042 176
Note respecting his birth at Islip, near Oxford 176
Division of the kingdom into Earldoms, and the question whether Oxford was in Earl Alfgar's dominion 178
The Portreeve of Oxford and the Sheriff of Oxfordshire, c. 1051 . . . 179
Harold, in the expedition against Gruffydd of Wales in 1063, passes through Oxford on the way 180
The great Gemot at Oxford, Oct. 28, 1065, when Tostig, Harold's brother, was outlawed, and Morkere made Earl of Northumberland . . . 181
The Gemot first held at Northampton, and immediately afterwards at Oxford 182
The explanation of the change of place of meeting 182
The rebel mob accompany Morkere 183
The deplorable results of the decisions of the Gemot 183
The Danish code of laws renewed at Oxford 183
Eadward the Confessor's death, Jan. 5, 1066 184
King Harold goes to help Eadwine and Morkere against Tostig and Harold Hardrada, while William, Duke of Normandy, lands in Sussex, Oct. 14, 1066 185

CHAPTER X. OXFORD DURING THE TWENTY YEARS AFTER THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

King William's march after the Battle near Hastings 186
The story as told in two of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, in Florence of Worcester, in Simeon of Durham, and in William of Poitiers . . 186
One Anglo-Saxon Chronicle takes William direct from Sussex to Beorhamstede, where the Archbishop of York, Eadgar, and Earls Eadwine and Morkere, meet him, and then to Westminster 187
Florence of Worcester names the counties which he ravaged on his way, makes him go to Beorcham, where the above meet him in addition to the Bishops of Worcester and Hereford, and then to Westminster . 187
William of Malmesbury makes him go direct to London in a royal progress, and both the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and Eadwine and Morkere, come to meet him 187
Henry of Huntingdon simply makes the people of London receive him peaceably 187

PAGE

William of Poitiers makes him go to London, where he is met by a hostile force; then to ravage Southwark, and afterwards to cross by a ford and bridge to Guarengeford, where Stigand meets him; afterwards the people of London meet him, and then he goes to Barking . . 187
Discrepancies in the stories told by different chroniclers, and doubts as to whether William marched near to Oxford 191
The theory based upon piecing together the several accounts and omitting discrepancies 193
On the supposed siege of Oxford after William's coronation . . . 193
The doubts suggested from historical considerations concerning the political status of Mercia 194
The evidence derived from the MSS., showing that the misreading of *Oxonia* for *Exonia* has been the cause of the error of the statements of the historians 195
A summary of the historians as to William's march to Exeter . . . 196
The error begun in the transcript of Roger of Wendover which was made for Matthew of Westminster, the original being preserved in C. C. C. Cambridge 198
On the question of an unrecorded siege 199
The destruction of the large number of houses in Oxford to be accounted for by the advent of the rebel mob on Oct. 28, 1065, rather than by an imaginary siege by Duke William 200
Robert D'Oilgi builds, or rather strengthens, the Castle at Oxford, A. D. 1071 202
The probable character of his work 203
The policy of William in erecting castles 204
Robert D'Oilgi with Roger of Ivry found the Church of S. George in the Castle 206
The entries in the Oseney Annals 206
The English version of the Charters in the Oseney Cartulary . . . 207
The grants of land in Walton Manor 208
The Church of S. Mary Magdalene built outside the North gate and given to St. George's 209
Description of S. George's Church in the Castle—the Tower and the Crypt . 210
The character of Robert D'Oilgi drawn by the Abingdon chronicler . . 210
He takes away from the Abbey King's Mead, which lay outside the town near the Castle 210
But eventually restores it 214
Incidental note of his being rowed to Abingdon from Oxford . . . 214
He is recorded to have repaired the Parish Churches in Oxford . . . 215
The Parish Churches then in existence 216
The removal of the Bishopric from Dorchester to Lincoln by Remigius . 216
The exhibition of the relics of S. Egwin at Oxford by the Monks of Evesham 218
Robert D'Oilgi builds Hythe Bridge 218
The entrance to Oxford from the West 219
The Castle bridges 220

CHAPTER XI. The Description of Oxford in 1086 as given in the Domesday Survey.

PAGE

The nature of the Domesday Survey and its origin 221
The probable date of its completion 222
The portion of the Survey relating to Oxford in a tabulated form . . . 223
That relating to the possessions of Robert D'Oilgi in Oxford . . . 225
On the reference to the 'Time of King Eadward' 226
The payments to the King and Earl Ælfgar, T. K. E. 226
Summary of the numbers of the houses held by tenants whose names are given 227
The probable population, based upon the number of houses . . . 228
The increase of the population in Oxford every ten years during the present century, and the relative increase of houses 229
A table showing houses and population within and without the city wall in 1801 and 1881 respectively 230
The increase of Oxford entirely external to the old line of City wall . . 231
Probable character of the houses in Oxford in the eleventh century . . 232
Illustrations of the term *Vastae* from similar entries in Domesday concerning other towns 233
The distinction of the *domus* and *mansio* 235
The *mural* mansions, and the evidence that Oxford was surrounded by a fortification of some kind 236
The probable line of the City fortifications 237
The King's twenty mansions 238
The King's five mansions belonging to manors 239
The twelve mansions of Earl Alberic and W. 239
The sixty mansions belonging to the Bishops 240
The twenty-eight mansions belonging to the three Abbeys of St. Edmund (?), Abingdon, and Ensham 241
Notes on the foundation of Ensham Abbey from the Registers . . . 242
St. Ebbe's Church in connection with Ensham 243
The mansions belonging to the Earl of Mortain, Earl Hugh, Earl of Evreux, and Henry of Ferrieres 244
The mansions belonging to William Peverel, Edward the Sheriff, and Ernulph of Hesding 246
The mansions belonging to Berenger of Todeni, Milo Crispin, and Richard of Curci 247
The mansions belonging to Robert D'Oilgi in Oxford as well as in Holywell 248
The Church of S. Peter's in the East 250
The plan of the Crypt compared with that of ancient crypts elsewhere . 252
The architectural details of the Crypt 253
The difficulties of reconciling the architectural features with the history . 254
The mansions belonging to Roger of Ivry, Rannulph Flammard, Wido of Reinbodcurth, and Walter Gifard 255
The mansions belonging to Jermio and to the son of Manasses . . . 257

PAGE
The mansions belonging to the Priests of S. Michael's 258
The Church and Tower of S. Michael at Northgate 258
The question whether the work was military, as implied by the *hourdes*, or ecclesiastical, as implied by the belfry windows 259
The fifteen mansions belonging to S. Frideswide's 261
The land of the Canons of S. Frideswide's in and near Oxford . . . 262
The names of tenants, from the Domesday Survey, e.g. Coleman, William, Spracheling, Wlwi, &c. 264
Some of these names occur in the Abingdon Chronicle. 264
The names of Harding, Leveva, Ailric, and Derman, &c. 267
Swetman the Moneyer 268
Sewi, Alveva, Leuric, Sawold, &c. 269
Considerations how far the mansions in the first list represent the manors in the neighbourhood, and the others the Oxford residents . . . 271
Other names of supposed residents in Oxford derived from other sources . 273
The general appearance of Oxford at the time of the Survey . . . 275
The general aspect of the Castle and its surroundings 276
The effect of the 'waste' houses upon the aspect of the town . . . 277
The business carried on in Oxford, the market, fairs, &c. 278
The gemots and courts held in Oxford 279
The Oxford Laws enrolled in the Domesday Survey 280
How far these laws agree with those previously in force 281
The Hustengs Court and Portmannimot 282
The Castle garrison 283
S. Frideswide's and the other churches 283
The eight churches recorded to be in existence by 1087 284
How far Oxford was separated into Parishes according to the districts assigned to the above churches 284
Eight additional churches named in the Charter supposed to have been granted to S. Frideswide's by Henry I 285
The Rubrics relating to the above churches in S. Frideswide's cartulary . 285
Considerations as to S. Mildred's Church 287
As to that of S. Eadward's Church 290
As to that of S. Aldate's Church 291
As to that of S. Budoc's Church 294
The streets in Oxford 297
The Bridges 298
The Mills 299
Port Meadow 300
The Sheriffs and the Port Reeves 301
The visits of William I and William II to the neighbourhood of Oxford . 303
The government of Oxford after the Norman Conquest 303

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

PASSAGES QUOTED IN CHAPTER II ON THE MYTHICAL ORIGIN OF OXFORD.

PAGE

§ 1. Rous. On Mempric and Greeklade 305
§ 2. *Ibid.* Illustration from his treatment of the Deluge 306
§ 3. Geoffrey of Monmouth. Reference to Mempric 306
§ 4. *Ibid.* Illustration of his treatment of names of places. . . . 306
§ 5, 6. Rous. „ „ „ 307
§ 7. Rous. On Ganteber the builder of Cambridge 307
§ 8. Oxford Chancellors' Book. The *Historia* 307
§ 9. Hyde Abbey Chronicle. The University outside the Northgate . . 308
§ 10. Bromton. Cambridge founded by Beda 309
§ 11. Leland. Passage supporting the mythical history of Oxford . . 309
§ 12. Geoffrey of Monmouth. Boso Devadoboum, Ridocen, &c. . . 310
§ 13. John Caius. Professes to settle the dispute as to the greater antiquity of Oxford or Cambridge 310
§ 14. Speech of the Cambridge orator before Queen Elizabeth . . . 311
§ 15. Nicholas Cantelupe. The Cambridge Historiola 311
§ 16. Hyde Abbey Chronicle. Foundation of the University by Alfred . 312
§ 17. Camden's Asser. The interpolated passage in re Alfred and Oxford . 312
§ 18. Higden's Polychronicon. Alfred and the Oxford schools . . . 313
§ 19. Bromton. Alfred and the Oxford schools 314
§ 20. Rudborne's Historia Major. Ethelward educated at Oxford, &c. . 314
§ 21. Rous. Story of Alfred's foundation of Oxford 315
§ 22. Petition to Parliament. The Petition of University College claiming Alfred as their founder 316
§ 23. Plea of Richard Witton. Master of University College asserting that Alfred was founder 316

PASSAGES QUOTED IN CHAPTER IV. OXFORD DURING THE SAXON SETTLEMENT TO THE CLOSE OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

§ 24. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A.D. 571. The capture of Ensham, Benson, &c. 317
§ 25. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A.D. 661. The Mercian King reaches Æscesdun 317

PASSAGES QUOTED IN CHAPTER V. THE FOUNDATION OF S. FRIDESWIDE'S NUNNERY.

§ 26. Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* Before English nunneries were founded women were sent abroad to be educated 318
§ 27. Abingdon Abbey Chronicle. The foundation of the Nunnery at Abingdon 318

PAGE

§ 28. Abingdon Abbey Chronicle. The nuns removed to Wytham . . 318
§ 29. Chief charter relating to the restoration of S. Frideswide's in 1004, and reciting the original foundation in 727 319
§ 30. William of Malmesbury (*Gest. Pont.*). An account of S. Frideswide . 323
§ 31. MS. life of S. Frideswide in Bodleian. Her burial and enlargement of the Church 323
§ 32. Annals of Winton. Queen Fritheswitha 323

Passages quoted in Chapter VI. Oxford a Border Town.

§ 33. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A.D. 777. Offa takes Benesington . . . 324
§ 34. Abingdon Abbey Chronicle. Offa takes the land from Wallingford to Ashbury 324

Passages quoted in Chapter VII. Oxford during the Danish Incursions in the ninth and tenth centuries.

§ 35. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A.D. 912. Eadward takes Oxford . . . 324
§ 36. Florence of Worcester. „ „ . . . 324
§ 37. Simeon of Durham. „ „ . . . 325
§ 38. Henry of Huntingdon. „ „ . . . 325
§ 39. Geoffrey Gaimar. „ „ . . . 325
§ 40. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A.D. 924. Eadward's son dies at Oxford . 325
§ 41. Florence of Worcester. „ „ . . 326
§ 42. William of Malmesbury (*Gest. Regum*). Ethelward versed in literature 326

Passages quoted in Chapter VIII. Oxford during the Danish invasion in the early part of the eleventh century.

§ 43. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A.D. 1002. The Massacre of S. Brice . . 326
§ 44. William of Malmesbury (*Gest. Regum*). A mixed version of the story of S. Brice and events of 1015 326
§ 45. Henry of Huntingdon. The massacre of S. Brice 327
§ 46. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1006. The Danes march over Æscesdun to Cwichelmeshlœwe 327
§ 47. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1009. The Danes burn Oxford . . 327
§ 48. Florence of Worcester. „ „ . . 328
§ 49. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1010. Æthelred's 'unreadiness' . . 328
§ 50. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1013. Oxford submits to Sweyn . . 328
§ 51. Florence of Worcester. „ „ . . 328
§ 52. William of Malmesbury (*Gest. Regum*). The Oxford and Winchester men obey 'Sweyn's law' 328
§ 53. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1015. The Gemot at Oxford, and Sigeferth and Morkere slain 329
§ 54. Florence of Worcester. „ „ . . 329

PAGE

§ 55. Henry of Huntingdon. The Gemot at Oxford, and Sigeferth and Morkere slain 329
§ 56. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1016. Eadmund dies 329
§ 57. Henry of Huntingdon. Eadmund treacherously murdered at Oxford . 330
§ 58. William of Malmesbury (*Gest. Regum*). Eadmund treacherously murdered 330
§ 59. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1018. 'Eadgar's law' proclaimed at Oxford 330

Passages quoted in Chapter IX. Oxford during the forty years before the Norman Conquest.

§ 60. Abingdon Chronicle. Building of S. Martin's Church, Oxford, A.D. 1034 330
§ 61. Cartulary of S. Frideswide. A vague account of the substitute of Regulars for Seculars 331
§ 62. Extract from a 'Chronicon Rofense.' As to Canons instituted at S. Fridewide's, A.D. 1049 332
§ 63. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1049. Death of Eadnoth, Bishop of Dorchester and succession of Ulf 332
§ 64. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1049. Bishop Ulf an unfit Bishop . . 332
§ 65. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1053, &c. Wulfwi succeeds Ulf and dies 1067 332
§ 66. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1036. Gemot at Oxford, and Harold chosen King 333
§ 67. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1039. King Harold Harefoot dies at Oxford 333
§ 68. Canterbury Charter. Messenger from Canterbury visits Harold when lying ill at Oxford 333
§ 69. Westminster Charter. Incidental mention of Eadward's birth at Islip near Oxford 333
§ 70. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1065. The great Gemot at Oxford; Harold agrees to the outlawry of Tostig 334
§ 71. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1065. „ „ . . 334
§ 72. Florence of Worcester. „ „ . . 334
§ 73. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1065. The march of the rebel mob from the north 334

Passages quoted in Chapter X. Oxford during the twenty years after the Norman Conquest.

§ 74. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1066. The march of William to Beorhamstede is met by Archbishop and Earls, &c. 335
§ 75. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1066. After Hastings, William is crowned in London 335
§ 76. Florence of Worcester. William goes to Beorcham 335
§ 77. William of Malmesbury. William goes to London 336
§ 78. Henry of Huntingdon. William is crowned at Westminster . . 336

PAGE

§ 79. William of Poictiers. William goes to London *via* Guarengefort . 336
§ 80. William of Jumièges. „ „ . 337
§ 81. William of Poictiers. After his coronation William goes to Bercingis 337
§ 82. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1067. William first quells the rebellion at Exeter, then at York 337
§ 83. Florence of Worcester. „ „ . . 338
§ 84. William of Malmesbury. „ „ . . 338
§ 85. Roger of Wendover. „ „ . . 33
§ 86. Cartulary of Oseney. Robert D'Oilgi's foundation of S. George's in the Castle and S. Mary Magdalen Church 338
§ 87. Cartulary of Oseney. Roger of Ivry's gifts to the same . . . 339
§ 88. Abingdon Abbey Chronicle. Robert D'Oilgi appointed 'Constable' of Oxford and takes away King's Mead from Abingdon Abbey . 339
§ 89 Abingdon Abbey Chronicle. Robert D'Oilgi restores the churches of Oxford and builds Hythe Bridge 340
§ 90. Charter of King William. Removes the See of Dorchester to Lincoln . 340
§ 91. Evesham Chronicle. The relics of S. Egwin exhibited at Oxford . 341

PASSAGES QUOTED IN CHAPTER XI. THE DESCRIPTION OF OXFORD AS GIVEN IN THE DOMESDAY SURVEY.

§ 92. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1085. The making of the Domesday Survey 341
§ 93. Domesday Survey. The portion relating to the City of Oxford . . 341
§ 94. Domesday Survey. Robert D'Oilgi's lands at Oxford . . . 344
§ 95. Charter of King William. The connection between S. Mary of Stowe and Ensham 344
§ 96. Charter of King William. „ „ „ . 345
§ 97. Charter of Bishop Remigius conferring S. Ebbe's Church, to Ensham . 345
§ 98. Charter of Henry I conferring possessions in Oxford to Ensham . . 345
§ 99. Domesday Survey. The possessions of the Canons of S. Frideswide . 345
§ 100. Abingdon Abbey Chronicle. Houses purchased in Oxford by Abbot Faritius 346
§ 101. Domesday Survey. Laws promulgated at Oxford 346
§ 102. William of Malmesbury. The Story of S. Mildred 347
§ 103. Abingdon Abbey Chronicle. William Rufus greets Peter, the Sheriff of Oxfordshire, and mentions his port-reeve Eadwi . . . 347

APPENDIX B.

'THE NAME OF OXFORD.

PAGE

The two theories as to the origin of the name, i.e. (*a*) 'The ford of the Oxen,' (*b*) 'The ford of the Ouse' 348
The earliest forms of the name, i.e. *Oxnaforda, Oxeneforda*, &c., in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 348
The earliest forms on coins 349
The forms adopted by the Chroniclers and the name Oxonia . . . 349
The earliest forms point to the name being 'The ford of the Oxen' . . 350
Considerations as to a ford being set apart for Oxen and a note of landmarks and places bearing the word Ox 350
The objections to the theory of the ford of the Ouse to be met by analogies 351
The objection of a Celtic affix and Saxon suffix met by examples of Exminster, Axminster, &c. 351
The objection of the change of Ouseford or Ousanford into Oxford . . 352
The dialectic forms of Ouse, e.g. Usk, Exe, Axe 352
Evidence from the Roman Isca 353
Reference to places with the syllable Ouse 355
The example of Osanig in Archbishop Ælfric's will, afterwards Oxhey . . 355
The example of Osanlea 356
The objection that the Thames at Oxford was never found to bear the name of Ouse 357
The probabilities of the original names, to be viewed by reflected light . 357
The Roman Tam-esis no doubt the Celtic Tam-ese 357
Ese or Ise a dialectic form of Ouse; also Oise 358
The direct evidence of the island in the river Thames at Oxford being called Ouseneye; original name not Oxeneye 359
Tempsford on the Ouse called Tam-ese-ford, that is the ford over the Tam-ese 359
The Thame and the Thames 361
The Thame and Isis, as origin of Thamisis, according to Leland, Camden, &c. 362
The analogy of the form of Ock river which falls into the Thames at Abingdon 363
Comparison of Eoccene-ford and Ousanford 364
The summary of the evidence 364

APPENDIX C.

ON THE COINS SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN STRUCK AT OXFORD DURING KING ALFRED'S REIGN.

A particular type of coin supposed to connect King Alfred with Oxford . 366
The late Mr. Green's argument derived from the supposed existence of Oxford coins with Alfred's name on them 366
The discovery of coins near Sephton in Lancashire in 1611 367

PAGE

The 'Orsnaford' coin and the interpretation by Spelman, Walker, Sir Andrewe Fountaine, Thoresby, and Wise 368
The great discovery of coins at Cuerdale in Lancashire in 1840 . . . 370
The type with the letters Orsna-forda 370
The varieties of this type of coin on the Cuerdale series 371
The probable date of the deposition of the hoard derived from the dates of the coins themselves 373
The large number of the 'S. Edmund' coins 373
The rudeness of the workmanship 374
Three thousand coins with them apparently collected on the continent . . 375
The probability that the coins were not issued from an authorised mint . 376
The difficulty of accounting for the circumstance of the supposed Oxford coins being only found on the banks of the Ribble 376
A list of the various readings of specimens in the Bodleian, British Museum, Wadham College, &c. 377
The peculiarity of the inscription being always across the coins in three lines 378
The improbability of the name of the mint being on the obverse together with the name of the King, while the name of the moneyer is on the reverse 379
The rule that names of places are always abbreviated on early coins points to the improbability of Orsnaforda being the name of the place of mint 379
The invariable introduction of the letter R into the name militates against the letters being intended for Oxford 381
The difficulty of deciding upon what was the type specimen from which the moneyer or moneyers have diverged 381
The evidence is adduced for the exercise of the reader's judgment . . 382

APPENDIX D.

Brief notes respecting the plates accompanying this volume.

I. The Frontispiece, i. e. the first page of the portion of the Domesday Survey relating to Oxfordshire 383
Some notes on the MS. of the Domesday Book 383
A list of the Tenentes in Capite as shown on the facsimile . . . 384
II. A plan of the neighbourhood of Oxford chiefly to illustrate Chapter III. 385
The difficulties in tracing the lines of the old Roman Roads . . 385
The use of the map in illustrating other points referred to in the volume 386
III. A plan of Oxford chiefly to illustrate Chapter XI. 387
The line of the ancient boundary of the city 387
The churches and the parish boundaries 387

APPENDIX E.

Addenda and Corrigenda.

Ingulph made to come up to Oxford (p. 43) 389
Examples of the name Alfgar, from a MS. and from charters given in Ingulph (p. 97) 390

PAGE

Ælfred's sovereignty over Mercia (p. 127) 391
Bishops of Dorchester: Alheard, Ceolwulf, Æscwin, &c. (p. 138) . . 391
Death of Bishop Sideman at Kirtlington (p. 140) 392
The story of the stolen bridle and the interference of Winsige, Reeve of Oxford (p. 140) 392
The pilgrimage of the Oxford citizen to the tomb of Æthelwold (p. 140) . 393
The Laws promulgated at Woodstock, at Wantage, and at Ensham (p. 153) 394
Death of Eadnoth, Bishop of Dorchester (p. 172) 395
Bishops Ethelric and Wulfwi (p. 172) 395
William of Malmesbury's account of Remigius (p. 217) 396
Charter of William Rufus to Ensham respecting their Oxford property (p. 242) 396
The names of the moneyers at Oxford during the reigns of William and William II. (p. 269) 397

INDEX chiefly of Persons and Places 399

INDEX of Authors and MSS. referred to 413

A PLAN OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF OXFORD CHIEFLY TO ILLUSTRATE CHAPTER III . . . . . *At end.*

A PLAN OF OXFORD CHIEFLY TO ILLUSTRATE CHAPTER XI . . „

THE
EARLY HISTORY OF OXFORD.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

To the question 'At what date does the history of Oxford begin?' more than one answer may be given; and they will vary according to the sense in which the term history is used and the method which has been adopted in investigating it. Many seem unconsciously to accept certain myths, which although they do not appear to have had their existence before the close of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century, are so intermingled with the real history in the literature of succeeding centuries that without considerable care it is impossible to distinguish the two; while some, although admitting their mythical character, seem to think that the stories should be accepted 'generally,' on the ground that so many writers of note, and learned in their generation, have unequivocally endorsed them, and that they, therefore, ought not now to be wholly set aside. Those who adopt such as history would give the name of Mempric as the founder of Oxford, and the date B.C. 1009 as that of the foundation of the city: while as to the University some would say that it depended either upon the date when the Greek philosophers arrived at Greeklade, or when they were transferred to Oxford; others, discarding a portion of the myth (and not observing that the whole hangs together, or falls together), would insist upon Alfred being if not the restorer, at least the founder of the University, and therefore that it should be dated to begin from the year 873 or thereabouts.

But others, while throwing aside such fables, would contend that the History of a place does not begin with its first mention in public annals. Taking a philosophical view, they would hold that Oxford, following the natural laws which have governed the growth of most cities, owes its origin to some original settler or settlers, who have left

no trace of their name, and that the precise period when this took place or the race to which these hypothetical settlers belonged are to be conjectured only by taking a general survey of the district, and bringing to bear upon it what records may exist in the early chronicles of the country. This course of argument, though in principle theoretical, still involves several historical considerations and differs altogether from the mythical, which has been before referred to. But from the nature of the evidence no exact date at all would be assigned.

Besides the mythical and the theoretical origin of Oxford, there is the legendary, and with those who accept this as history there is a date which with reason may be insisted on, namely the year 727 (or thereabouts), at which time there is some evidence for fixing the foundation of a nunnery upon the spot now occupied by Christ Church. It might further be claimed that the foundation of such an establishment implies the existence of some 'vill,' and that from this date onwards Oxford had a place in the pages of the real history of the country.

Lastly, there is the truly historical method, in following which not only myth but also legend are set on one side, and only facts duly recorded in documents of undoubtedly genuine character are adduced in evidence. The answer which would be given to those who follow this method would be that the history of Oxford cannot be traced further back than A.D. 912 when King Edward the Elder took possession of the place. By these it would however be at once conceded that there were habitations here before that date, and that Oxford had already received a name, the same or similar to that recorded in the chronicle, but this concession would not be destructive of the view that the known date should be assigned as that of the beginning of the actual history of Oxford.

The mythical history, possessing unlimited powers of expansion and being perhaps more attractive in its character from appearing more wonderful, has assumed an importance which renders it absolutely impossible to deal with it according to its intrinsic merits. It may be said to have supplanted the real history of the beginning of Oxford, and in consequence, although it is felt that the investigation of the growth of the myth is a waste of time, and that printing an account of the controversy as to the relative antiquity of the two Universities is a waste of space, and the whole business tedious and irritating, still it has been thought necessary before giving the historical date touching the rise of Oxford to deal with these myths, and point out, as far as

may be, their origin, and the part they played in the controversy which took place in Elizabeth's reign (and was at times continued by writers down to the eighteenth century if not later) in order to clear the ground for discussing the evidence we possess bearing upon the real history of the town of Oxford. So closely however connected with the myth of Mempric are the myths respecting Greeklade and the foundation of the University of Oxford before the time of Alfred, that they cannot be separated, and the restoration by that king of the University and the foundation of University College, as guessed by some, and the foundation of the University itself by others, follow on so closely that in taking either a view of the mythical history of Oxford or of the controversies this latter part cannot be omitted.

It will be found therefore that several pages are devoted to this question, on the one hand far more than it at all deserves, but on the other far less than the part it plays in the literature of the subject might seem to demand.

Next, although it is not supposed that there were any dwellings on the actual site of Oxford during the time of the Roman invasion or occupation of Britain, it has been thought well to point out the relation which that site bore to the historical events which we find narrated concerning this part of the country; and also its position in respect to the historical memorials of the neighbourhood, namely, those which the soil affords, either in the ancient roads which can be traced, or the camps which can still be seen, or the remains which are from time to time brought to the surface by excavations.

Next, it has been thought well to continue such remarks during the times of the Saxon settlement, for though Oxford is not mentioned by name, nor is there any reason to associate the spot with any event recorded till 727 when a nunnery was perhaps founded there, still as there is reason to suppose that it had its beginning in this period such remarks will not be out of place, but in accordance with the views of those who hold that only a theoretical origin can reasonably be assigned to the town, and that the foundation of S. Frideswide's nunnery only implies its previous existence.

In treating of the foundation of S. Frideswide's it has been thought necessary to touch upon such details of her life as show the legendary character of the biographies of the Saint which we possess, and from them to deduce all that can be reasonably deduced to support the story of the foundation; but it is not intended to supply a complete narrative of her adventures and miracles; such will no doubt be hereafter written. After this, as we find Oxford named in the legend,

though not in direct records, it will be spoken of as having a definite existence; and the history of the surrounding district will be briefly touched upon, reflecting as it does some light, though but little, upon the probable trials of a border town.

In 912 we find Oxford named in the pages of the chronicles in connection with the fortifications erected on all the chief rivers, in order to afford protection against the ravages of the Danes.

When this latter date is reached it will be found that in the successive chronicles, which if not always absolutely contemporary still exhibit by their internal evidence that they are copied from authentic and genuine sources, the name of Oxford frequently appears: not perhaps so frequently as might have been expected considering the length of period, nor as we certainly should have wished; still sufficiently so to justify an attempt to weave a history which shall represent something of a view of Oxford as it stood in its relation to the political events of the kingdom during the century and a half which preceded the Norman Conquest.

CHAPTER II.

THE MYTHICAL ORIGIN OF OXFORD.

No chronicle properly so called appears to be extant in which the Chronicler associates King Mempric with Oxford before that of the *Historia Regum Angliae*, by John Rous[1] or Rosse, a chantry priest of Warwick. He wrote his chronicle at the close of the fifteenth century, bringing it down to the birth of Prince Arthur, A.D. 1486, and in it he introduces this story.

'About this time Samuel the servant of God was judge in Judaea; and King Magdan had two sons; that is to say Mempricius and Malun. The younger of the two having been treacherously killed by the elder, he left the kingdom to the fratricide. He (Mempricius) was a man full of envy and cruelty, and according to that passage in the second of Proverbs[2], 'Anger hath no mercy,' so had he none, but he was against every one and every one was against him. This Mempricius entered upon his rule as a monarch badly, and he continued his rule still worse by killing his nobles. At length, in the twentieth year of his reign, he was surrounded by a large pack of very savage wolves, and being torn and devoured by them, ended his existence in a horrible manner. Nothing good is related of him except that he begot an honest son and heir by name Ebrancus, and built one noble city which he called from his own name *Caer-Memre*, but which afterwards, in course of time, was called *Bellisitum*, then *Caerbossa*, at length *Ridoben*, and last of all *Oxonia*, or by the Saxons *Oxenfordia*, from a certain egress out of a neighbouring ford; which name it bears to the present day. There arose here in after years an universal and noble seat of learning, derived from the renowned University of *Grek-laad*.

'It is situated between the rivers Thames and Charwell which meet there. This city, just as Jerusalem, has, to all appearance, been changed; for as Mount Calvary, when Christ was crucified, was just outside the walls of the city, and now is contained within the circuit of the walls; so also there is now a large level space outside Oxford contiguous to the walls of the town which is called Belmount, and which means beautiful mount; and this in a certain way agrees with one of the older names of the city before named and recited; that is to say, Bellisitum; whence many are of opinion that the University from

[1] According to Leland John Rous died January 24, 1491.

[2] No such passage occurs in the second chapter of Proverbs. The nearest is chap. xxvii. 4.

> Greklad was transferred to this very *Bellus mons* or *Bellesitum* before the coming of the Saxons, and while the Britons ruled in the island; and the church of S. Giles, which was dedicated under the name of some other saint, was the place for the creation of graduates, as now is the Church of S. Mary which is within the walls. Of this noble University I shall touch more fully when I come to the times of King Alfred[1].'

No words are needed to point out the absurdities of a history such as is here recorded; whether judged by the circumstances themselves when taken in connection with what is known of the early history of this country from classical writers, or in respect of the improbabilities which at once suggest themselves of any records having been preserved independent of the material which those writers used. It may however be useful to attempt to trace the sources of his compilation as far as possible and expose the true character of his work, since his story represents fairly the substance of the myth which has found its way into nearly every work relating to the history of Oxford.

And first it will be well to consider the character of the chronicle and how far the chronicler may be trusted. Although the title of his book in which the passage about Oxford occurs, is 'a history of the Kings of England,' Rous begins with Genesis as his first authority. The paragraph at the bottom of the second folio (the first being taken up with his preface), will as clearly as any other show how ready the author is to take all that comes, and how much or rather how little of the critical faculty he exhibits in weighing evidence before inserting any story into his chronicle.

> 'Of other cities built before the Deluge, Moses is silent; but the famous Bernard of Breydenbach, Dean and Chamberlain of the Cathedral Church of Mayence, in his Itinerary to the Holy Land[2], ... writes that before Noah's Deluge there were eight noble cities erected as human safeguards against that deluge which was about to happen,' &c. &c.[3]

After various dissertations, consisting partly of extracts derived from the literature with which he was acquainted, and partly of the expressions of his own fancies, he comes on the seventeenth folio of his

[1] Joannis Rossi Antiquarii Warwicensis *Historia*, Cottonian MS., Vespasian A xii. fo. 11 a. Hearne's Edition, Oxon, 1745, p. 21. For the sake of convenience the references to the pages of Hearne's printed edition are added, and the passage in the original Latin is given, Appendix A, § 1.

[2] The book referred to is *Peregrinatio Hierosolymitana ad Sepulcrum Domini, et Katheriniana ad montem Sinai*, &c., Moguntt. 1486. Other editions 1490, 1502; but it was the first edition which Rous must have used when writing his chronicle, which he ends with the very year of its publication.

[3] Rous, MS. fo. 2 a, Hearne's ed. p. 3. Appendix A, § 2.

chronicle to the time of Brutus, and here he takes for his authority the Romance of Geoffrey of Monmouth, compiled in the twelfth century. This on the one hand he summarises (often inaccurately), on the other he often interpolates, to all appearance, absolutely out of his own imagination. It will convey more clearly than any words can convey to the reader an idea of the character of his work in these respects to give a passage or two from Geoffrey of Monmouth, for the sake of comparison; and a portion of the passage whence he has derived his account of Mempric, which has already been quoted, will serve as well as any other for this purpose. Geoffrey of Monmouth had written:—

> 'Then Samuel the prophet reigned in Judaea, and Silvius Aeneas was still living. And Homer was esteemed a famous orator and poet. Maddan, who was now invested with the crown, had by his wife two sons, Mempric and Malim, and governed the kingdom peaceably and diligently for forty years. When he died there arose a quarrel between the said brothers respecting the kingdom, and each one strove to possess the whole island. [The details of the treachery are then described, and also the iniquities of Mempric.] . . . .
>
> 'At length [Mempric] in the twentieth year of his reign, in order to engage in hunting, retired from his companions into a certain valley, where he was surrounded by a number of ravenous wolves and was devoured in a horrible manner. Then Saul was reigning in Judaea and Eurysthenes in Lacedaemonia[1].'

It will be seen on comparison how much Rous has expanded the original material, for no part of the passage which has been previously quoted from Rous is contained in Geoffrey's Romance excepting that Ebraucus (which either Rous or the transcriber has turned into Ebrancus) is named as a good king as well as the builder of York. It is possible too that Rous did not follow Geoffrey of Monmouth at first hand, but may have used one of those numerous chronicles, which are more or less an expansion of Geoffrey's Romance, according to the fancy or the ability of the chronicler. With regard to his statement that this Mempric (whoever he was or from whatever source Geoffrey of Monmouth originally obtained the name) was the founder of Oxford, it would be quite consistent with the general character of his work to attribute it to Rous's own invention. He seems, no doubt with praiseworthy intentions, to think it useful and expedient and in no way detrimental to history, to associate certain names with certain cities on etymological or other grounds, following in

[1] Geoffrey of Monmouth, lib. ii. cap. 6. There have been several editions of Geoffrey's British History. The most accessible perhaps is Galfredi Monumetensis *Historia Britonum*, ed. J. A. Giles, 8vo., London, 1844. The MS. copies are exceedingly numerous. See Appendix A, § 3.

this his guide Geoffrey of Monmouth, though the latter seems as often to invent the name of a person[1] to fit the place as to find a place to fit some given name of a person. For instance, when Geoffrey of Monmouth writes about the victories of Brennius and Belinus, he makes out that the latter 'erected a gate of wonderful workmanship which from his name the citizens at this time call Belinesgate[2].' It is not necessary to criticise Geoffrey's so-called history, or to enquire whether by Brennius he means Brennus, the Gallic general; practically all that is to the purpose is to observe how Rous handles the passage. He takes the substance, but finding that Geoffrey has a character to whom he has omitted to give a city, he adds 'Brennus built Bristol,' and then adds parenthetically, as it were, 'the place of Brend[3].'

But such foolish guesses passed for science, and unfortunately a fiction of one generation passed for history in the next. In one sense it is more pardonable perhaps that in the case of his own town Warwick, when he found no notice of it in the early times to which Geoffrey's Romance relates, and esteeming the antiquity of a place to be amongst its chief glories, he should attempt to discover a history for it even at the expense of another place; still, though he may have thought it meritorious we can scarcely think it even justifiable that he should make the gratuitous assertion that the city of Warwick *was also called Caerleon*, according to our Gildas[4]. It is, perhaps, needless to say that Gildas says nothing to warrant the assertion, that what is said about Caerleon does apply to Warwick, but the statement being once made, it has been of course followed by later writers and relied upon as evidence even by the learned and laborious Dugdale[5].

It must be remembered also that Rous did not stand alone; he is only an example of others, before and afterwards, whose mistaken zeal has so much corrupted the early history of this country, that the facts have been sometimes lost sight of beneath the fables.

[1] For instance, following in the wake of the story which makes Brutus to found Britain, he invents (Book II. § 1) Kamber to fit Cambria or Wales, and Albanactus to fit Albania, or Scotland, and Locrinus to fit Loegria. In the next section he makes Humber to be a king of the Huns for the sake of drowning him in the river which bears his name. In the next we have mentioned Corineus, who had already received Cornubia, 'which was either derived from the Latin *Cornu*, or from his name.' In the next we have Estrildis, whose daughter was called Sabren, and being thrown into the river Severn, it was thence called Sabrina.

[2] Geoffrey of Monmouth, lib. iii. § 10. Appendix A, § 4.

[3] Rous MS., fol. 13 a, ed. p. 25. Appendix A, § 5.

[4] Rous MS. fol. 14 a, ed. p. 26. Appendix A, § 6.

[5] Dugdale's *History of Warwickshire*, fol., London, 1656, p. 260.

Although the examples already given from Rous might be deemed sufficient to show the worthless character of the chronicle on which we have to rely as being the first to introduce us to the founder of Oxford, it will be convenient to give one more, since it plays an important part in the controversy which was carried on in connection with the respective antiquity of the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and which for certain reasons will be referred to somewhat fully later on.

Geoffrey of Monmouth[1] has introduced a story of how a king, Gurguntius Brabtruc[2] by name, who succeeded Brennius, conquered Dacia, and on his return home through the Orkney islands, found that thirty ships filled with men and women which had sailed from Spain had arrived. Their leader Partholoim informed him that they had been driven out from their country and that they were Barclenses. He gave them Ireland, which was then uninhabited, and where they flourished and which they have occupied, as Geoffrey says, 'to the present day.'

Rous takes the substance of the passage, and then, after the statement that Gurguntius gave Ireland to their chief Partholoim (which he writes Partholaym), he tacks on the story of the foundation of Cambridge in the following words:—

> 'And he (i.e. King Gurguncius) retained with him their chief's brother, by name Ganteber, the rightful heir to Cantebra, one of the Spanish cities; and he gave him together with his daughter in marriage a tract of land in East Anglia, where as those of Cambridge write, he built a city upon the river "*Cant*" about *Anno Mundi* 4317; and because he was most erudite he gathered around him learned men and began that place of study for himself which in our days flourishes with high honour, and this city from his son *Grantinus* who made there a bridge was called Caergrant or, according to others Grauntcestre, and is now called Cambryge, and is the capital of the surrounding country[3].'

Here we find introduced into his chronicle what may be called the Cambridge myth, which was relied upon by the disputant on one side in the controversy above referred to. It will be found that the Oxford and Cambridge myths appear to run in many respects *pari passu*. The evidence, however, points to Rous being more responsible for assigning

[1] Geoffrey of Monmouth, lib. iii. § 12.

[2] Here is a remarkable instance of Geoffrey's invention of names. It is impossible to look through his long lists (and he is fond of making such, e.g. he gives the names of the twenty sons and of the thirty daughters of King Ebrancus) without seeing that they are inventions mainly produced by perversions of known names. From whatever source he obtained the Gurguntius—the Brabtruc is simply Curtbarb or Shortbeard, some nickname spelt backwards.

[3] Rous MS., fol. 13 b, ed. p. 25. See Appendix A, § 7.

Oxford to Mempric than for assigning Cambridge to the mythical Cantaber, which looks like a local production, Rous being only the transcriber, since he particularly notes 'ut scribunt Cantabrigienses.'

As to Oxford, however, the founding of the *City* by Mempric does not involve the founding of the *University* at this date. The latter is said to have been transplanted hither from 'Greklade' in after years, and this part of the story which Rous has woven into his own occurs perhaps in the earliest form in a treatise commonly called the Oxford *Historiola*. It will be best first of all to give this, or at least so much of it as affects the present question, and then afterwards to say something about its age. It runs:—

> '*The Transference of the University from place to place.*
>
> 'By the concurrent testimony of several chronicles, many places throughout different parts of the world are said at various times to have gained repute in the promotion of the study of the various sciences. But the University of Oxford is found to be earlier as to foundation, more general in the number of sciences taught, firmer in the profession of Catholic Truth, and more distinguished for the multitude of its privileges, than all other *Studia* now existing amongst the Latins. Very ancient British Histories imply the priority of its foundation, for it is related that amongst the warlike Trojans, when with their leader Brutus they triumphantly seized upon the island, then called Albion, next Britain, and lastly England, certain Philosophers came and chose a suitable place of habitation in this island, on which the Philosophers who had been Greek bestowed a name which they have left behind them as a record of their presence, and which exists to the present day, that is to say Grekelade.
>
> 'Not far from this it is known that the town of Oxford is situated, which because of the pleasantness of the rivers, meadows and woods adjoining it, antiquity formerly named Bellesitum; afterwards the Saxon people named it Oxford from a certain neighbouring ford so called, and selected it as a place of study[1].'

This *Historiola* is found at the commencement of three different books preserved in the Archives of the University. The earliest is the 'Chancellor or Commissary's Book.' This appears to have been written in the time of Edward III, and to all appearance towards the

[1] From the Chancellor's Book, etc., in Oxford, compared with a copy in the Cottonian Library. Printed in *Munimenta Academica*, ed. Anstey, Rolls Series, vol. ii. p. 367. The paragraph ends with a rhetorical flourish scarcely translateable, but the meaning of which is perhaps as follows:—

The excessive profusion indeed of the sciences there taught is the more clearly seen, in proportion as in other Universities (*Studia*) attention is so exclusively given to one or more sciences that either several, or at least some one seems to be omitted; at Oxford, on the other hand, each one is so taught that a science which is there rejected may be regarded as undeserving of the name. Appendix A, § 8.

end rather than the beginning of the reign. A charter of the 49th of Edward III [1375] seems to belong to the same writing as the original book, but additions of various kinds bring the contents down to a charter of *Inspeximus* of Queen Elizabeth, dated 1575, about which time the book was bound up in the condition in which it is now left.

The two other books preserved in the Oxford Archives are of a still later date, being copies of the former, and they throw therefore no light upon the matter. The Cottonian Manuscript—which is in a good clear hand, and to all appearance the same throughout—is a copy made from the Oxford book, probably for the private use of the Chancellor, and soon after 1411, since that appears to be the date, so far as has been observed, of the most recent documents included. The title given is '*Statuta Privilegia et Consuetudines Universitatis Oxoniensis, una cum Literis et Chartis Regiis.*' Bound up with it at the end is a finely written copy of the Postils of Wycliffe, but there appears no reason why the two should have been originally associated together, nor are they written by the same hand.

This *Historiola* probably contains the earliest form of that portion of the myth which relates to the Greek Philosophers accompanying Brutus and the Trojans, and fixing on Greek-lade as the place of residence, though no doubt previous to this the sound of the name Cricklade had suggested a derivation which commended itself to the minds of greek scholars, and so readily laid the foundation of this ridiculous myth.

It may seem hardly worth bestowing any serious consideration on so palpable an etymological fancy, but the constant repetition has perhaps given it a position which involves a word or two as to the name of the place. The name occurs in the A.S. Chronicles under the years 905 and 1016, in connection with Danish incursions. It is variously spelt according to the various editions *Crecca-gelade, Crac-gelade, Creace-gelade, Creocc-gelade, Cre-gelade, Cric-gelade, Craeci-lade, Creca-lade.* It also occurs in a copy of a will, preserved in the Hyde Abbey Chronicle, made by a certain Ethelmar, an ealdorman, who bequeathed property to the New Minster or Winchester, and to other places. He gives, amongst many other bequests, two pounds to Malmesbury, one pound to Bath, and one pound to *Crac-gelade.* The writer has given a Latin translation of the will, and a version in the English of the period at which he wrote: in the former it is 'unam libram ecclesiae[1] de *Crike-*

[1] This word 'ecclesia' is an interpolation, as the name appears in common with several others to which the word 'monasterium' is applied. There was probably some college of priests attached to the church here, but it had nothing to do with the Priory, which was founded about 1100.

lade,' in the latter 'on pund in to Crykelade.' The will is not dated, but the probabilities are it is that of an ealdorman whose death we find recorded in the Chronicles under the year 982[1].

The next references we have to the spelling are in the Domesday Survey, where it is spelt *Criche-lade* throughout several examples. It would appear that the Burgesses of Cricklade for some reason paid rent to many different manors. But the prefix to the *gelade* or *lade* (i. e. a way or channel as regards water, a lode as regards mineral veins) is simply *creeca*[2], a *creek*, i. e. a bay, and probably used as a wharf for boats loading and unloading. It was evidently a town of some importance during the tenth century, but no record whatever, directly or indirectly, refers to any circumstances which would have suggested the story otherwise than the name.

It is, however, true that the word Greek is sometimes written in Saxon *creac*, and *Creca-rice* appears to be used for the kingdom of the Greeks, yet the origin of the conceit has been, no doubt, from the form of *Cricke*, i. e. *Crick*-lade, which in rapid pronunciation sounds like '*Greek*.' That was probably the source of the whole story about the Philosophers coming to Greeklade at some unknown period before Britain was visited by Julius Caesar. There can be little reason to doubt that the story in the *Historiola* formed the groundwork of Rous' addition to Geoffrey of Monmouth's fiction about Gurguntius, since Rous, as is shown by incidental remarks in his 'History,' was once a scholar in Oxford[3], and was curious in such matters.

[1] The words of the *Liber de Hyda*, Rolls Series, London, 1866, p. 254, are: 'This same year died two ealdormen, Aethelmar in Hampshire and Eadwin in Sussex, and Aethelmar's body lies at Winchester, for the will contains these words, "I give first of all to God for my soul, to the new monastery at Winchester where it is my will that I shall rest, a hundred mancuses of gold." The will from other evidence must be of about the date, and it is not probable that there were two ealdormen of Wessex of about the same time of the name of Aethelmar and both buried at Winchester.'

[2] So Creccanforda—now Crayford in Kent.

[3] Rous, in his *Historia*, Hearne's ed. p. 5, refers to John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, who, he says, was 'a co-scholar' of his in the University of Oxford. Very frequently elsewhere throughout his *Historia* he refers to the time when he was at Oxford, sometimes by implication, sometimes directly, e.g. 'and ordered it to be called the "Little Hall of the University," and thus it was so called in my days (p. 77). 'As I saw, in a certain chronicle at Oseney near Oxford, while I was a scholar there' (p. 100). 'And I well recollect while I was at the schools at Oxford, King Henry VI, when he came to these parts, was wont to take up his abode with the said Friars' (p. 192). 'And at the time when I was there at the schools a part of the marble cross fell' (p. 202). 'This ordinance I saw when I was a boy in Oxford, but as I was then only of youthful age (*minoris aetatis*), I have not retained so long in my memory what I saw' (p. 208).

But we have not accounted for all his story: there is still the fiction of the University, like Jerusalem, having been once outside the walls on the north of Oxford, and for the probable source of this we must look to another MS. earlier than Rous's time, and possibly even anterior to the addition of the *Historiola* to the Oxford Registers. It is from the Hyde Abbey Chronicle, and runs as follows:—

> 'Which University of Oxford was once without the North gate of that city, and the church of St. Giles was the chief church of all the clerks (clerus) outside the said gate. But now it is within the walls of the city of Oxford and the church of St. Mary is the principal church of the clerks within the said city. And this transference took place in the 28th year of the reign of King Edward the third after the conquest, in the year of our Lord, one thousand three hundred and fifty-four. And the reason of this transference was as follows[1]:'

The paragraph above quoted follows on immediately after one attributing the beginning of the University of Oxford to A.D. 886, i. e. the early years of the reign of King Alfred, and has therefore nothing to do with the story of the Greek philosophers migrating from Greeklade. Rous, however, has ignored this, and ingeniously combined the two, and herein we seem to obtain a glimpse at the manner of the growth of the myth into the more complete form in which we find it in his pages.

As to the story, however, which the Hyde Abbey Chronicler has given us, it is of no value in respect to the early history of Oxford, since it is too slight to enable us to judge of the circumstances which prompted the insertion of the paragraph; and the reason given by the writer for the transference of the University, namely, that it was in consequence of the fight between the clerks and the citizens, which took place on S. Scholastica's day, A.D. 1354, simply shows that he has heard some wonderful story, and confused it: we have a very full account of this riot (accompanied as it was by much bloodshed), based on evidence of a most trustworthy kind, namely depositions by the several authorities; and there is nothing in the account to justify the story of any transference of the University from the north to within the city gates.

The particular reference also to the twenty-eighth year of King Edward III after the Conquest is proof that it belongs to a date late in the century, for the style is scarcely that which the chronicler would have adopted of a reigning monarch; and further, the statement, so contrary to well-known fact, that the University did not find its way

[1] *Liber Monasterii de Hyda.* Rolls Series, London, 1866, p. 41. App. A, § 9.

within the walls of Oxford till the year 1354, and that then S. Mary's church, as is implied, for the first time became the University church, points to some date for the story when the event referred to was beyond the remembrance of living persons[1].

In analysing, however, the mythical story as imported into the dated chronicle of Rous, and in attempting to discover the source of the several portions, we meet with a curious form of the Cricklade conceit which must be quoted. It is just possible that it is of a date as early as, if not earlier than, the reference to the place in the *Historiola*, added to the Chancellor's books of the University, and already given.

The passage occurs in a chronicle to which several dates, as well as titles, have been assigned, but it is usually known as the *Chronicon Jornallense* (or Jorvallense), i. e. of Jervaulx, a monastery in Yorkshire, founded in 1156; and the authorship is usually attributed to John Brompton, one of the abbots. It runs as follows:—

> 'Whence about the same time [i. e. temp. King Alfred] according to the opinion of some, and the common saying of both ancient and modern writers, it is thought that a University [*studium*] was founded at Grant-chester near Cambridge by the venerable Bede: which can very readily be believed, both for and from the fact that afterwards in the time of Charles the Great, King of France, one reads that a seat of learning was transferred from Rome to Paris by one Alquin, an Englishman, a disciple of Bede, exercised in all learning as will hereafter be told more fully.
>
> 'Also it has been already recorded that Erpwald, King of East Anglia [A.D. 624–29] the son of King Redwald, before he had been made king, and while he was an exile in Gaul, instituted, with the help of S. Felix the Bishop, schools for boys, such as he had seen there. But according to some, still before these times there were two seats of learning in England, one for Latin and the other for Greek, of which the Greeks placed one at *Greglade*, which is now called *Kirkelade*, and there for a time taught the Greek tongue. The other, however, the Latins placed at Latinelade which is now called *Lechelade* near Oxford, teaching there the Latin tongue[2].'

[1] It may be added that in one place the author quotes the *Polychronicon* of Ralph Higden, which was not completed till 1357; and this again tends to throw the MS. towards the end of the century. The handwriting, too, is of late character, so much so that the Chronicle might even have been written early in the following century.

[2] *Chronicon* [Joannis Brompton] *abbatis Jornalensis sub anno DCCCLXXXVI.* Cottonian MS. Tiberius, c. xiii. folio 36 b. Printed in Twisden's *Decem Scriptores*, London, 1652, col. 814. The earliest MS. of this Chronicle extant, i. e. that in the Cottonian collection, is written to all appearance in a rather late fifteenth century hand, and being one of those which suffered in the fire, no traces are left of any reference to the history of the MS., by whom copied, or any date by which to ascribe it to any particular monastery. It is probably not a contemporary

It is a misfortune that more has not been discovered to fix the exact date of this chronicle, as the passage contains not only the Greeklade conceit, but its etymological companion [1]. At the same time it includes an early mention (if not the earliest found in any chronicle) of the story of Bishop Felix, which belongs to the Cambridge myth, and which may be said to occupy the same place in the Cambridge series as the invention concerning King Alfred occupies in the Oxford series.

It is however generally considered to be a chronicle compiled in the time of Edward III [2]. It contains matter which certainly shows it to have been written not earlier than that reign, but it does not appear to be referred to by other chroniclers till we reach Leland in Henry VIII's reign. But if it is correctly ascribed to Abbot Brompton, we are met by this difficulty. In the list of the abbots of Jervaulx, as compiled by Dugdale, two John Bromptons are given, viz. one who was appointed in A.D. 1193, the other elected in 1436 [3]. The first of these dates is out of the question [4]; and though nothing has been observed which directly militates against the chronicle being of the time of the second abbot of the name of Brompton, on the whole it is probably earlier, and, as Twisden suggests, it is so called not necessarily from Abbot Brompton having written it, but from his name having appeared in connection with it. As the Greeklade conceit was probably the earlier of the two, and gave rise to that of Latinlade, it would have been interesting to have traced how far back the invention could be

MS., i.e. one written under the author's supervision. The reason why it is ascribed to John Brompton is not clear. It is so by Twisden, and the Cottonian MS. is avowedly the MS. which Twisden used in transcribing the work for his *Decem Scriptores*, yet on the face of the MS. itself there is no reason, so far as has been observed, for ascribing it to that author. Appendix A, § 10.

[1] There is no instance, so far as has been observed, of this name occurring before the Domesday Survey, and in this it is spelt *Lecelade*. But as it is situated close by the spot where the river *Leach* joins the Thames, there can be no difficulty as to the name, nor any reason to suppose that there was any form which more nearly approached the word 'Latin' than that in which it appears now. The reason of the river being called the Leach (on which two villages of the name of Leach are situated) is open to discussion; but the word *Lech*, it may be observed, occurs in the names of other places, e.g. Leckhampton near Cheltenham, and Leckhampstead in Berkshire.

[2] It is so by Twisden in his prefatory remarks, and others have followed him.

[3] Dugdale, new ed., vol. v. p. 567. The only authority he gives for 1193 is Browne Willis. For 1436 the reference is to a series of extracts from the York Registers made in 1702, and in the Harleian Collection. (MS. 6972, fol. 29.)

[4] Only one writer has been observed to attribute it to this date, and that is the author of the Life of S. Frideswide in the *Acta Sanctorum*, October, vol. viii. p. 534.

carried. No other writer as early as the fourteenth century seems to have heard of it.

The above passages, it is believed, represent the only authorities for the myth of the Mempric origin of the City or of the Greek origin of the University before the close of the fifteenth century, when, as has been seen, they have been gathered up by Rous into one connected story.

In the controversy, of which an account will be given, it is asserted that Leland in the sixteenth century supported the story; but the reference is very unsatisfactory, for the reason that in all his books which have been printed there is nothing of the kind, although there would have been several opportunities for him to introduce the story if he had believed it; but it would appear from passages in his *Collectanea* and in the Notes to his *Cygnea Cantio* that he thought Alfred to have been the founder of the University of Oxford. The passage, however, the controversialists adduce, is supposed to be a MS. marginal note which Leland made on a copy of Polydore Virgil to this effect:—

> 'He affirms that he had read in some writers of British History of great antiquity, that in the times of the Britons both Greek and Latin Schools flourished "*ad vadum Isidis*[1]," and that they were destroyed during the wars and were not restored till the time of Alfred[2].'

But Bryan Twyne is supposed to quote the same passage to prove that Leland held this view, for he says it is from a marginal note to Polydore Virgil; yet on comparison his transcript of the note turns out to be very different, and runs thus:—

> 'There were in the times of the Britons, Greek and Latin schools "*ad ripas Isidis*" of which the names in a corrupt way remain to this day; which the Preceptors of the place attracted by the pleasantness of the place transferred it to Caleva, where the pious Alfred restored learning to its pristine seat[3].'

[1] This is a term for Oxford which Leland frequently uses, meaning thereby 'Ouse-ford.'

[2] *Assertio Antiquitatis Oxon.*, Hearne's ed. p. 279.

[3] Bryan Twyne, *Antiq. Oxon. Apologia*, Oxoniae, 1608, p. 114. By Caleva here is meant Oxford; but Leland, in his Commentary on the *Cygnea Cantio*, says very distinctly, 'Mea plane opinio semper sit, atque adeo nunc est, Calevam eam fuisse urbem quae nunc Walengaforde dicitur.' This seems rather to conflict with the passage being Leland's; but Bryan Twyne gives another passage which he states Leland wrote: 'The ancient Britons had two schools flourishing in rhetoric and in all kinds of learning, of which one was called Greeke-lade from teaching the Greek language, and the other Latinelade from teaching the Latin, but now corruptly their names are Crekelade and Lechelade.' The only reference to the passage is, 'Haec Lelandus, apud Baleum, in Vita Regis Alfredi Magni.' It is thought well to give all these passages in the Appendix, as quoted, though their source has not been traced. Appendix A, § 11.

As neither of the writers say where the copy of Polydore Virgil was preserved, it is impossible to decide which is the right extract, or whether it fulfils the purpose of its quotation. Leland may well have seen Brompton's Chronicle, but he would not speak of it as a British author '*mirae antiquitatis.*'

There are, however, besides these, other etymological myths of less importance, but of which it is more difficult to discover the exact authority or the way in which they came into existence.

The *Bellesitum* is one of these; it is obviously a latinization of the French name of Beaumont—a name probably given to the site at the time Henry I built his palace there. The numerous Beaumonts in France attest the French origin of such a name, while there are several to be noted in England; but whether he called it after any Beaumont where he had resided when in Normandy, or from the pleasant appearance of the rising ground, cannot, of course, be decided. When the country was open, and before the houses were built, the slope towards St. Giles' would have had a 'pleasant aspect' from the western side of Oxford, and also from the eastern along the banks of the Cherwell. The name of Bellesitum[1], however, so far as has been observed, was not applied to Oxford by any writer till Rous, and the idea no doubt implied would be that if Oxford had a Latin name, that name would have been given by the Romans, and that would make it a Roman city. At the same time, Rous might have heard the King's palace spoken of as 'Bellesitum' by the Carmelite friars, to whom Edward II had granted the royal palace and its appurtenances.

The *Caer-bossa* and *Ridohen* (or Rhyd-ychen) myth is clearly to be traced to Geoffrey's Romance, who has applied one of his fanciful names to Oxford, though Rous has the credit, such as it is, of first introducing the fancy into a chronicle. Geoffrey's story is supposed to take place in the sixth century, that is, if any date can be ascribed at all to King Arthur, and he narrates that after this King had refused to pay tribute to the Romans, he assembled an army from Iceland, Ireland, Gothland, the Orkneys, and Denmark; then had gone over to Gaul—to the mouth of the river Barba (wherever that is), and then, to quote Geoffrey:—

> 'When all the forces, which Arthur anticipated, had assembled, he went thence to Augustodunum, where he thought that their General

[1] It is, however, a common form of latizination: e. g. of the various abbeys in France bearing the name of Beaupré, the name is written in the charters Bellipratum. So our Beaumaris is written in mediæval Latin Bello-mariscus, and Beaulieu in Hampshire De Belloloco, just as Rewley, established beneath the slopes of Beaumont in the thirteenth century, is in the charters called De Regali-loco.

was, and when he came to the river Alba, it was told to him that he had pitched his camp not very far off, and that he was advancing with so large an army that Arthur (as they said) would not be able to resist. But he was not on this account so frightened as to retire from his undertaking, but pitched his camp upon the bank of the river, so that he might be able readily to bring up his forces, and if there should be necessity secure a retreat for them. He, however, sent forward to Lucius Tiberius, two consuls, Boso *Devadoboum* and Guerin of Chartres (*Guerinum Carnotensem*), and Walganius, his own grandson, to propose to him either to leave the territory of Gaul, or the next day to come and try which of them had the most right in Gaul.'

A little later on, Guerin of Chartres exhibits a signal act of bravery:—

'Boso Devadoboum therefore was envious that the man of Chartres gave proof of so much valour, and wheeling about his horse struck his lance into the throat of the first man he met, and obliged him—mortally wounded as he was—to get off his horse, so that he could not pursue him[1].'

This, then, is the chief mention of Boso *Devadoboum*, and it is not necessary to recount more of his exploits in the battle-field. All that is to be borne in mind is, that the fanciful name occurs in a fanciful description of a fight in Gaul against a Roman General (or Emperor), Lucius Tiberius—all the circumstances of which are absolutely opposed to known history. This Tiberius had called to his assistance the kings of the Grecians, of the Africans, of the Parthians, of the Medes, of the Lybians, &c.—in fact, all the eastern countries which Geoffrey of Monmouth could think of, to every one of whom he assigns kings with strange names, not one of which is known to history in connection with the country, as well as several from the senatorial order in Rome, to which Geoffrey has added a few Roman names selected out of his Eutropius.

The name of Devadoboum, applied to Boso, is admitted to be a translation of the words 'of Oxford,' for it occurs in a previous list of magnates summoned by King Arthur to a solemn assembly at his court during the feast of Easter, on which occasion he was to be crowned. After mentioning that there were two hundred philosophers present, as well as many ambassadors, three archbishops, i. e. of London, York, and of 'Urbs Legionum[2],' a list of consuls of different towns are given, amongst whom is '*Boso Ridocensis*, i. e. *Oxenefordiae*.' Geoffrey thus shows his knowledge of Welsh, and imagining that

[1] Geoffrey of Monmouth, lib. x. cap. 4. Appendix A, § 12.

[2] Geoffrey of Monmouth, lib. ix. cap. 12. These are the three cities obtained from the list of Bishops at the Council of Arles, A.D. 314.

a place belonging to Arthur ought to have a Welsh name, and fancying that the origin of the name of Oxford[1] was the ford of Oxon[2], inserts, as has been seen, both forms, *Ridocen* and *Oxnefordia*.

Again, later on, when Lucius Tiberius is made to go to a certain Lengria, Geoffrey again refers to Boso 'de *Ridichen quae lingua Saxonum Oxineford nuncupatur*[3]'; and when the story is taken up by the sixteenth and seventeenth century writers, they imply that there is a close connection between the name *Boso*[4] and the Ox in Oxford. This may be so, but then it only belongs to Geoffrey's ingenuity, and scarcely authorises the name of *Caer-Bossa*, which already, before they wrote, Rous had given to it.

Elsewhere Geoffrey refers directly to Oxford, i.e. in the well-known prophecy of Merlin, and this has been seized upon also as evidence of the antiquity of the place, not only on the grounds of the early date of Merlin, but on the ground of his veracity. In this prophecy we find that after the wild boar of Totness shall oppress the people

> 'Gloucester shall send forth a lion which in several battles shall interfere with his cruelty ... A bull shall enter the lists, and shall strike the lion with his right paw. He shall drive him through the bye-ways (*diversoria*) of the kingdom, but he shall break his horns against the walls of Oxford[5].'

Geoffrey's Romance is copied by several later writers[6], who in their turn are referred to as authorities for the British name of Oxford, and therefore as proving it to exist in British times. But it is certain no trace of these fanciful names can be carried back further than the fiction of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Other myths incidentally have grown up by

[1] See, on the origin of the Name of Oxford, Appendix B.

[2] In the same list, fancying that the old Glevum (or Gleaw) had to do with Claudius, he manufactures Claudiocestra.

[3] Geoffrey of Monmouth, lib. x. cap. 6. Most MSS., as well as that of writers who copy Geoffrey, have *Richiden*, but no doubt erroneously.

[4] A similar name however occurs, possibly known to Geoffrey, viz. Bosa, a Bishop of the Deiri in 678, found in Beda and the Chronicle. Possibly also Bosa of Selsea, whence Bosan-ham (Bosham, Sussex).

[5] Geoffrey of Monmouth, lib. vii. cap, 4. *Diversoria*, according to Ducange, would mean 'inns.' The Oxonia is in some MSS. Exonia. Appendix A 1.

[6] One of those frequently quoted in the controversy is the *Eulogium Historiarum*, a chronicle extending to 1366. There is, however, a curious reference to Merlin's prophecy by a writer who flourished somewhat less than a century after Geoffrey of Monmouth, namely Alexander Neckam, Abbot of Cirencester, who died in 1217. In his philosophical treatise, *De naturâ rerum*, he has the following: 'Civilis juris peritiam vendicat sibi Italia: sed coelestis scriptura et liberales artes civitatem Parisiensem caeteris praeferendam esse conveniunt. Juxta vaticinium etiam Merlini, viguit ad Vada Boum sapientia tempore suo, ad Hiberniae partes transitura.' Neckam, *De naturâ rerum*, Rolls Series, London, 863, p. 311.

later writers, notably by Hearne, but what has been narrated completes the evidence of the earlier authorities on which the two champions in the time of Elizabeth had to rely.

We now come to the controversy respecting the rival claims of either of the two Universities to be the most ancient, which arose during Queen Elizabeth's reign. The two disputants were respectively John Caius[1] of Cambridge, and Thomas Caius[2] of Oxford, at least, such were their Latinized names, their real names being Key or Keys. It is not probable that there was any family relationship between them, and it seems to be purely an accident that these disputants, representing respectively the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, should bear the same name. But beyond the similarity of the authors' names, the fact that the books were published anonymously and very irregularly tends to confuse the reader, in attempting to follow them, so that it may perhaps be as well to give first of all some account of the bibliography of the controversy.

The first book which appeared in print had the following title:—

> '*De antiquitate Cantabrigiensis academiae libri duo. In quorum secundo de Oxoniensis quo que Gymnasii antiquitate disseritur et Cantabrigiense longe eo antiquius esse definitur. Londinense authore. Adjunximus Assertionem antiquitatis Oxoniensis academiae ab Oxoniensi quodam, annis jam elapsis duobus, ad Reginam conscriptam, in qua docere conatur Oxoniense Gymnasium Cantabrigiensi antiquius esse. Ut ex collatione facile intelligas utra sit antiquior. Excusum Londini Anno Domini* 1568, *Mense augusto. Per Henricum Bynneman.*'

[1] John Caius (spelt in one instance in the University books *Kees*, in another *Keys*, and in a third written *Caius*) was born October 6th, 1510, and on January 24th, 1559, being then Doctor of Medicine, was elected Warden of Gonville and Caius College, which office he held thirteen years five months and fourteen days. 'On the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of July, A.D. 1573, he had his tomb constructed beneath the Tabernacle of the Annunciation of the Virgin on the north side of the high altar in his college chapel, awaiting the will of God, and being oppressed by age and sickness.' 'On his monument is the following inscription, "*Vivit post funera Virtus. Fui Caius. Ætatis suæ* 63. *Obiit* 29 *Julii Anno Dom.* 1573."' From notes supplied to Hearne by the Rev. Thomas Baker in 1729, who took them from Archbishop Parker's notes. *Caii Vindiciae*, Hearne's ed., p. lvi.

[2] Thomas Caius. The following notes are taken in substance from Wood's *Athenae Oxon.*: Thomas *Key* or *Cay* was of a Yorkshire family, but his near relations appear to have been living in Lincolnshire. He may have been originally of University College, but there is no direct evidence. In 1525 he was elected Fellow of All Souls College. In 1534 he was appointed Registrar of the University. It appears, however, that he was charged with neglect of his duties and deprived of his office in 1552 (though possibly his religion had something to do with the charge, since on the accession of Elizabeth he was made Prebendary of Sarum). In 1563 he was made Rector of Tredington, Worcestershire. He died about the middle of May, 1572, in his lodgings in University College (?). He was buried under the wall of the north aisle of St. Peter's-in-the-East, but without an epitaph.

The object which John Caius had in signing himself *Londinensis* was to appear in the character of a fair and unbiassed judge in the dispute, and so to conceal, as far as the title-page would enable him to do, his partisanship in favour of Cambridge. With every reason to believe that he supplied the arguments, which, as will be seen, formed the basis of the controversy, knowing too that he was head of one of the Cambridge colleges, it is difficult to reconcile with literary honesty the paragraph in which he speaks of his being uninfluenced by any favouritism. In it he speaks of himself as a London man, and so located midway between the two, and disposed with equal favour towards each, having been absent from the Universities for thirty years, and that he trusts by his intervention as a common friend to restore an amicable peace between the two disputants [1].

This edition, as to size, was printed in 16mo, and at the end he added the short treatise of the Oxford writer. The manuscript of this he appears to have come by not very fairly, and he evidently printed it without the writer's sanction, and probably without even his knowledge. He gives the title to this part of the work more fully than expressed in the general title to the whole:—

> '*Assertio Antiquitatis Oxoniensis Academiae, incerto authore ejusdem Gymnasii. Ad illustriss. Reginam Anno* 1566. *Cum fragmento Oxoniensis Historiolae. Additis castigationibus authoris marginalibus ad asteriscum positis. Inter quas libri titulus est, qui ante castigationem (quam editionem secundam diciamus) nullus erat. Omnia prout ab ipsis authoris exemplaribus accepimus, bona fide commissa formulis*[2].
>
> '*Excusum Londini Anno Domini* 1568, *Mense Augusto. Per Henricum Bynneman.*'

Some six years later, after the author's death, which took place in 1573, another edition was printed by Day, who was the printer patron-

[1] Joannis Caii *De Antiquitate Cantab.*, Hearne's ed., p. 5. The paragraph was allowed to stand in the 4to edition which his friends reprinted in 1574; to the title-page of which, however, as will be noticed, they affixed his own name. It should be noted that it is thought to be more convenient to give the references to the pages of Hearne's reprint in 1730 than to either of the two original editions of the treatise, as they are somewhat scarce, while Hearne's is tolerably accessible. Besides, for the third treatise, the *Animadversiones*, we are dependent wholly for a printed copy upon Hearne's edition. Appendix A, § 13.

[2] The title thus affixed by his adversary would give the impression that the book had been already published, and that the marginal notes were of great importance. They appear, however, to be almost entirely necessary corrections of a transcript. Thomas Caius states in the beginning of his *Animadversiones* that he wrote off the *Assertio* within a week after he first heard of the Cambridge oration before Queen Elizabeth, and that the MS. was not prepared for the press. The conduct of John Caius in printing it under these circumstances seems to be as unjustifiable as his pretence of being an unbiassed judge.

ised by Archbishop Parker, and who at the same time held a licence from the crown for printing Latin books. This reprint was in small 4to, and was issued at the Archbishop's instigation, and partly at the Archbishop's expense [1].

To this edition his friends added his real name. The title of this second edition was similar to that of the first, except that after the words *Libri duo*, in the first line, was added:—

'*Aucti ab ipso Authore plurimum.*'

And in the third line, instead of *Londinensi authore*:—

'*Joanne Caio Anglo Authore.*'

In the next line, '*jam elapsis duobus*' is changed to '*jam elapsis aliquot*,' and the name *Elizabeth* is inserted after *Reginam*, while the imprint stands as follows:—

'Londini in aedibus Johannis Daii, An. Dom. 1574. Cum Gratia et Privilegio Regiae Maiestatis.'

The *Assertio Antiquitatis Oxoniensis* was again reprinted verbatim as before with a separate title-page, but after the words Anno 1566 there was added:—

'*Jam nuper ad verbum cum priore edita. Cum fragmento*,' &c. [as before].

'Londini in aedibus Joannis Daii, An. Dom. 1574. *Cum Gratia et Privelegio Regiae Maiestatis.*'

This new edition was printed, as regards the first part, from a revised copy which the author left behind him, and though here and there several passages were added for the sake of greater effect, and the phraseology here and there improved, no new facts seem to have been adduced, or new arguments brought forward, of any importance [2].

At the end of the quarto edition a third treatise was printed, found amongst the papers of John Caius, and which was supposed to be a kind of summing up of the whole question, and written from a

[1] The following extract from a letter should be added 'as authority' for this statement: 'His book in 4to., as you observe, was a posthumous work, but it was left in very safe and careful hands, viz. Archbishop Parker's, who bore part of the expense of the edition, as I find in some MSS. notes of his son, Sir John Parker.' 'A note by Rev. Thomas Baker' sent to Hearne, Oct. 26th, 1729. *Caii Vindiciae*; Hearne's ed., p. lvii.

[2] The editor of this edition of 1574 has printed on the back of the title the following, and it is not at all improbable that it is from the pen of Archbishop Parker himself: 'Non tam solicitus fuit Caius noster cum adversario suo de utriusque academiae antiquitate in hoc opere contendere, quam quae ex variis antiquis monumentis de statu, privilegiis, dignitate ac praerogativa Cantabrigiae ipse collegisset edere ac in lucem proferre. In quo cum maxime elaborasse facile erit sano ac prudenti lectori deprehendere.'

historical rather than a controversial point of view. It goes over much the same ground as his other work, and is of no value whatever as regards any argument. The title is:—

'Historia Cantabrigiensis Academiae ab urbe conditae—Authore Johanni Caio Anglo.

'Londini in aedibus Johannis Daii, An. Dom. 1574. Cum Gratia et Privilegio Regiae Maiestatis.'

Besides the above named, more than a century afterwards, it was found that the Oxford champion had left behind him, first of all, an annotated copy of the book of John Caius, *De Antiquitate Cantabrigiensis Academiae*, pointing out his fallacies, and, further, a distinct MS. work which Hearne entitles:—

'*Thomae Caii, Collegii Universitatis regnante Elizabethae Magistri, Vindiciae Antiquitatis academiae Oxoniensis contra Joannem Caium Cantabrigiensem.* In lucem ex autographo emisit Thos. Hearnius.

'Oxonii, E. Theatro Sheldoniano, MDCCXXX.'

It would seem from the account which Hearne gives of this MS. that Thomas Caius, soon after the first edition of his book had appeared, surreptitiously printed by his adversary, determined to reprint himself the two books of John Caius, *De Antiquitate Cantabrigiensis Academiae*, and to add his own strictures upon the statements made in them on the margin; further, to add his own original *Assertio Antiquitatis Oxoniensis Academiae*; and, lastly, to subjoin certain *Animadversions* at the end. He had, however, scarcely prepared them for the press, when, in 1572, he died. The original MS. was retained in private hands, and while the work of John Caius, immediately after his death, had found friends at Cambridge to support the reprinting of it in a handsome form (i. e. in 1574), as has been shown, no friends in Oxford came forward to support even the printing of the MS. which Thomas Caius had left behind him. So the latter MS. remained unpublished, passing from one person to another till it came into the hands of Archbishop Usher, thence to his nephew, James Tyrrell Usher, thence by bequest to some one whose name Hearne does not mention, but refers to him only as *quidam vir litteratus*, who gave it into his hands on the condition that he should print it, and so it was not till A.D. 1730 that, under the general title of *Vindiciae Antiquitatis Academiae Oxoniensis*, it saw the light[1].

[1] Hearne, as is his wont, has printed many other things with it, some of which have nothing to do with the question, so that the *De Antiquitate Cantabrigiae*, the *Assertio Oxoniensis*, and the *Animadversiones* only form a portion of the two volumes. The other book of John Caius, the *Historia Cantabrigiensis*, was not thought worth reprinting by him.

We now come to the actual controversy, and it will be best on this to let John Caius tell the story himself. He writes at the commencement of the *De Antiquitate*:—

> 'A serious controversy arose between a certain Oxonian and the Cambridge orator concerning the antiquity of either University, one which will become more serious if the dispute is not settled . . . The cause of this great controversy was this. The Cambridge orator[1], when he delivered his oration on the occasion of the visit of the Queen to the University of Cambridge in the nones of August [Aug. 5th] 1564, amongst other things by chance stated briefly that the Cambridge University was ancient and much more ancient than Oxford . . . Hence a certain Oxonian taking offence sets to work on the opposite side, at a commentary which he calls, "The assertion of the Antiquity of the University of Oxford," in which he insists with great contention that the Oxford University was far older than the Cambridge. . . . Two years after these things took place at Cambridge, he, by the interposition of a friend at court, exhibited this commentary to the same Queen Elizabeth, when her Majesty on the day before the Kalends of September [Aug. 31st, 1566] visited Oxford [2].'

The certain Oxonian was Thomas Caius of Oxford, and from what he afterwards wrote in his *Animadversiones*, it seems that both the MS. copies of this *Assertion* came improperly into the hands of the Cambridge Caius, and that he printed it, as already said, without the author's knowledge or leave, prefixing his answer to it at the same time [3].

Further, as has been said, a letter was written to the Cambridge orator, which supplied him, so to speak, with a 'brief' on which to base his oration, and there is good reason to suppose that John

[1] William Masters, Fellow of King's College, was Public Orator at Cambridge at the time of the Queen's visit. An account of this visit is preserved, from the pen of Dr. Nicolas Robinson, in which direct reference is made to Masters' oration, both as to the place whence it was delivered and the manner in which the Queen listened to it when seated on a somewhat restive horse.

[2] *De Antiquitate*, Hearne's ed., p. 3.

[3] His story is briefly as follows: A friend showed him the Cambridge speech, and asked him if he could overthrow the arguments in it. He obeyed, and within the space of one week wrote a treatise, or little commentary, to which he affixed the title *Assertio Antiquitatis Oxoniensis Academiae*, and immediately sent it to the person at whose request it had been written; he was, however, far from anticipating that it would be committed to the press. After some days it was received by a person of great authority, and not restored. Another copy was therefore made to be kept at home. A certain person wished to inspect it, and he gave it, unknown to the writer, to the Earl of Leicester, who kept it in his library, until a certain Cambridge antiquary, calling himself *Londinensis*, getting possession of both copies, '*formulis excudendum curarit, adjuncta simul sua satis aculeata et mordaci apologia.*' Hearne's ed., p. 316.

Caius was himself the author of it, since he prints it in the forefront of his treatise, as follows:—

> 'Cambridge, says the Antiquary in his letter to the orator, had its origin *Anno Mundi* 4321[1], according to the "Cambridge Black-book," in which you find many things concerning the origin of the Cambridge University. From other ancient books which I have seen I have learnt that it begins in the year of the world 1829, and in the year 3377 and 4095 and 3588, and this last one I think to be the true one, because it was about this time that King Gurguntius lived, and it was during his reign all agree that Cambridge had its origin . . . . . I do not find any other founder named than the Spanish Cantaber except by Polydore Virgil, who refers its origin to a more recent time, which does not seem to be likely for many causes. That the University acknowledges Cantaber as its founder, its letter to Philip of Spain, written August 4, 1544, shows. These notes will satisfy your request, and I would rather excite your own researches as to the matter. I write no more. Vale.
>
> 'Thus far the letter of the Antiquary, written familiarly, he never suspecting, I believe, that it would ever be published[2].'

The speech of the orator before the Queen, which is said to have challenged the Oxonian, is as follows:—

> 'It remains still, most excellent Princess, since the cradles of the many different colleges have been briefly noticed, to explain in a few words when our University itself began to exist. It is written in our History that it was built by a certain Cantaber, King of Spain, who, when driven out from his country by civil war took refuge in our kingdom. Leland accuses the authors of this opinion of vanity and falsehood, and makes King Sigebert the founder of our University, in doing which he has left behind him the pernicious example of too curiously inquiring into histories[3], and he is little consistent with himself. For if he does not believe the many authorities so wonderfully in agreement on this point, how can he expect others, exercising somewhat more caution, to put any trust in him alone? But whether one refers to this or that author, this is manifest amongst all that our University is many more years older than Oxford. For that is said to have been established by King Alfred, whom everybody knows was much later as to date than both Gurguntius and Sigebert. Besides, to our great glory, all histories with one voice[4] testify that the Oxford

[1] No notice can possibly be taken of the chronological systems adopted by any of the writers in regard to this early myth. It would be an endless task.

[2] *De Antiquitate*, Hearne's ed., p. 11.

[3] This attack upon Leland is very characteristic, but it is caused by his having reported upon the Cambridge Black-book in his annotations to the '*Cygnea Cantio*' as follows: 'Profecto nihil unquam legi vanius, sed neque stultius aut stupidius.'

[4] Comments on such expressions as these are needless. It can only be presumed that the orator calculated that strong assertion would be accepted as evidence by his audience, but it was scarcely complimentary to the astuteness of Queen Elizabeth.

University borrowed from Cambridge its most learned men, who in its schools provided the earliest cradle of the "*ingenuae artes*," and that Paris also and Cologne were derived from our University, and had our Alcuin, who was the disciple of Bede, and who was the first at Paris to open, for those who desired to learn, a place for studying "*bonae artes*." Thus far the orator[1].'

A great part of the *Assertio Antiquitatis Academiae Oxon*, which was written in reply, is of course taken up in refutation of these statements about Cambridge, but the Oxford writer is evidently much tied, for in overthrowing the foundation on which the champion of the Cambridge story relies, he sees that there is great danger of sapping those on which his own Oxford story rests. The author, however, thus lays down at the beginning his proposition as to the antiquity of Oxford, basing it upon what he assumes to be a known fact that Alfred founded a college, and upon the implied fact that there was a University here long before:—

'It is certain (*constat*) that the college of the University, which first was called the Great Hall of the University, was founded by the very good and likewise very learned Prince Alfred ..... about the year 873, in the first or at most the second year from the beginning of his reign. At which time he applied all his powers towards the restoration of our University which a good many of our writers call the foundation ..... For it may be gleaned, as well from many other writers as from our own History[2], that there was a celebrated School of Philosophers sprung originally from those Greek Philosophers who, together with the Trojans, under the leadership of Brutus, landed upon this island. When indeed he [the writer of the *Historiola*] wishes to prove that Oxford University was by far the most ancient of all the schools of the Christian world, he adds, in the place of the proof, the arrival of the said Philosophers at Crekelade, or more accurately Grekocolade, narrating on what occasion they had come thither and how, after some time they chose the city of Oxford as a convenient place for their residence both on account of its proximity and its pleasant situation. Meanwhile, however, he makes no mention of Alfred, whom indeed he would not thus have passed over if he had been the first builder of our city. I know, however, there are not wanting men also of great learning, who affirm that nothing can be gleaned in proving the institution from the *Historiola*, because there is no mention made in it of the translation of the Philosophers thence to Oxford, either at what time or for what reason or by whom the translation was effected.

'There are others also who, on the authority of the Black-book of Cambridge, assert that the Grekelade schools were originally instituted by Penda, King of the Mercians, by permission of King Cedwalla, and

[1] *Thomae Caii Antiquitatis Assertio*, Hearne's ed., p. 281. It has been thought well to give this orator's speech in the original in Appendix A, § 14.

[2] The *Historiola*. See ante, p. 10.

that afterwards they were translated by Alfred to Oxford. Which indeed I believe to be just so far true as that it is probable that a tyrant so cruel, impious, and bloody .... ever thought of establishing any general places of learning at all. But I return to the point. Although this History of ours does not contain these things directly, it implies them, if the reader will only examine the matter attentively and thoroughly. For what other fact, I ask, does this weighty narrative above mentioned concerning the Philosophers of Grekelade record if it is not that, some time after their arrival, allured by the attractions of a more pleasant habitation, they came to Oxford, which change was easy on account of its vicinity, and that leaving their former abode their disciples taught philosophy here as they had formerly taught it at Grekecolade[1]?'

Here we have the chief evidence adduced by the champion on the Oxford side, on which he had to rely for sustaining the greater antiquity of Oxford as against the arguments used in the orator's speech before Queen Elizabeth[2].

He next proceeds to adduce other arguments, beginning with a strange one from a treatise by Walter Burley, entitled *Summa causarum problematum Aristotelis*, in which the writer incidentally refers to the situation of Oxford as agreeable to the principles laid down by ancient philosophers, inasmuch as it was flat and open towards the north and east, and hilly towards the south and west, adding that the place was no doubt fixed on by the industry of the Greek philosophers. But as the writer flourished circa 1470–1500 he had heard the story, and the value of his evidence is therefore no greater than that of the theory that the site of Oxford was chosen in accordance with the rules of Aristotelian philosophy[3].

Next, he adduces the MS. marginal note, which, as he says, Leland once added to a passage in the *Historia* of Polydore Virgil[4], and which has already been given. It does not seem, however, to occur to him that the value of such evidence would depend upon the value of 'the certain writers of great antiquity' to which he says Leland refers. It is much the same with a similar paragraph in the *Historiola* which he next quotes, and in which the authority runs (as has been seen) '*prout suae fu dationis insinuant historiae Britannicae perantiquae*[5].'

[1] *Assertio Antiquitatis*, Hearne's ed., p. 276.

[2] See extract from the orator's speech given above, p. 25.

[3] *Assertio Antiquitatis*, Hearne's ed., p. 279. Walter Burley wrote several treatises on different portions of Aristotle, though one bearing that precise title has not been observed.

[4] *Assertio*, Hearne's ed., p. 279. See ante, p. 16.

[5] It is rather singular that Antony Wood in quoting the *Historiola*, which he puts forward in the forefront of his argument (*Annals*, vol. i., 4to, Oxon, 1792, p. 8), omits the reference to *Historiae Britannicae perantiquae*, as if he knew it was worthless.

His next point is that if a book of Leland, which he wrote before his death, were to see the light, it would prove that Oxford was more ancient than Cambridge. He then, thinking enough has been said to prove the antiquity of Oxford, proceeds to attack the position of the orator as to the antiquity of Cambridge. Throughout the remaining thirty pages of the edition in the small size, Oxford is scarcely mentioned, and then only in a general way as being older than Cambridge, based on passages from Leland[1], from Polydore Virgil[2], and from the *Historia Regia*[3].

The Cambridge champion, in his reply, gives the letter of the orator and the orator's speech, as has been seen, and then quotes the Oxford *Historiola*, which has already been printed entire so far as it affects this early history; he then remarks (only too justly) that on this document almost all the whole of the argument of the Oxford champion rests. He then begins at once to defend the Cambridge story, excusing rather than justifying the date of Anno Mundi 1829 for its foundation. In fact, the whole of his first book is taken up with adding pseudo-authorities for his Cambridge story, and in answering the attack upon it by the Oxonian. Here and there, however, he incidentally refers to the Oxford story as regards the position of his antagonist. For instance, he takes note[4] of the reference to Leland's book, *De Academiis*, which would do so much, according to the Oxonian, if it were only published, by remarking that the argument reminds him of the proverb, '*Si coelum ruat caperentur alaudae.*' Again, in meeting one of the attacks of the Oxonian (more bold than usual considering his position) when he adduced the fact that neither Geoffrey of Monmouth nor the *Historia Regia* made any mention of Cantaber; he successfully, so far as he is concerned, parries the assertion by rejoining:—

> 'Neither does Henry of Huntingdon nor the *Historia S. Albani*, in the life of Alfred, make any mention of the Oxford school. Nor does Matthaeus Florilegus. In no life of Alfred is there a word about the Oxford University. I read that Exonia (in some written Oxonia) was besieged by Alfred, but of the schools of Oxford instituted by him I read nothing, nor indeed even in John Capgrave's life of S. Neot, in his book which he wrote about English Saints, is there anything; but in this there is a good deal about the English school at Rome. Was there therefore no Oxford University? or was there no Cantaber[5]?'

[1] *Assertio*, Hearne's ed., p. 282. [2] Ibid. p. 301.

[3] Ibid. p. 302. This *Historia Regia* is often cited. It seems to be the same as *Historia Buriensis*, i. e. a chronicle compiled by a monk of Bury in the time of, and as is said, at the command of, Richard II. It has not been printed, nor is it, it is believed, worth printing.

[4] *De Antiquitate*, Hearne's ed., p. 29. [5] Ibid. p. 110.

And so again later on, arguing as to the term *schola* and *scholae*, he refers to the Oxford argument by saying:—

> 'If the plural number is of any value towards making the word mean a University let it be so because Sigebert placed schools at Cambridge, and therefore he founded the University at the same time he founded the schools. And it necessarily follows that you must allow also that the University of Oxford was not first of all a University, but a grammar school such as Eton or Winchester. For Asser, in his work "*De gestis Alfredi*," says he gave the third part of his goods to a School which he had zealously collected together from the boys of his own nation, whether noble by birth or otherwise[1].'

With the exception of these few incidental references to the Oxford argument, the first half of his work, which he styles Liber I, is occupied wholly with a defence of the Cambridge story. It consists of over 250 pages of the small size of the edition of 1568. The second book, of about 100 pages in the same edition, consists of an attack upon the arguments put forth for the antiquity of Oxford. The writer does not confine himself to those arguments only which are adduced so briefly by his antagonist in the forty pages of the *Assertio*, but he goes over many others, and with most praiseworthy industry seems to have searched out all the passages which had been, or might have been, adduced by different controversialists in favour of the Oxford story, only, of course, for the purpose of answering them, or exhibiting their discrepancies one with another, or their general inconsistency with known history.

He begins[2] with the unsatisfactory character of the assertion of the *Historiola* that Oxford was the first and foremost 'of all other Latin Universities of the world,' which fact was said to be derived from '*historiae Britannicae perantiquae*,' and he amuses himself with some criticism upon the theory that the Trojans, who had to fight the Britons to gain possession of the land, should bring Greek philosophers with them. Then he proceeds to pull to pieces the Creklade story, both as to its vicinity to Oxford, on which such stress is laid, and its name; also, as to what it was called before Grekelade, the various spellings, and finally the discrepancies between the several stories as given by the different chroniclers adduced, such as Leland, Rous, the *Historiola*, and the *Chronicon Jornallense*. But he makes his points good solely for this reason, that each of these chroniclers are referred to by his antagonist as independent authorities, and consequently it is easy to show that the different stories will not hold together. His arguments,

[1] *De Antiquitate*, Hearne's ed., p. 117.

[2] Ibid. p. 176.

however, though tedious, often bring out very clearly the baseless character of the myth. He then turns aside [1] to discuss a point which he says that the Oxonian brings forward in his *Assertio*, that certain Clementine Constitutions mention Oxford and do not mention Cambridge. But as the Constitutions in question were only promulgated at the Council of Vienna in 1311 it is difficult to see why the question is introduced at this point. He soon returns, however, to discuss the names of *Bellositum*, *Oxonium*, &c., and the terms *Ceastre* and *Caer*. His ability to cope with such questions critically may be gauged by the following sentence:—

> 'And so if it had been established as a city, or named by the Britons, it would have been called *Caeraxon*; if by the Saxons *Oxenchester*, or *Oxenforde* from Oxonium, the earlier but not ancient name, and *forde*; not *Oxonium* [2].'

After some rather objectless disquisition on the *Caer-penu-hel-goit*, said by Geoffrey of Monmouth to be *Exonia* (which may in one or two instances have been written *Oxonia*), he expresses his disbelief in *Bellositum* being a proper name; but he thinks it was a casual name given on account of its pleasing situation. He holds [3] that the most ancient name of Oxford must be Ridohen, for which opinion he relies on the seventh book of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and the fifth book of the *Eulogium Historiarum*; and as Boso is named as Consul of *Ridohen* he finds that *Boso* and *Vadum Boum* must have necessarily the same origin, and therefore substantiate the story. It is almost impossible, however, to follow his argument, nor does it appear very plainly in what way he upsets his antagonist, who has only to fall back upon Rous's ingenious theory of a succession of names.

At the end of this disquisition he comes to the story of Alfred's foundation, which he treats as follows:—

> 'But, however this be, there is not mentioned anywhere one word, so far as I know, of a University here whether called by the name of Oxford or by the older name, before the time of Alfred. After the time of Ranulph [i. e. Ralph Higden] who lived about A.D. 1363, almost all authors whom I have seen, and I have seen a good many, recognise Alfred to be the founder: even Graius assenting to it and Sir Jean de Monteville [4]. Knight, who wrote in French an account of

[1] *De Antiquitate*, Hearne's ed., p. 186.

[2] Ibid. p. 190. He is possibly referring to the fact that Geoffrey of Monmouth in one place uses the name Oxonia in reference to supposed British times.

[3] Ibid. p. 193.

[4] It cannot be discovered what he means unless it be Sir John Mandeville. Of his book, an edition was printed as early as 1499, and another edition was published the same year as the *De Antiquitate*, i. e. 1568.

his journey to Jerusalem in the year 1367. He, that is Graius, in the *Scala Cronica*, in the life of Alfred, writes thus, "*Ceste Roi Alured fist etablir le universite de Oxenforde*[1]."'

He argues that Leland, on whom his antagonist has relied so implicitly for overthrowing the Cantaber story, makes Alfred the actual founder of the University, not the restorer, and the same Polydore Virgil and Ranulph [Higden] do before him. He meets, too, the argument which the Oxford champion had drawn from the *Historiola* in respect to its silence about Alfred, by asking[2], 'If it were only a restoration, and not a foundation, how is it that it is not mentioned by other writers in so many words?' He also comments on the statement that Alfred founded University Hall, and questions how this agrees with the restoration of the University. He then touches upon some further objections as to the Cricklade schools, and, quoting from the *Chronicon Jornallense*, shows that the authorities are not agreed whether the Cricklade schools were transferred to Oxford in the time of the Britons, or in the time of the Saxons, or in the time even of King Alfred, and whether or not, after they were restored, they died out. Here is an example of a clever piece of reasoning on these points:—

> 'From this and that, it also necessarily follows that: If the Cricklade schools were swept away before the time of Alfred so neither are the Oxford scholars sprung from them, nor were they created or increased by the translation, or restored by Alfred since they were not before this sprung from the Philosophers, nor could they by reason of the vicinity of the two have coalesced with them. And in the second place, that which is of still greater weight must be added from history, that in the time of Alfred there was no grammar school at all throughout the whole western kingdom. And this you would be able to aver much more surely if you read Alfred's letter to the Bishop of Worcester[3].'

Hitherto his arguments perhaps may appear somewhat weak, because they depend upon the mere words rather than on the general sense of the Chronicles; but, as already said, if the passages quoted are received as authorities in the sense in which his antagonist receives them, these arguments have considerable weight. At this point, how-

[1] *Scala Chronica*, by Thomas Graius, MS. Lamb. 22. It has not been ascertained at what date this author wrote.

[2] *De Antiquitate*, Hearne's ed., p. 193.

[3] Ibid. p. 200. By this vague reform he means no doubt the Preface to Alfred's version of the *Cura Pastoralis* of Gregory, though in this treatise Alfred does not say there was no grammar school. All he says is that there were very few on this side of the Humber who were able to understand their service in English, or even to turn a letter from Latin into English: still a passage in Asser justifies the statement that there were no grammar schools.

ever, he seems to enter upon a new and more vigorous course of action. He begins to consider the authority of 'the authorities!' Hitherto he had attacked the Oxonian on lines parallel to those on which the latter had defended his position with regard to the antiquity of Oxford, namely, by accepting the statements of writers of all periods, as if they were equally reliable. They were, it is true, the same lines to which he had adhered in defending his story of Cantaber—indeed, the only lines appearing to be at all tenable under the circumstances. On the other hand, too, the Oxonian, during his attack upon them, scarcely ever ventured to move beyond the lines he had drawn for his own defence. Now, however, the Cambridge champion, having arrived at the time of King Alfred, completely changes his tactics. He has driven his adversary away from his positions, which gave him Cricklade and Bellositum in British times, by pressing on him the importance of the reiterated statements of several authors that Alfred was the first founder of the University of Oxford. He now overthrows the statements of these very authors, and will not allow that the University of Oxford can boast of an antiquity even as early as this.

It will be remembered that the argument in the orator's speech was that while Cambridge could boast of Cantaber as its founder, and, if not that, at least King Sigebert (which even its supposed enemies were said to allow), the University of Oxford could only go back to Alfred, 'whom everybody knows was much later as to date than both Gurguntius and Sigebert[1].' Now, however, the credit of Alfred's foundation is an object of attack :—

> 'If in the whole western kingdom there were no schools, where were those of Oxford? If in the time of Alfred there were none, how could Alfred be a founder of your school? how a benefactor? But if he was not the founder, where is the invention of your Higden, and where that of Higden's mimic your *Historia Regia*? and of all those who follow in the wake about Alfred being the founder of the Oxford School, of the variety of the Arts taught, and the number of the privileges? For they write that Alfred established the University of Oxford, and rendered the city famous by his many privileges granted to it, which are certainly nothing else but mere figments, composed for the sake of glorifying the University of Oxford, or else glorifying Neot, as we shall presently show. For Asser, the Chaplain of Alfred, Capgrave, and Osbern in the life of S. Neot, Henry of Huntingdon and William of Malmesbury, in the acts of King Alfred make mention of the Eng-

[1] See the orator's speech, ante, p. 25 (Hearne, p. 282). Also note Caius' argument, ante, p. 30 (Hearne, p. 192), though previously he had already hinted at this line of argument: ante, p. 28 (Hearne, p. 110).

lish school at Rome (which Ina erected, and Ethelwulf, Alfred's father, restored) and how it was endowed with Pontifical privileges at the request of Alfred, but say nothing of the Oxford school founded by Alfred or furnished with Charters[1].'

Then, referring to the historical improbabilities of Alfred founding a school in Mercia at that time, and a chronological difficulty in reference to Neot's death, he concludes with :—

'Wherefore I think it is through an error of the Scribes that they speak of *Schola Oxoniensis* when they should say *Romana*. Otherwise Asser who was one of the familiar friends of, and attendants upon, Alfred, and to whom everything of his life and actions were known, would most certainly have recorded this as something most worthy of memorial[2].'

It would almost appear that, having come nearly to the end of his book, his work had taught him the right way of proceeding, for he devotes two or three pages to a disquisition on the relative credit to be given to statements made by the older and the newer authors, and amongst other observations makes the following :—

'For those more recent writers who seem to hand down blunders as it were hand from hand, and sometimes add a blunder or so of their own as well, just so far as they deviate much from historic fidelity so far they corrupt much which the older historians set forth truthfully[3].'

He then proceeds[4] to give some examples of his theory. They are certainly not well chosen, but they show that he has more than a glimmer of the truth respecting historical data becoming more and more impure as they descend further from the source. When one reads these later pages of his second book, one cannot but ask, 'if only he had applied those principles in the slightest degree to the two hundred and fifty pages of his first book, where would two hundred and forty of them have been?'

It is only right, perhaps, after exhibiting the defence of and attack upon the antiquity of the Oxford University, to say a few words about the discussions as regards the antiquity of the Cambridge University. Besides being only fair, it will be useful, as the growth of the myths appear to have gone on very much *pari passu*—the one series explains and illustrates the other; and lastly, because the rivalry between the two Universities, which in its earliest stages had not the benefit of the printing-press to chronicle the disputes, has been, there can be little doubt, an important factor in the propagation of the myths which have surrounded the early history of the two foundations.

[1] *De Antiquitate*, Hearne's ed., p. 202. [2] Ibid. p. 204.
[3] Ibid. p. 206. [4] Ibid. p. 207.

The outline of the story of Cantaber in one of its stages, and perhaps the earliest, has already been given from the pages of Rous, and to this stage an approximate date may be assigned of A.D. 1490. It rests practically upon the same ground, and may be correlated with the particular stage of the story of Mempric, as detailed by the same chronicler. It is mainly a combination of stories which have grown up around guesses either of an historical or etymological nature. Rous, as already said, may well have seen the Oxford *Historiola* as we now have it, when he compiled his Oxford story, and worked it into his chronicle; but if he had seen the Cambridge *Historiola* when he wrote his '*Historia regum Angliae*,' he certainly did not think it necessary to insert much from it, and his own story in some particulars differs widely from it. He adopts the theory that a person named Cantaber was founder of Cambridge, and he includes the story of his founding a *studium* there, but goes no further. This Cambridge *Historiola*, which is much longer than its Oxford representative, seems to be also in a higher stage of development. It has been the subject of much criticism, but there seems to be a very general agreement in ascribing it in substance to Nicholas Cantelupe[1], who was a Welshman but was Prior of the Carmelite Monastery in Northampton, where he died in 1441. It appears, however, that the official copy now relied on as the chief authority was not transcribed into the Black Book till about 1509, when Dr. Buckenham was Vice-Chancellor, and in it may possibly have been inserted a good deal more than was in the original copy by Cantelupe. It is far too long to print here entire, but Leland's summary of it, which excited the wrath of the Cambridge champion, may not be out of place:—

> 'There exists at *Granta Girviorum* in the archives an Historiola of an uncertain credit. Herein it appears that Gurguntius, some unknown British King, gave to a Spanish Cantaber who had studied at Athens, the eastern part of Britain, and that he afterwards built a city on the river *Cante*, and established a University there, which took its name from his son the Earl *Grantanus*. The same informs us that Anaximander and Anaxagoras, Greek Philosophers, came to *Granta* for the sake of study. There are there besides a hundred fables of the same grain. Truly I never read anything more empty, more foolish, or more stupid[2].'

[1] The treatise, as it now appears in the Cambridge Book, is printed by Hearne at the end of his edition of Sprotti *Chronicon*, Oxonii, 1719.

[2] This is quoted from Leland's notes at the end of the *Cygnea Cantio* under the word 'Granta,' printed in the ninth volume of Leland's *Itinerary* in Hearne's edition of that work, p. 64. The *Cygnea Cantio* was first printed in 4to, London, 1544. It is also quoted as above by the Oxford champion, *Assertio*, Hearne's ed., p. 290.

One characteristic passage, however, out of the Cambridge *Historia* must be added to Leland's summary:—

> 'On this city King Cassibelaunus, when he had obtained rule over the kingdom, bestowed great pre-eminence.... And on this account, and because of the richness of the soil, the purity of the air, the abundance of learning, and the royal clemency, there gathered thither young men and old from the different regions of the earth, some of whom Julius Cæsar after he had gained a victory over Cassibelaunus took with him to Rome, where afterwards they became famous for their Rhetoric[1].

It will also be well, perhaps, to give a version of the story as it appears in the pages of Polydore Virgil, the first edition of whose *Historia Anglica* was published in 1534, and therefore almost contemporary with the *Cygnea Cantio* of Leland, especially as it is (in part) quoted by the Oxford champion:—

> 'If we believe the fabrications (*commentis*) of an unknown author, the origin of the city is older than the University[2]. For they say that there was formerly a city by name *Chergrantium* (sic) at the foot of a neighbouring hill which they call *Vuyt-hill*, and that while Gurguntius, the son of Bellinus was king, a certain Bartholomew, a man of Cantabria (*Bartholomeum* quemdam hominem Cantabrum) came there for the sake of teaching, and married *Chembrigia* daughter of the king, and that he built a city called after the name of his wife Cantabrigiam, and in that first taught. I now however return to history[3].'

It will be seen here how the etymological element predominates. Not content with making *Cantabrigia* come from *Cantaber*, who must have a local habitation as well as name, we have the river *Cante*, and the earl *Grantanus*; and Polydore Virgil caps the whole, as if almost he was indulging in sarcasm, by introducing *Chembrigia*. No doubt, however, it was a Cambridge story like the rest, first told as a guess, and then passed on as a fact, and then told as history, leaving the historians to find a place and a date for the lady. It illustrates the Greeklade of the Oxford story, and all that followed from it.

The other myth relating to the foundation of the Cambridge University, which is laid stress upon in the controversy, is an interesting one as far as it shows at what shadows the writers were

[1] Quoted from the Cambridge *Historia* as printed in Sprotti *Chronicon*, ed. Hearne, p. 265. It is so characteristic a passage that it is given in the Appendix A, § 15.

[2] It must be remembered that Polydore Virgil elsewhere ascribes the University to King Sigebert in the seventh century.

[3] Polydori Virgilii *Historia Anglica*, lib. v. First ed., Basil, 1534. Douay ed., 12mo, 1603, p. 296. Quoted by the Oxford champion, Hearne, p. 285, and accurately so. He however prints *Whit-hill* for Vuyt-hill. Polydore Virgil died in 1555.

ready to grasp, so as to gain a point in their favour. It is the story of Felix, Bishop of the East Angles, founding the University of Cambridge, and it rests wholly upon a single passage in Beda's Ecclesiastical History, which runs as follows:—

> 'At this time [i.e. A.D. 636][1] Sigbert ruled over the kingdom of the East Angles .... a good and religious man, who some time before, had been baptized in Gaul whilst he was living there in exile; and returning home, as soon as he came to the throne, being desirous to imitate those things which he had seen to be well ordered in Gaul, set up a school in which youths might be instructed in letters; and this with the assistance of Bishop Felix, whom he had received from Kent, and who furnished them with teachers and masters after the manner of the Kentish men[2].'

Naturally this brief passage has given rise to much conjecture, both as to what schools in Kent are referred to, and where the school was established in East Anglia. Taking into account the surrounding circumstances, it is clear that the object which Sigbert had, and which Bede, in recounting this circumstance evidently wished to show he had, was to supply education for a native clergy, and not to be dependent on priests from Gaul or Italy. That such a school had already been established at Canterbury was certainly Bede's belief, and he may well have held it from the facts supplied to him by Nothelm, and which he duly records, namely, that when the see of Canterbury was vacant in 628, the reigning Pope appointed as a successor in the see Honorius from the school at Rome, but that in 644 Ithamar, a Kentish man, was[3] appointed to the see of Rochester. He was the first native Bishop, and as there is no reason whatever to suppose he had journeyed to Rome to be educated, it would appear that between the dates above named a native school had sprung up for the education of priests. Bishop Felix in 636, seeing the advantage of providing a native clergy, and so the necessity of supplying means for their education, naturally followed the Canterbury plan, and as his seat was at Domnoc it is only reasonable to suppose that Bishop Felix established his school, where now in all probability the waves of the sea wash, that is, if the old Domnoc is correctly assigned to the effaced Dunwich. But in the desire to enhance the glories of Cambridge, it was suggested that the school must have been at Cambridge, and therefore

[1] The date is fixed by the entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which under this year records, 'And Bishop Felix preached the faith of Christ to the East Angles.' Nothing is here recorded about founding any school, so that all the story rests wholly and absolutely upon the authority of Beda.

[2] Beda, bk. iii. cap. 18. The original runs: 'instituit scholam in qua pueri literis erudirentur.'

[3] Ibid. bk. iii. 14.

that Cambridge could date back to the time of King Sigbert. This story, which first finds a place in the *Chronicon Jornallense*[1], was holding good in the early part of the sixteenth century, as is gathered from Leland and Polydore Virgil, but later on its rival, the far more wonderful story of Cantaber and the Greek philosophers, eclipsed it, so that, as we have seen, Leland is looked upon by the Cambridge champion as an enemy rather than a friend, for recording even such a momentary belief in Sigebert's foundation as the brief extract warrants.

This story of Sigebert runs very much on the same lines as the story of Alfred. It would seem almost that the same reasoning must have been applied in both instances; e.g. We have a University of Cambridge. We read that King Sigebert founded a school. That school must be Cambridge University, because Sigebert was king of the East Angles, and Cambridge is within the territory which once bore that name. And in the case of Oxford a similar argument would run: We read that Alfred founded schools; one of them must have been Oxford, for Oxford bordered on the kingdom of Wessex.

There are several other arguments brought forward on the Cambridge side equally worthless, for which, however, parallel examples may be found on the side of Oxford. First of all there is the circumstance that Beda mentions Cambridge[2]; but the fact is Granchester only is mentioned, which is two miles away from Cambridge, nor is it spoken of otherwise than as a small deserted Roman city, amidst the ruins of which they discovered a coffin, which they used for burying Queen Ethelfrith[3].

Then we have as much as can be made out of the very doubtful list of British cities[4], which occur in the pages of Nennius, amongst which Caer Grauth appears, and this, having become Caer Grant, is supposed to be the Granchester of Beda, and so Cambridge.

Less easy to follow is the supposed connection of King Lucius with Cambridge, whose name is made to occur, with that of Asclepiodorus Constantine, Uther Pendragon, and Arthur in a charter granted to Cambridge by King Cadwallader[5], but composed and written in the fifteenth century. Again, it would appear from certain very doubtful 'Burton Annals,' that Christianity flourished at Cambridge before King Lucius, for the following is quoted from this source :—'A.D. 141. This year were baptized nine of the Doctors and Scholars of Cam-

[1] Twisden, *Decem Scriptores*, London, 1652, col. 814. The passage has already been given, p. 14.

[2] *De Antiquitate*, Hearne's ed., p. 127.

[3] Beda, bk. iv. cap. 19.

[4] *De Antiquitate*, Hearne's ed., p. 47.

[5] Ibid. p. 64.

bridge.' After some digression, he expresses his opinion (*conjicio*) that the missionaries of Pope Eleutherius, i. e. Elwan and Medwin, were *alumni* of the University of Cambridge[1]. There is much more of the same kind, but enough has been given.

The most remarkable evidence relied upon is that which is attached to the documents in the Cambridge Black Book. In that we find a charter of King Arthur (but written in all the style of the fifteenth century), in which he grants, *licentia sedis Apostolicae*, that the Scholars and Doctors are to have certain liberties, such as King Lucius decreed when he embraced Christianity, in consequence of the preaching of the Cambridge Doctors, and which has this date:—'Datum anno ab Incarnatione Domini 531, vii. die Aprilis in Civitate London[2].' It should be added that *Cantabrigiensis* devotes several pages to sustaining its genuine character, and from the same source he quotes a charter from Pope Honorius with regard to the privileges of the Chancellor, '*Scriptum apud sanctum Petrum anno ab incarnatione verbi* 624, 21 *die Februarii*,' adding gravely that this too was before King Sigebert and Bishop Felix[3]. He then gives a charter from Pope Sergius, *Scripta Romae in ecclesia Lateranensi anno ab Incarnatione Verbi* 689, *tertio die mensis Maii*[4], with some five or six pages, proving that these charters are as genuine as that of King Arthur. It would seem, if his statements are to be trusted, that the two latter were used successfully in a law-suit between the University and the Bishop of Ely in 1430. If they were forged for the purpose at this date, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that Nicolas Cantelupe (who died in 1441) was their author as well as of the charter of Arthur, as there is considerable family resemblance between the series and the rest of the Cambridge *Historia*.

Looking back at the controversy as a whole, what strikes one most is, first, the vast number of authors from which the champions obtain their evidence; secondly, the worthless character of by far the greater portion. It is not as if they were unacquainted with the sources of our history. Printed editions of the most important and, so to speak, standard historical authorities, were already accessible, and, as is shown, they had a wide acquaintance with MSS. preserved in libraries, so that in judging of the merits of the case, we must not attribute anything

[1] *De Antiquitate*, Hearne's ed., p. 67.

[2] This and the others will be found printed in full from the Cambridge Black Book, by Hearne, at the end of his 'Sprotti Chronicon.' It is quoted by the Cambridge champion in *De Antiquitate*, Hearne's ed., p. 48.

[3] *De Antiquitate*, Hearne's ed., p. 52.

[4] Ibid. p. 57.

to the ignorance on the part of the combatants of the material which existed for the purpose of the discussion. The fact is that with all the advantages resulting from later historical research, with the admirable work which has been carried on for years in the MS. departments of the British Museum and other public libraries in cataloguing and rendering their treasures accessible; with the similar work which has gone on at the Public Record Office, and by the Historical Record Commission, and with the printing also of the long series of historians under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, we have not obtained any further evidence than they possessed in support of their respective arguments. No records have been found, simply from the fact that no records exist.

The controversy does not seem to have produced any other works during Elizabeth's reign. As has been said, the MS. of Thomas Caius, the Oxford champion, lay unpublished. But the case was taken up in the following reign and in the following century by Bryan Twyne, i.e. in 1608.

Before, however, reaching this date, an event has to be recorded of very great importance to the controversy. The result of the contest seemed to show that the real issue lay with the *proof* of Alfred having founded the University of Oxford. The attack upon this was felt to be the boldest, as well as the most formidable, of any made by the Cambridge champion. It was seen by scholars that, in spite of the exertions of J. Caius, neither the fiction about Cantaber, nor the deduction from the few words of Beda about Bishop Felix in regard to Cambridge could be upheld, in comparison with the supposed claim of Alfred; and it is not improbable that this weighed with Archbishop Parker in issuing his edition of Asser[1] in 1574: for in this authoritative work the name of Oxford was not even mentioned, nor did it contain any statement in connection with Alfred's desire to further education, which could with any good reason be connected with the town; and this negative evidence would do more for the Cambridge cause than any attempt to support the feeble stories on which the Cambridge champion had relied. This edition of Asser the Archbishop printed in

[1] 'Aelfredi Res Gestae editae a Mat. Parker. Literis Saxonicis sed Lingua Latina. Una cum praefatione latina,' fol. Lond. 1574. The words he uses form a link in the chain of the evidence and so must be given. He writes in the Preface (p. 1): 'Latina autem cum sint, Saxonicis literis excudi curavimus, maxime ob venerandam *ipsius archetypi* antiquitatem ipso adhuc (ut opinio fert mea), Aelfredo superstite, iisdem literarum formulis descriptam.' It is thought from this that he had seen the early MS. of the tenth or eleventh century preserved in the Cottonian Library, and that he had used it for his text, but it must be admitted that the passage only amounts to circumstantial evidence. What he probably used was a copy which he may well have compared with the original Cottonian MS.

Saxon type, for the reason, so his preface implies, that the original MS. was so ancient.

A few years later, i.e. in 1603, an edition of Asser was published in a collection of various chronicles at Frankfort[1], with the name of the illustrious Camden as editor, and this contained exactly the passage which was wanted on the Oxford side, and with certain names and details which seemed to give the whole a most circumstantial aspect, and the appearance of being a genuine work of a contemporary writer, and, therefore, probably of Asser himself.

Since so much depends on this passage in Asser, some few words must be introduced respecting its insertion, and the *primâ facie* evidence which exists for it being a deliberate forgery.

As sometimes happens, the investigation of evidence of a doubtful character is rendered still more difficult by some accident; and the fire which took place in Little Dean's Yard, Westminster, October 23rd, 1731, and destroyed many of the Cottonian Manuscripts, destroyed the only ancient MS. copy of Asser which was known, namely that marked Otho A. XII. So that we have no ancient copy to refer to. The matter is rendered at first a little complicated by the fact that there is a MS. of Asser still in the Cottonian Collection marked Otho A. XII, but which is not the one referred to by Archbishop Parker, for it is written on paper, and of the sixteenth century[2]. Fortunately, however, we have clear and indisputable evidence of the existence of such a MS. as that referred to, and since it is important to substantiate this, as it is the groundwork on which all other questions rest, three witnesses will be adduced. The first evidence is that given by the catalogue of the Cottonian Library made several years before the fire (i.e. 1696). Thomas Smith, who was employed to catalogue the MSS., describes Otho A. XII. as containing a considerable number of lives of saints and ancient fragments (against one or two of which is printed the word *Saxonice*), and of which the first given is Asserius Menevensis de gestis Alfredi Regis, *Charactere antiquo.* Secondly, in a copy of this catalogue preserved in the Bodleian Library[3] a MS. note has been added by Wanley himself, who had the chief charge of the collection, viz. '*Codex Membr. in 4to constans foliis* 155, 1 *fol. lacerum.* The third testimony is that of Francis Wise, who in 1772, that is nine years before the fire, printed an edition of Asser, and in his preface he

[1] *Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica, a veteribus Scripta.* Francfurt, 1602–3.

[2] The Catalogue entry is Codex chartaceus in 4to constans 36 foliis.

[3] Catalogus. Bibl. Cotton. Thom. Smith 1696. Bodl. (Gough, London.) No. 54.

first tells of three late MS. copies: one quite recent, which he says seems to have been the very copy used by Archbishop Parker (and which was lent to him by Gale): a second, a recent one kept in St. James' Palace: a third in Corpus College Library, Cambridge, of about 200 years back (i.e. 1530), and which is only a copy of the Cottonian MS. But, he adds, the most ancient of all which now exists is the Cottonian; and James Hill, of the Middle Temple, having sent him a specimen, he has had it engraved, and it appears in his book. It may be said in passing, that the specimen bears out what the Archbishop says as to its antiquity. It is not written exactly in Saxon characters, but in a hand which presents a mixture of peculiarly formed Latin letters, and some Saxon here and there occurring. It agrees with the note in the catalogue of '*charactere antiquo*,' and justifies the Archbishop's use of Saxon type to give an idea of its antiquity, while from the general arrangement of the words and from the errors in writing, it leaves the impression that the scribe was accustomed to Saxon words and letters, and was by no means well versed in Latin. The chief point, however, is that Wise, who has carefully collated this MS. with the others, distinctly states that the passage which Camden inserted in his Frankfort edition *did not occur in it.*

From incidental evidence we also get at the fact that none of the later copies of the Cottonian MS. contained this passage, and none of those existing now contain it. In a word, amidst all the evidence (and there have been several writers who have discussed the subject, e.g. Bryan Twyne, Archbishop Ussher, Spelman, Antony a Wood, Wise, and others), in no case does any one state he has even seen a manuscript of Asser with the passage in it, or even venture to say that any one ever professed to have seen one except Camden himself.

Other points must also be noted. The passage in question did not first appear in Camden's edition of Asser, but was published by itself some year or so previously, namely in the 4to edition of his *Britannia*, London, 1600[1].

In inserting this passage in his *Britannia*, he says, 'as we find *in an excellent MS.* of the said Asser.'

In the edition of Asser which he printed at Frankfort, he professes in his preface to follow, and actually does follow, Archbishop Parker's edition; nevertheless he inserts this passage without a word to notify he has made any change. This in itself is not straightforward, for two questions naturally arise: if there existed this 'excellent MS.' why did he not use it and revise Archbishop Parker's copy by it, and

[1] The previous three editions, viz. those of 1586, 1587, and 1590 were without it.

show what were Archbishop Parker's unauthorised additions—what his errors, what his omissions, if any. Secondly, why in inserting a passage of this great importance—the most important passage of all—did he take no notice of it in the preface, and make a statement as to the MS., whence it was derived, if he had ever seen such a MS.?

There exists, moreover, certain correspondence touching this very subject, which Bryan Twyne thought of sufficient importance to deposit in the University Archives, and this opens up many other minor points which seem to be incapable of being cleared up in a way to save altogether the credit of those concerned.

It appears from this correspondence that, even before the publication of the passage in the *Britannia*, Twyne and others knew of it[1]. Amongst the papers there is a statement that as early as December, 1599, Mr. T. Allen asked Mr. T. James to examine the MS. which Archbishop Parker had used for his text, and which was supposed to be in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and to see if the passage was in it. He could find no copy, it seems, in the Corpus Library, but, when in London, he saw a MS. in Lord Lumley's Library, which he was told—and from certain indications it is clear he was rightly told—was the MS. used by Archbishop Parker to print from. He reported that *the passage was not in it*; and he added, by way of extra evidence, that it had the red ochre marks, which Archbishop Parker made usually in the books which he read[2].

This certainly ought to have prevented Bryan Twyne in 1608 from insinuating that Archbishop Parker fraudulently omitted the passage[3], yet his words in reference to Camden's restoring the passage insinuate this if they mean anything. He puts in at the end, it is true, a saving clause, 'unless you say he may have used the imperfect copy in the Lumley Library.' As he knew the Archbishop did use it, from the evidence given, and from the fact that he admits he had seen it, his attack on Matthew Parker recoils on himself.

Finally, we come to the astounding memorandum dated the 18th of February, 1622, which Twyne has filed in the University Archives by way, it must be supposed, of securing a currency for the forged

[1] It should be stated that these particulars are mainly derived from the researches of Messrs. Petrie and Sharpe in 1848, which they embodied in a note in the *Monumenta Historica*, Pref. p. 79.

[2] Bryan Twyne, *Ant. Ox. Apologia*, ed. 1608, p. 144. It does not appear ever to have found its way into the Corpus Library. It is said to have been the copy which was lent to Wise by Gale, to collate for his edition.

[3] Ibid. The words are: 'Quem Mattheus Cantuariensis omiserat (veritatis an charitatis odio haud scio) dum Asserium suum Saxonicis scriptum literis edidit et tamen cum Aristotele non edidit industria.'

passage with future generations. In this he asserts that during an interview with Camden he told him that the passage was suspected, and asked him 'to give some satisfaction.' To which at first Camden answered that, 'Peradventure he had done so already,' and 'it might be he would do it more fully hereafter.' He continues:—

> 'But when I pressed him further to declare himself, whether or noe he inserted that place upon any other man's credit, or had found it in any authenticall copy, manuscript or other, *I caused* (said he) *the whole entire History of Asserius* (which I published) *to be transcribed out of a manuscript copie which I had then in my hands* wherein that place now questioned was extant and in the very same forme as there I found it and in none other; marry it seemed that the copie was not verie antiente: and when I demanded of him how antient he thought the copie was, he answered, that he took it to be written about King Richard the second his time.'

The memorandum, as given by Twyne, breaks off abruptly, for after saying that he told Camden that—

> 'Some give out as though there was never any such copie at all to be seen, and as though he, who I hear was owner of that copie, had been also the author thereof (especially of that place now questioned) namely one Mr. Henry Savile of the Banke[1].

Twyne ends with an &c., instead of giving Camden's reply to this question as to the circumstances of the 'copy' having been sent to Camden by 'Long Harry Savile, the antiquary,' as Wood says he was called, but known to literature as Sir Henry Savile, and to Oxford as a Warden of Merton College. The evidence, however, on this part of the business is not clear. In all probability Savile composed it[2], and sent it to Camden, who inserted it in his *Britannia* at the same time as he inserted a passage which he had found in the Hyde Abbey Chronicle somewhat to the same effect. The story which Twyne gives[3] of Savile having such a MS. of Asser, and lending it to a certain Netelton, and Netelton losing it, will not bear examination, for the circumstantial evidence he adduces is not consistent.

Without going into more details, and adducing the arguments of other writers, it may be useful to sum up the evidence[4].

[1] Printed in Antony a Wood (*Annals*, ed. Gutch, 1792, vol. i. p. 22), from a copy attested to agree with the original by 'Thomas Hyde, A.M. Protobibliothecarius Bodleianus.'

[2] Antony a Wood (*Annals*, ed. Gutch, 1792, vol. i. p. 24) mentions that he was suspected of forging a passage in the edition of Ingulph which he printed, and in which he makes the Abbot first study at Westminster, then at Oxford where he read Cicero (!). This would be in 1051. The Ingulph question is a very difficult one, all the MSS. being late. See Riley's article, *Archaeological Journal*, 1862, vol. xix. p. 43.

[3] Bryan Twyne, *Apologia*, p. 144.

[4] In the *Monumenta Britannica* certain details will be found in the General Intro-

It is certain that there was an ancient, if not contemporary, copy of the life of Alfred by Asser existing amongst the Cottonian MSS. before the fire. The MS. itself was certainly written some time before 1100, probably 100 years before, possibly a contemporary MS. It is certain it had not Camden's passage. Some three or four MSS. of Asser are found mentioned or exist, but they are only sixteenth and seventeenth century copies, and appear all to have been taken directly or indirectly from the Cottonian copy. Not one of them has the Camden passage.

Next, while Camden states in his preface to his Frankfort edition, printed in 1603, that he followed Archbishop Parker's edition (and it is clear that he does so, for it includes certain spurious passages which the Archbishop had inserted, and adopts exactly the same text), he could not possibly have used another MS., for the only variation is the insertion of the Camden passage. That passage had been sent to him before 1600, when he reprinted his *Britannia*, and he inserted it with another passage from the Hyde Abbey Chronicle, both passages appearing in print for the first time, and both together under Oxford. In adopting them, the latter was said to be 'ex optimo MS. exemplari.' When the passage was transferred and inserted at the end of one of the yearly entries in his edition of Asser, neither in the preface is a word said in modification of the statement that Archbishop Parker's text is followed, nor is any note added in the body of the work. In other words, it is inserted surreptitiously. Though there were questions raised, and the matter discussed, though Archbishop Parker was charged with suppressing the passage, Camden held his peace for nearly twenty years, and allowed it to be reprinted and also translated into English without saying a single word on the matter. When within a year of his death (being 72 years of age), on the somewhat impertinent intrusion of Bryan Twyne, and after trying to put off giving any direct answer, he is made by Twyne to say, upon pressure, that he printed his edition of Asser from a MS. of the time of Richard II., which had that passage, either then Twyne misunderstood his answer, or he had forgotten that the book itself negatived this story, both by his preface in it and by the internal evidence of the printing of the book itself. The former hypothesis is the most probable, for as the whole memorandum shows that Twyne was intent upon what he thought to be a great work, namely, to gain a point in the argument for the antiquity of Oxford, rather than arrive

duction, p. 11 and p. 79, and in the work itself, p. 467. Also in Hardy's Catalogue, Rolls Series, 1862, vol. i. p. 552, for some of the chief evidences on the subject.

at the truth, he was not in a position to report accurately what he heard on the subject.

It must, however, be borne in mind that it would be wrong to judge of accuracy of statement in writers in those days by the standard which we set in our own. Even Archbishop Parker's preface to his edition of Asser will not bear close examination, for he speaks strongly of following his copy, and lays stress upon leaving the MS. in the College, so that his work may be judged by it, and then inserts two or three passages from the 'annals' of the pseudo-Asser, certainly not in the 'archetype' for which he expresses such reverence.

Of course, he thought these 'annals' were the genuine work of Asser, and therefore there could be no harm in improving upon the ancient MS. which he was following by adding them. He never thought for one moment he was corrupting the text of a contemporary of Alfred with the inventions of a twelfth or thirteenth century writer, or he would not have done so. However, in his case, the insertions were innocent; the same cannot be said of the passage which was of so much importance in a controversy on which many felt so keenly.

And now, having treated of the circumstances concerning its insertion, we have to consider the passage itself. But it will be more convenient to consider the two passages together, and to give them both as they appear in Camden's *Britannia*. The first is professedly from the Hyde Abbey Chronicle; the second, as will be seen, professedly from a MS. of Asser. He had, in his previous editions of the *Britannia*, remarked that 'when the storm of the Danish war was over, the most religious Prince Alfred restored their retreats to the long-exiled Muses by founding three Colleges, one for grammarians, another for philosophy, and a third for divinity.' He added, in the 4to edition of 1600, 'This will be more fully explained by the following passage in the annals of the New Monastery at Winchester.' He gives the passage thus:—

> 'In the year of our Lord's Incarnation 886, in the second year of the coming of S. Grimbald into England, the University of Oxford was begun; the first amongst the Regents and Divinity Readers in the same, being S. Neot, the Abbot who was also a distinguished Doctor in Theology, and S. Grimbald, the most eminent Professor of the exceeding sweetness of Holy Scripture. Then Asser the Priest and Monk most skilled in all Literature, was Regent in Grammar and Rhetoric. While John the Monk of the Church of S. David's was Reader in Logic, Music and Arithmetic. And John the Monk, the companion of S. Grimbald, a man of most acute intellect and most learned in every subject was teacher in Geometry and Astronomy

And this in the presence of the most glorious and invincible King Alfred whose memory will dwell like honey in the mouths of all,'

At this point Camden broke off, but the original passage runs on as follows :—

'both clergy and laity throughout his whole Kingdom. Then the most prudent King Alfred issued a decree that his nobles on account of the liberty given them, should have their sons disciplined by learning, or if they had no sons, at least their servants should they exhibit natural ability[1].

He then proceeds in his own words: 'Soon after, as we find *in an excellent MS. of the said Asser*, who was at that time Professor here':—

'The same year there arose a very bad and terrible discord between Grymbald and those very learned men whom he had brought thither with him, and the old scholars whom he had found there; for these, on his coming, unanimously refused to receive the rules, methods, and forms of lecturing which Grymbald had introduced. During three years there had been no very great difference between them; there was however an enmity existing although concealed, which afterwards broke out with the utmost violence which made it clearer than the light itself: and when that invincible King Alfred heard of the dissensions by the messages and complaints from Grymbald, he went in person to Oxford to put an end to this dispute, and he took the greatest pains to hear the causes and complaints which were adduced on both sides. The foundation of the difference lay in this. These old scholars maintained that before Grymbald came to Oxford learning had everywhere flourished, though the scholars at that time were fewer than in more ancient times, the greater part having been driven out by the cruelty and oppression of the Pagan [Danes]. They also proved, and shewed, and that by the undoubted testimony of antient chronicles, that the ordinances and regulations of the place were established by certain religious and learned men, such as Gildas, Melkinus, Nennius, Kentigern, and others, who had all lived to a good old age in these studies, managing affairs there in peace and harmony, and also that St. Germanus came to Oxford, and staid there half-a-year at the time he took his journey over Britain to preach against the Pelagian heresies, and wonderfully approved their aforesaid rules and institutions. The king with unheard of condescension listened to both parties most attentively, and repeatedly exhorted them by pious and seasonable advice to maintain mutual union and concord. And so he left them with the prospect that both parties would follow his advice and embrace his institutions. But Grymbold who was offended at this proceeding immediately retired to the monastery at Winchester lately founded by King Alfred, and

[1] Camden's *Britannia*. First printed in 4to ed., London, 1600, p. 331, and repeated in later editions. Also more fully in *Liber de Hyda*, cap. xiii. § 4. Rolls Series, 1866, p. 41. The passage in the Hyde Chronicle immediately precedes that already given, p. 13, beginning, 'Which University of Oxford.' Appendix A, § 16.

then also caused his tomb to be removed to Winchester, in which he had intended that his bones should be laid when his course of life was ended, and which was in the vault under the chancel of St. Peter's Church at Oxford; this church the said Grymbald had built from the ground, of stone executed in the most perfect manner[1].'

When this passage was inserted into the Frankfort edition of Asser it was put under the events of the year 886: the date being derived from that given in the Hyde Chronicle for the foundation.

In tracing the origin of the Alfred myth, we are met by the same kind of difficulties as have already presented themselves in respect of the Mempric and Greeklade myths. In the case of Alfred it is most difficult, if indeed it is possible, to arrange in order of date the several passages in which the myth occurs, or discover exactly its first appearance in any chronicle. But it may be as well at once to point out that no writer anterior to Edward III.'s reign has been found who appears to have known of it, for had any known it he would have most certainly alluded to it in recording Alfred's labours in the cause of education, which so many chroniclers before that time do.

The earliest instance observed of a reference to Alfred founding Oxford is the passage in Ralph Higden's Polychronicon, a chronicle beginning at the creation of the world and continued to A.D. 1357. The compiler died in 1363, but it was continued afterwards by others. He inserts a few words in the summary of Alfred's life at the beginning of his sixth book, thus:—

'He put together psalms and prayers into one little book which he called a manual, that is *handbook*, and carried it carefully about with him. He attained but a very imperfect knowledge of grammar for the reason that at that time there did not exist throughout the whole kingdom a teacher of grammar. Wherefore by the counsel of S. Neot the Abbot, whom he frequently visited, he was the first to establish schools for the various arts in Oxford; to which city he granted privileges of many kinds. Moreover he permitted no illiterate person to be promoted to any ecclesiastical dignity[2].'

Possibly of Edward III's time also is Brompton's Chronicle, or as it may be more correctly called, the *Chronicon Jornallense*, and it has the passage about Oxford almost in the same words as Higden's *Polychronicon*, but with additions similar to those in the Hyde Chronicle; thus:—

[1] Camden's *Britannia*. First printed in 4to ed., London, 1600, p. 331, and repeated in later editions. Also in the English translations of the *Britannia*, from one of which, i. e. Gough's folio ed., London, 1789, p. 287, the English versions given above are taken, though with some slight variations, where it seemed necessary, to bring them more closely into accordance with the original. Appendix A, § 17.

[2] Higden's *Polychronicon*, Rolls Series, 1883, vol. vi. p. 354. Appendix A, § 18.

'He put together psalms and prayers into one little book, which he carefully carried about with him, he attained but a very imperfect knowledge of grammar, because then in the whole western kingdom no teacher of grammar existed. For this reason by the counsel of S. Neot the Abbot, whom he often visited, he first of all established public schools of the various arts at Oxford which he caused to have many privileges; Wherefore also this king who was himself a giver of Alms, a hearer of Mass, and an enquirer into hidden things, summoned to him from a certain part of Gaul, the holy Grimbald, a monk skilled in literature, and in song; also John a monk of S. David's situated in the farthest part of Wales, that he might gain a knowledge of literature from them. He also so encouraged his nobles to take up literature that they should have their sons taught, and if they had none, then their servants[1].'

A page or so further on, where he is writing of Alfred dividing his money, he says, 'of the second half, which was divided into four portions, the first was for the poor, the second for founding monasteries, the third for scholars recently assembled at Oxford, the fourth for restoring churches.

Thirdly, we have the Hyde Abbey Chronicle, from which the extract has already been given as quoted by Camden.

There is, next, a passage quoted by Bryan Twyne[2] and by Wood[3] as the writing of William of Malmesbury, whose histories were written about 1120–25. But they contain nothing of the kind. The passage is stated by the latter to occur in his treatise *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis ecclesiae*[4]. Of this, though in its original shape it was written by William of Malmesbury, no early copy is known to exist, and the MSS. which do exist are obviously filled with later interpolations. But further no MS. has been observed to contain the passage earlier than that of John of Glastonbury, who though he copies a great deal from William of Malmesbury, interpolates more, and brings his chronicle down to 1456. He may however have copied a somewhat earlier MS. The passage runs as follows:—

'Hearing of the fame of Neot, King Alfred often visited the servant of God, and was sometimes guided by his counsels. For by the counsel of Neot he first appointed public schools of the various arts at Oxford, and sent legates to Rome beseeching Martin the second that he would grant to the English schools the same liberties as they have at Rome, and what he asked of the most Holy Father without any delay he obtained and procured for them, privileges in many matters.'

[1] Brompton, *Chronicon Jornallense* apud Twisden *Decem Scriptores*. London, 1652, col. 815. Appendix A, § 19.

[2] Twyne, *Apologia*, p. 186.

[3] Wood, *Hist. & Ant. Oxon*, p. 43.

[4] In Hearne's edition of William of Malmesbury, *De Antiquitatibus Ecclesiae de Glastonia*, there is no trace of the passage. It is included, however, in his edition of John of Glastonbury, Oxon., 1726, p. 111.

To these may be added an extract from the *Historia Major*, written by Thomas Rudborn, at Winchester, about the year 1440. He must have had knowledge of the Hyde annals, but does not seem to have followed them. He writes:—

> 'This noble King divided the kingdoms, which formerly existed in England into Counties; and in order that the Christian faith should always increase, blossoming in flowers of piety, he founded the University of Oxford[1].'

A little before this passage he has:—

> 'Alfred had à son Ethelward, a very learned man, and a philosopher at the University of Oxford. And he was buried in the new Minster at Winchester which is now called Hyde.'

In another place he has written:—

> 'He (Alfred) discovering a certain herdsman (*subulcum*) by name Denewlph, sent him to the schools; and he was afterwards made Doctor of Theology at Oxford, and was appointed to be Bishop of Winchester by King Alfred himself[2].'

Taking, then, these earlier forms of the myth as it is first presented to us, it would seem that the chief point in common is that Alfred founded schools at Oxford. But this is a natural deduction which any historian of the fourteenth century would make. He would have read in Florence of Worcester and others who had copied Asser, that Alfred encouraged education, and founded a school or schools; Oxford was the chief school known to him, and as he had no record of its foundation, it would be natural for him to put the two together. Each chronicler, however, varies the story.

At the end of the fifteenth century Rous treats this myth much as he has treated the myths which relate to the primeval founding of Oxford. He seems to have followed Asser in part, the Hyde Chronicle in part, and to have added something of his own. It will be well to give his account, as it forms a link in the growth of the myth; and his transference of the record of the purchases of three halls by the University in 1253, 1262, and 1270, to King Alfred's time, provided the basis, no doubt, for Camden's statement in his *Britannia* of there having been three Colleges founded by Alfred in Oxford.

[1] *Thomae Rudborne Historia Major Wintoniensis*, cap. vi. Printed in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, London, 1691, p. 207. There are some difficulties about his date; as, according to Wharton, there were two Rudborns. This one seems to have been Archdeacon and to have died in 1442. By more than one of the controversialists the passage from the Hyde Abbey Chronicle is attributed to Rudborn, probably from it having been copied into some one of the many Winchester Chronicles.

[2] Ibid., p. 208. W. of Malmesbury tells the story, but without any reference to Oxford. The three passages are given Appendix A, § 20.

Rous treats the story thus:—

'This King [Alfred] delighted in the society of learned men, whom he knew to lead virtuous lives, and so summoned Plegmund Abp. of Canterbury, Werferth of Worcester before he was made Bishop, and Athelstan of Hereford, and Werulf of Leicester, all learned men from the kingdom of the Mercians. Also he joined with them the holy Grymbald of Flanders from the Monastery of S. Bertin, with his companions, John and Asser and John the Welshman from the Monastery of S. David's. And through their teaching he obtained knowledge of all books. At that time there were no grammarians throughout the kingdom of the West Saxons. He amongst the praiseworthy acts of his munificence, in the year 873 at the instigation of S. Neot established public schools for the several arts in Oxford; to which city on account of his special love for the scholars he granted many privileges, not allowing any one who was illiterate to be promoted to any dignity. The masters and scholars, who had been converted to the faith taught in the Monasteries and in other places set apart according to the manner of the ancient schools of Greklade, Lechlade, Stamford, Caerleon, Cambridge and Bellisitum, and of such other schools (*studia*) of this kind as were already in the island. . . . . .

'At the first foundation of this University this noble King Alfred established at his own expense within the city of Oxford three Doctors, namely in Grammar, in the Arts, and in Theology, in three different places in the name of the Holy Trinity. In one of these which was situated in High Street (*in alto Vico*) towards the East gate he endowed the hall with all that was necessary for twenty-six grammarians; and because of its inferiority in knowledge, he ordered it to be called "*Parva Aula Universitatis;*" and so it was called in my own time. Towards the northern walls of the city in what is now called *Vicus Scholarum* he founded another Hall with abundance of means necessary for twenty six Logicians or Philosophers, and this he ordered to be called "*Aula Minor Universitatis.*" The third Hall which he founded in High Street, near East gate and close to the first on the west side he called [*Aula Magna*] and arranged for twenty-six Theologians who should promote the study of Holy Scripture, and for this he provided abundant means to meet their costs.

'Besides these there grew up in a short time many other Halls of the different faculties, established by the burgesses of the city and of the neighbourhood and then by those from a distance; yet not at the King's expense, but through the King's gracious example[1].'

He then quotes the passage about the king requiring his nobles to have their sons educated, and adds that the king sent his own son Athelward to study at Oxford: then referring to Radburn[2] he gives

[1] *Joannis Rossi Historia Regum Angliae*, Hearne's ed., 1745, p. 76. Appendix A, § 21.

[2] He thus spells Rudborn, but which of the Winchester Chronicles he used has not been ascertained.

some particulars about Grymbald, and makes him the first Chancellor. After some remarks on the connection between the Oxford and the Paris University, he ends with saying that Grymbald in his old age left the University and returned to Winchester, where, having erected New Minster, he was the first Abbot of the place, and died on the 8th ides of July, A.D. 903, in the eighty-seventh year of his age[1].

This last paragraph probably gave the hint to Savile, or whoever was the author of the Camden passage, to insert the detail about Grymbald having before he left Oxford built a church with a tomb in it, namely, St. Peter's-in-the-East; the existence of this early crypt, which, before architecture was studied, and various styles observed and ascribed to various dates, being thought to provide exactly the kind of evidence which was required to prove the truth of the assertion.

But the chief point in which the Camden passage differs from all others is that it has for its object to prove that Alfred did *not found* the University, which nearly all the stories connecting Alfred with Oxford had implied, but that he restored a *previous foundation*. It was necessary, therefore, to use Grymbald for the purpose of creating a schism, by introducing new rules and regulations, and thus prove the existence of former rules and so a former University; and it was supposed to fit in well with this to suggest that he deserted Oxford and went to Winchester, in consequence of his new rules not being received.

It would occupy too much space to introduce the various chronicles and chroniclers who, down to the year 1603, follow more or less the myth of Alfred founding the University, but it may be said they show that the writers were unacquainted with the essential feature of the Camden passage, which claims to be a part of the original chronicle of all. It is also unnecessary to point out several chronological difficulties which occur in the different versions, both as regards the date assigned for the foundation and Alfred's movements, and also the known dates of the professors whom he is supposed to have summoned. There is also the difficulty of Oxford being out of his kingdom, so far that he does not appear (and his will exists) to have owned any property on the north of the Thames, while from one end of Wessex to the other his manors and vills are very numerous; nor was it till some years after his death, i.e. in 912, that Edward the Elder obtained possession of Oxford, which could not well have been the case if it had been his

[1] This Rous would find in the Hyde Abbey Chronicle. See Ed. Rolls Series, p. 83. The chronology of the Camden interpolation, it should be noted, will not agree with the Hyde Chronicle, inasmuch as it was not till the last year of his reign (i. e. 900) that Alfred proposed to Grymbald to found the New Minster at Winchester. See Ibid. p. 51.

father's. All such are of little moment beside the one great fact, namely that Asser, who was Alfred's contemporary, and has written a very full biography of him, knew nothing of the foundation, nor did any of the many writers who followed Asser[1], until Edward III's time: the myth then suddenly springs into existence and grows; and then in Elizabeth's reign, when the negative evidence of Asser's biography was found too strong for the myth, those who were interested in its vitality interpolated the passage in that biography, which, in consequence, instead of threatening the life of the myth, would add fresh vigour to it.

The Camden passage is not the only imposture connected with the Alfred myth. The association of this king with University College, and the practical use made of such association in a law-suit, is quite as remarkable, and though the foundation of the College and the suit in question belong respectively to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a brief outline of the events of the foundation are rendered necessary, in order to show the baseless character of the plea; and a summary of the case must be added in order to give an idea of the credulity of those concerned.

University College justly claims to represent the earliest foundation provided for scholastic purposes in Oxford. Before the year 1250 there were students and schools here, but the scholars were almost entirely supported by monasteries, or, perhaps, in some few instances, by private persons. In 1249 William, Archdeacon of Durham, died, and left 310 marks in trust to the University to purchase houses, the rental of which should go to support a certain number of masters. This is the first endowment of the kind of which we have any record. The University only partially fulfilled its trust (as we learn by an inquisition taken in 1271), by buying some three or four houses, but eventually the masters admitted to the benefits of the foundation were incorporated, according to the plan which was laid down by Walter de Merton about 1274, and so the foundation became a college, though the original title, 'The Hall of the University,' was retained for long after.

Under the bequest the University had first bought, c. 1253, a house in School Street, the site now absorbed in Brasenose College. The next a house, the site of which is in High Street, but on the north side and opposite the College. The third purchase in 1262 was a house in School Street adjoining the first purchase, and the site also absorbed

[1] Florence of Worcester, writing before 1120, copies nearly the whole of Asser in substance. The passage succeeding the interpolation runs on immediately after that preceding it, and as Florence copies nearly verbatim, it is impossible the passage could have been in the MSS. known in his day.

by Brasenose College. The fourth was in 1270, for two houses on the south side of High Street to the east of the present college. These together produced only 18 marks per annum, as we find by the inquisition attached to the statutes granted to the masters in 1280, from which year we may perhaps date their incorporation. In 1292, when they have a second body of statutes more complete than the first, and proper provision made for their Bursar, though they do not appear yet to have bought further property, it looks as if the University had been able to pay over the money, which, instead of having invested in houses, they would seem, contrary to the spirit of their trust, to have lent. It was not till Edward II.'s reign that the masters seem to have purchased more houses and had others given to them, and some of these formed together what afterwards became their College in High Street. But what is to be noted is that throughout all these documents, and indeed throughout all those which exist up to Richard II.'s reign, Alfred's name is never mentioned, nor a single word which can be in any way made to imply that there was an older foundation than that of William of Durham.

It is not necessary to discuss which of these houses formed their first abode, or whether they let the houses and lived in lodgings till they moved into High Street, but it should be noted that in the course of their deeds we find the '*Parva Aula Universitatis*' mentioned in 1379, and afterwards the '*Magna Aula Universitatis*' in 1381. As will have been observed[1], Rous goes into details, ingeniously fitting the three faculties to the three halls, which he makes by transferring William of Durham's foundations to Alfred, but being puzzled for a name for the third hall, invents the name of '*Aula Minor*.' All this manufacture is very poor work, but by this importation of extraneous matter by successive writers it is that a myth obtains a substance, and so gains a credence, which, if left in its original shape, would not be accorded to it.

The story of Alfred's foundation of University College had probably obtained a footing towards the close of Edward's reign, as it was turned to good purposes in the next. The circumstances were briefly these: In 1307 (1st of Edward II.) John Goldsmith bequeathed to Philip Gonwardby, and Joan, his wife, a small tenement with messuages adjoining in All Saints parish. In 1363 (37th of Edward III.) the College obtained this, as appears by the 'Final Concord,' on payment of £40. But, not content with this, later on in the same year (according to another 'Final Concord'), by the payment of 100 silver marks, they obtained all the estate of the said

[1] See ante, p. 50.

Philip and Joan, consisting of six messuages, nine shops, fourteen acres of land, and fifteen acres of meadow, besides certain rents, and some land on the Berkshire side of the river. It appears to have been what would be called a good stroke of business on the part of the two masters who represented the college, and probably, therefore, done rather hurriedly, and without sufficient examination of the title. After they had been fourteen years, however, in possession (i. e. Ap. 12, 1377), a certain Edmund Francis and Idonea, his wife, challenged the right of the college to the estate, for it seems that John Goldsmith had, by a later document, made a like settlement upon them. The case appears a complicated one, and it would be rash to attempt to decide upon the rights of it. It was tried at Westminster in 1378. Then, under a special provision insisted on by the college, it was transferred to Oxford, where, it seems, they obtained a verdict in their favour, but by an informality as to the admission of one of the attorneys, an appeal was entered, and the case went back to Westminster, the writ of error being dated July 12, 1378. The suit was dragging on, as such suits did, when we find that the college, being, as it were, *in extremis*, decided upon putting in as a plea the myth about Alfred, and declaring the college to be a royal foundation, though not a single scrap of evidence to this effect existed in their archives, and though every piece of evidence which did exist pointed to William of Durham as their founder.

The document in which this was done is known as the French Petition. It is not dated, but it is filed amongst the papers which belonged to the Parliament, which began April 25, 1379. The following is an extract from the Petition in English, the original being in the court French of that day[1]:—

> 'To their most Excellent and most dread and most Sovereign Lord the King, and to his most Sage Council, Shew his poor orators, the Master and Scholars of his College, called Mickle University Hall in Oxenford, which College was first founded by your noble Progenitor, King Alfred (whom God assoil) for the maintenance of twenty-six Divines for ever.
>
> 'That whereas one Edmond Francis, Citizen of London, hath in regard of his great Power, commenced a Suit in the King's Bench against some of the Tenants of the said Master and Scholars, for certain Lands and tenements with which the college was endowed, and from time to time endeavour to destroy and utterly disinherit your said College, of the rest of its Endowment, ...

[1] According to Antony a Wood, a copy of this on parchment was existing in the College Treasury, which he saw (*Colleges and Halls*, ed. Gutch, Oxford, 1786, p. 87). The original is filed amongst the Petitions 2 Ric. II, in the Public Record Office.

'That it may please your most Sovereign and gracious Lord and King, since you are our true Founder and Advocate, to make the aforesaid parties appear before your their most Sage Council, to show in evidences upon the rights of the aforesaid matter, so that on account of the poverty of your said orators your said College be not disinherited, having regard, most gracious Lord, that the noble Saints, John of Beverley, Bede, and Richard Armacan, and many other famous Doctors and Clerks were formerly Scholars in your said College, and commenced Divines therein. And this for God's sake, and as a deed of Charity[1].'

It seems that the plea commended itself to the council, who, on the part of the king, virtually accepted the office of patron, and, moreover, of founder, and all that was involved in his being accounted such; and further, that in consequence the proceedings of the courts were stayed; for amongst the documents a writ is found in 1381, directed to the Sheriff, Mayor, Bailiffs, &c., of Oxford, setting forth:—

'That the King was moved at the desire of the Masters and Scholars of the College, commonly called Mickel University Hall, *which is of the foundation of our Progenitors* sometimes Kings of England, and of our patronage. Now we being willing to assist the said Masters and Scholars as far as by law we can, we desire and command you, &c.[2]'

This meant, of course, throwing the matter into the King's hands and removing the whole case to the decision of the Privy Council. It certainly looks as if the College had a bad case, and were aware of it, or they would not have resorted to so dangerous a course, as risking their liberties for a mere pecuniary advantage.

Still later on, for some reason not clear, another petition was addressed to Parliament, and this like the last is preserved amongst the Parliamentary documents in the Record Office, but under those of the Parliament which began April 29, 1384. It is again in the name of the 'King's poor orators, the master and scholars of University Hall, which is of the patronage of their dread lord and founded by his noble progenitors[3].'

Although it is not, as a rule, thought necessary to stop to point out the absurdities in the attempts to sustain the myths, in this case it is curious to note to what a low ebb the historical knowledge of the Fellows had fallen when they propound that in their College, which

[1] Record Office Parliamentary Petition, No. 6329. Note also Rotuli Parliamentorum, vol. iii. 69 a.

[2] Given in Smith's Annals of University College, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1728, p. 110. From the same work the above summary of facts, so far as they depend on documents preserved amongst the College Archives, are derived, since Smith had access to them, and seems to have made good use of them. Antony a Wood also refers to several of the same documents.

[3] Parliamentary Petition, No. 6330.

was founded by King Alfred, who came to the throne in 872, amongst the scholars were to be reckoned John of Beverly, whom they ought to have known was Archbishop of York in A.D. 705[1], and Beda, who died A.D. 735. Their poverty of invention, too, is shown by their finding no other name to couple with the above than Richard of Armagh[2].

The device was successful for a time. Writs of *supersedeas* were issued, the previous decisions were reversed, and all arrears were ordered to be paid to the College from the time of passing what was termed 'an erroneous judgment.' There are several writs and documents to this effect. One dated July 12th, another July 30th, and a third August 2nd, all in the same year, i.e. 1388 (12 Ric. II.), an extract from the last of which will show the results of the action of the College:—

> 'And now we understand that the said Edmund and Idonia .... intend to implead, weary, and disquiet, as they openly threaten, the said Master and Scholars, by writs of fresh force, and other pleas and processes, as well in their own Names, as in the names of other their complices and encouragers; which if it should be done, it would in the event tend as well to the disinheriting of us; especially since that College is of the foundation of our progenitors, and of our patronage; as to disinheriting of the said Master and Fellows, and the overthrow of the said Judgment given in our Chancery, by the authority of Parliament as aforesaid. And because we have had full deliberation in our present Council now held at Oxon, we will not, as we ought not, suffer this; nor that these things that are discussed in Parliament, or before our Council, or in other our great Courts; especially by authority of Parliament, are still in discussion, should be pleaded, or any way treated of: We, by the advice and assent of our said Council, command, and firmly enjoin you, that if any assize of Errour, or any other plea or Process, be before you against the foresaid Master and Scholars, or tenants of their tenements, by the said Edmund and Idonia in their own names, or of others concerning the foresaid tenements, begun, or to be begun, you put an end to them: saying to the foresaid Edmund and Idonia, or other prosecutors, that they should prosecute before our Council if they think expedient; where we will cause a completion of speedy Justice to be made to them. Dated at Oxon, the 2nd of August, in the 12th year of our Reign, A°. 1388, per Concilium[3].'

The history of University College not being before us, but only the myth, it is not necessary to pursue the matter further, but there are two remarks which may perhaps be made in connection with the case. It

[1] See Beda, bk. v. caps. 2, 3, and 6.

[2] No doubt this is the Richard, Archbishop of Armagh, who was consecrated Archbishop in 1347, and had been a member of the College for a short time. He was Chancellor of the University about the year 1333, and died 1366.

[3] From Smith's *Annals*, p. 134.

is evident the College had no scruples, for in the archives are still existing several forged charters relating to this property, and, it would appear, they had tried these first, and, as seems most likely, their clumsiness had led to their detection. No chance, therefore, remained but to resort to this myth of Alfred. Further, it should be added, that this decision of the Privy Council, being one of policy rather than law, in order to enhance the authority of the Crown than to do justice, brought with it its own condemnation. The losing side had thought, by invoking the aid of the Crown to help them, they would gain an easy victory. The Crown simply looked to its own advantages, and a judgment delivered under those circumstances had no moral weight whatever. The judges might make law, they could not make history. Though by Twyne, Wood, Hearne, and the like, the judgment is thought to prove that Alfred founded Oxford, no reasonable person who reads history for the sake of truth, and not for controversial purposes, would attach the slightest weight to it: further, it happened as might have been expected; such a judgment was simply ignored, and the thunder of the Privy Council had no effect; for we find in the Hilary Term, 1388–1389 the whole matter submitted to arbitration, and the courts in January, 1389–1390, register 'A Final Concord,' and the indentures between the Masters of the Hall and Edmund and Idonia follow, dated respectively the 3rd and 14th of February the same year.

Not that the myth was wholly stamped out, for in a suit with the Abbot of Oseney, commenced in 1427, 'Richard Witton, Warden of the Great Hall of the University,' put in the plea following:—

> 'That the said Great Hall is a certain ancient College, of the foundation and patronage of the aforesaid King that now is, and of his Progenitors, sometimes Kings of England; to wit, of the foundation of the Lord Alfred, sometime King of England, progenitor of the lord King that now is, before time, and in the whole time, to the contrary of which the memory of man does not exist; for a Master and seventy eight Scholars, viz. for 26 Grammarian Scholars, 26 Philosopher Scholars, and 26 Theological Scholars, to be instructed, and taught to support, maintain and sustain the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the holy Church, and the Laws of the Land, and the customs of the Kingdom of England.....[1].'

So much, then, for University College, and that part of the myth.

As already said, after the death of the Oxford and Cambridge champions the struggle between the two Universities for priority of

[1] Smith's *Annals*, p. 145. It will be found that one of the French petitions represents the foundation to be for 24 divines, the other petition to be for 26, while this has increased the number to 28. Appendix A, § 23.

date of foundation found no public advocates, till Bryan Twyne in 1608 issued his *Apologia*[1]. This work consists of some 384 pages of closely printed matter, in 4to size, divided into three parts or books. It is exceedingly verbose and digressive, and it is impossible to give any idea of the work in a brief space. The first two parts consist mainly of criticism on the arguments used by John Caius, the first part being wholly taken up with attacks upon the Cambridge story. The variations of the stories as told by different authors are marshalled in order to show their absurd inconsistencies with each other and known historical facts. He shows that the 'authorities,' for instance, on which Caius relies for the foundation, have no idea when it happened. The great Cambridge Black Book gives Anno Mundi 4321[2], Lydgate 4348, Caius himself 3588, Nicasius Cadney 4415, Chronicon Morganense 4848, and four MS. authorities, which had been adduced 4695, 4317, 4091, 3869 respectively. This work of demolition is easy, but when he begins the task of building up his own positions as to the antiquity of Oxford he labours painfully. He has to explain away similar variations in telling the stories introduced by the writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, on whom he has to rely. But, on the other hand, he adduces many new arguments which had not been introduced before, though, as a rule, they are of the very weakest kind.

For instance, he quotes as an authority Francis Thynne for connecting Greeklade with the first Greek Archbishop, i.e. Archbishop Theodore (A.D. 669), but argues that Archbishop Theodore could have only been the restorer of schools and not their founder, because they existed in British times (p. 116). He takes seriously Burley's argument, already referred to, that the Greeks must have chosen Oxford on Aristotelian principles, and carefully shows that this is not necessarily inconsistent with their having first chosen Greeklade, and moved hither (p. 121). He finds satisfaction in discovering amongst the medieval halls in Oxford a Greek Hall, and, still more, an Aristotle's well (p. 123). He deduces from certain etiquette which was observed towards King James in 1604, when certain officials of the University met him on his way from Woodstock on the occasion of his visit to Oxford, an argument for the University having been once situated in St. Giles (p. 124). His dissertations on Rydochen and Boso, and the British name Caer, are puerile to a degree. Though for some time 'it

[1] *Antiquitatis Academiae Oxoniensis Apologia in tres Libros divisa authore Briano Twyno.* 4to, Oxonii, 1608.

[2] Possibly Nicholas Cantilupe, the author, gave the sequence of the figures by way of jest.

was a doubtful question,' he thinks that Isis is not derived from Ice (i.e. *glacies*), but may be the British word Ouse (p. 137).

But his very far-fetched arguments as to the priority of date of Oxford over Cambridge, derived from the mention of the place by two German astronomers of the sixteenth century (p. 139), are not so amusing in themselves as in their mythical after-growth. He says (when discussing the geographical position of Oxford, or, rather, Britain, that '*P. Appianus*,' in the second part of his *Cosmographia*, in his description of the most famous places, names three as the most celebrated cities of Albion, viz. Canterbury, Ochenfurt, and London, leaving out Cambridge, because it was never reckoned amongst the famous cities of Albion. He follows this up with another instance, namely, that '*Cyprianus Leovitius*,' the author of the *Ephemerides*, in his index of the chief cities, omits Cambridge, but he notes Oxford. He then goes on to discuss the polar altitude given to Oxford and to Cambridge respectively by other writers.

The *P. Appianus* is meant for Peter Apian, known in Germany as Bienewitz, an astronomer of Leipsig, who died in 1552[1]. The *Cyprianus Leovitius* is Cyprian Leowitz, a contemporary astronomer, who died in Swabia in 1574[2].

If one turns to the *Memorials of Oxford*, in the account of the city (p. 3) we find that, after referring to Rous carrying the city back to 1000 years B.C., and Twyne following him, Dr. Ingram writes:—

> 'But not to go so far back, there is no doubt of the comparative importance of the place from the earliest period. Appian in his catalogue of British cities amongst those of eminence mentions Canterbury, Oxford, and London. Cyprian includes it in his index of ancient British cities. In the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries its history becomes matter of ordinary record[3].'

So myths grow even in our own day.

Twyne also manages to derive some help to his argument that Oxford was chosen as a Bishop's See and Cambridge not (p. 141);

[1] The book referred to is *Cosmographia seu descriptio totius orbis. Per P. Apianum et Gemam Friscium.* Antwerp, 1529; Paris, 1551.

[2] The work referred to is *Ephemeridum opus ab anno* 1556 *usque in annum* 1606. Aug. Vindob, 1557.

[3] It is probable that Dr. Ingram did not take this direct from Twyne, but through some intermediate source. Possibly it was from Sir John Peshall's edition of *Wood*, who, however, by speaking of the author as Paul Appian (though his name was Peter), ought to have prevented any confusion between the German astronomer *temp.* Queen Elizabeth and the Greek historian who flourished A.D. 140; and should have suggested that the other was not the St. Cyprian who was martyred in A.D. 258. It is needless to say that neither of these writers has left behind a list of British cities.

but it is difficult to follow him. Equally difficult, too, is the argument relating to British coins, being said by some chronicler to have been dug up at Abingdon (p. 142). It is here (p. 143) that he comes to the Asser controversy, and implies that Archbishop Parker possibly suppressed the passage, which was most likely not written till after the Archbishop had printed his book. Then he plunges into the question of Germanus and Gildas (p. 145), and contends that Iren mentioned in an obscure chronicle is not Ireland, but Icen, and so Oxford. He revels in Merlin's wild prophecy and the curious remark of Alexander Neckam, and finds a fulfilment in the University going to Stamford (of which, by-the-bye, he seems to accept the foundation as given by John Harding, viz. that it was due to the British King Bladud); the treatise on transmigration of learning, however, in connection with the prophecy, occupies several pages.

During the lifetime of St. Frideswide, or certainly soon after, he brings John of Beverley[1], Beda, and Alcuin to Oxford. His argument as to Beda is ingenious. Beda listened to Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, Archbishop Theodore founded Greeklade, therefore Beda studied at Greeklade, and consequently Oxford can claim him, and not Cambridge.

Of course much of his treatise is taken up with the Alfred controversy, and the several masters whom Alfred summoned, according to the story, which, as has been shown, first appears in the Hyde Abbey version of the myth. He has, of course, to combat the difficulty of Alfred being spoken of as the founder of Oxford, according to most of his authorities, on which he relies, for bringing Alfred to Oxford at all, and has to make out that they meant by a founder only a restorer.

The above few notes may perhaps give some idea of the manner in which he treats the mythical history. The rest of the second book, together with the whole of the third, treats of times after the history of Oxford begins.

After Twyne the next important writer upon Oxford who supports the myths, is Antony a Wood. He follows in the wake of Twyne, adding nothing of any moment, but by omission and more

[1] Possibly John of Beverley was brought to Oxford simply on the ground that others were brought, namely that being men of note or learning at this period, it was thought that they must have been educated at Oxford. But it is curious that we find there was once actually a John of Beverley here, for 'Joannes de Beverlao Prior Oxoniae, et Baculaureus Theologiae,' was one of the compromissaries at the election of Robert Greystains by the chapter to the Bishopric of Durham in 1333. See *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres*, Surtees Soc. 1839, p 120. And for the coincidence of the burial of John of Bury, and the election of Thomas Hatfield on St. John of Beverley's day, see p. 137.

careful language he makes his stories run more smoothly. But he is evidently a firm believer in all Rous's inventions, and he still puts him in the forefront of the historians of the University of Oxford.

In Hearne we have a second Twyne as regards credulity, but without his learning. He takes in everything, and here and there adds something of his own. Two examples may be given, perhaps, as characteristic. The story of Mempric, it will be remembered, as told by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and before Rous used it for engrafting on to it the story of the foundation of Oxford, ended with his being eaten up by wolves. Hearne finds corroborative evidence of this in Wolvercot[1]. He thinks it might have been written Wolves' cot, and two pages of dissertation about Wlfgar-coit-well, or Aristotle's well, and Walton, where he thinks the ancient walls of the city extended, follows on as a natural consequence. The other is this: He has found an instance of Busney, probably only in some later and badly spelt charter, but he thinks it substantiates the argument as to Oxford once being on the north:—

> 'This place is called Buseneia in old books, and indeed, I take Busney to be righter than Binsey. Which if it will be allowed, it will confirm what is said in old story about Oxford's standing formerly more north-west than it does at present .... The first part therefore of Binsey, according to the old way of writing, must be the same with the Greek *βοὺς*, and the latter must be from the water[2].'

Next we have Dr. Ingram, who seems to follow Twyne, Wood, or Hearne indiscriminately, as regards the passages which he introduces into the *Memorials of Oxford*, respecting the mythical history of the town, or the story of Alfred's foundation; but he never seems for one moment to attempt to verify the authorities, on which their statements are supposed to rest, and no further evidence of his carelessness in this respect is needed than that just given on a previous page.

In the foregoing pages an attempt has been made to give the chief myths in the exact words of the writers, where they first occur, with a view as far as possible of suggesting the probable circumstances which led to their existence. To have followed these several myths through their variations as they appear in writers of the sixteenth century alone would have occupied a volume. To expose all the companion myths which have grown up since would be merely waste of time, and it has been thought sufficient to give a few specimens only from one or two

[1] *Joannis Rossi Historia Oxonii*, 1745. Editoris praefatio, p. vii.

[2] *Gulielmi Neubrigensis Historia*. Notae Thomae Hearnii. Oxon., 1719, p. 758.

writers of eminence. It is almost impossible to take up any book which touches on the early history of Oxford without discovering, if not the glaring myths themselves, at least their influence, in one way or another; and this in books of all kinds, from the great folios of the *Acta Sanctorum*, where the author of the article on St. Frideswide has filled whole columns with a recapitulation of the myths, to the little guide-book which is thrown away when done with. The *Oxford University Calendar*, too, in its account of University, still has 'The College of the Great Hall of the University is said to have been founded in the year 872 by Alfred the Great[1],' and always has had it. And it is not long ago that, on the occasion of the imaginary one thousandth anniversary of this foundation, those in high position in the Church and in the State joined together in a dinner to celebrate it[2]. But, as said before, such repetitions of a myth do harm, in that they obliterate the true history, and therefore it has been thought necessary to give several pages to an explanation of the circumstances under which the general reception of the myths has come about, before attempting to give any historical account of the rise of Oxford.

[1] The *Oxford University Calendar for the year* 1885. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press.

[2] The dinner took place in University College, June 12, 1872 (the implied date agreeing with neither the Hyde Abbey Chronicle, nor that of Rous, &c.). The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Rt. Hon. Robert Lowe) is reported to have said on that occasion: 'I have always made it a matter of principle to believe in King Alfred in connection with the College. I was told it was founded by him; I read it in the University Calendar; and I never heard any argument against it until I listened to the perfidious advocacy of the Dean of Westminster.' See *Guardian* Newspaper, June 19, 1872.

CHAPTER III.

THE SITE OF OXFORD DURING THE BRITISH AND ROMAN SETTLEMENT.

THE position which Oxford occupies is one which at first sight appears to offer great advantages for a settlement. It is situated on the bank of the chief river of the country, and at a point where that river is joined by a tributary which opens up a considerable district to the north; added to which a thick bed of gravel exists at the spot, forming a promontory between a southern course of the Thames on the west, and that of the Cherwell on the right, and rising at its summit to some twenty-five feet above the meadow-land, amidst which the many streams of the divided Thames here find their way, and this is exceedingly suitable for dwellings. But, on the other hand, if we consider the circumstances which in all probability attracted British settlers, we shall find that they were wanting. For so important a river would naturally have formed a boundary line between the provinces into which we gather that Britain was divided, and thus rendered the dwellers on one side or the other liable to frequent hostile incursions.

The probability is, judging from the scant remains found of anything betokening British occupation on the site of Oxford[1], or in its immediate vicinity, that this promontory of gravel, which lay towards the eastern end of the southern boundary of the territory of the Dobuni, was not populated or marked by any settlement of importance. On the western side of the Thames, in the meadows beneath the shadow and shelter of the Wytham hills, a few graves[2],

[1] The nine days' wonder of the 'British Village' discovered on the site of the Angel Hotel, when digging for the foundations of the New Schools, created some stir, from the letters which appeared in the London papers. It was found to be only hollows where gravel had been excavated for ordinary purposes. See *Oxford Times*, Dec. 9th, 1876. Still, the gravel yielded pottery which might be of early date, and some earthenware spindle-whorls. In 1874 a single urn, apparently British, was discovered in digging foundations in Norham Gardens. Some bronze weapons of various kinds were found on the Wolvercot side of Port-meadow in 1830; and a number of *Paalstabs* were said to have been found in Cowley Marsh in 1881. All the above are in the Ashmolean Museum.

[2] See Oxford Architectural and Historical Society's Proceedings, Mar. 1870,

with traces of pottery, betoken habitations possibly of British times. Further off to the north, and on the other side of the river, at rather more than a mile distance, and adjoining the village of Yarnton, a considerable extent of ground has been occupied by graves[1], which, from the pottery and other circumstances, may well be thought to be those of the British race. But the dwellers on this side would probably have lived beneath the shelter of the hill which rises prominently between Yarnton and Bladon, and the top of which has distinct traces of a circular entrenched camp, not unlike many which are ascribed to British fortification[2]. To the east, again, but on the other side of the Cherwell, on Bullingdon Green, it is possible that of the many mounds which were there visible some forty years ago, before the land was brought under cultivation, some were burial mounds, for one certainly has produced pottery of an early type, and with it human bones and burnt fragments, betokening that it was something more than the earth and sand turned out in the process of quarrying[4]. Although on Shotover Hill no traces of habitation or interments have been found, nor on the range of the Hincksey and Cumnor hills stretching round on the south and western side of Oxford, still from time to time flint weapons are found on the surface[4], which may possibly betoken the presence of British settlers near.

Again, there are no traces of any presence of the Romans during the period of the Roman invasion [5], in what may be called the imme-

vol. ii. p. 196. Also a brief note in the Appendix to *Scientific Papers and Addresses*, by Prof. Geo. Rolleston. Oxford, 1885.

[1] For the remains discovered in cutting the Witney railway line (which traverses the south-west corner of the field where appears to have been the cemetery), see a paper by W. B. Dawkins in the Proceedings of the O. A. & H. S., 1862, vol. i. p. 108, and Appendix to *Papers and Addresses* by Professor Rolleston. But of the original excavations, under the superintendence of the Rev. Vaughan Thomas, Vicar of Yarnton, no account seems to have been preserved. The most extensive discoveries of British remains in the neighbourhood were those at Brighthampton, 8 miles S.W. of Oxford. See *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxvii, pp. 365–398. A model, &c., is in the Ashmolean Museum.

[2] Called 'Round Castle' on the Survey Map, and referred to by Plot and Warton.

[3] The writer of this found the objects in question, c. 1860, in a mound at the top of the road, on the left hand side leading up the hill, along the northern wall of what is now the riding ground of the Military College. It would have been a prominent object from Cowley Marsh. It should be added, a singular piece of a bronze weapon was found at the same spot.

[4] A good polished flint implement was found by Professor Phillips in the clay-pits on Shotover Hill, May 21st, 1861. It is in the Ashmolean Museum. The writer has found specimens of the small rough arrow-point type on Cumnor Hill, &c.

[5] It is just possible that the lines of some trenches, which appear some distance in the way to Horsepath across Bullingdon, may belong to a camp; though it would be dangerous to rely upon such as evidence.

diate vicinity (such as camps and the like). Nor yet of the period of the Roman occupation, though of the latter there are very many traces at some distance from Oxford, and in every direction.

It will be well first of all to say a few words about the Roman roads in this part of Britain[1]. The two great western lines of communication may be said to be drawn, as if purposely, to avoid the immediate neighbourhood of Oxford. The chief road, which starts due west from London and makes straight for Staines (the *Pontes* of the Itinerary), to which point it is clearly marked on the Ordnance Survey, continues its course (though here and there for some distance it is no longer to be traced) to Silchester (*Calleva*), the great Roman city of that southern province of the kingdom referred to as *Britannia Prima*[2]. Thence, after a few miles, it reaches Speen (*Spinæ*), and here bifurcates; the lower road being continued due west to Bath, the upper road taking a north-westerly direction, straight across the Downs to Cirencester (*Corinium*). In the latter part of its course, as the Ordnance map shows, it is clearly to be traced, and goes by the name of the Ermyne Street.

The northern road from London, namely the Watling Street, some little distance after it has passed St. Alban's (*Verulamium*), gives off a branch to the west, called the Akeman Street (so called from leading to the springs of Bath, sought after by sick people), which, tending for some distance in a north-westerly direction, reaches the neighbourhood of Bicester; then crossing the sloping ground to the south of Middleton Stoney, takes a south-westerly direction, and, passing over the northern extremity of Blenheim Park and afterwards tending straight through the midst of Wychwood Forest, eventually meets the southern road at Cirencester[3].

These two western roads from London may be described as en-

[1] The evidence of the roads is chiefly based on the Antonine Itinerary; but whether this belongs to the close of the second century, or to the third, or even to the beginning of the fourth, cannot be determined. It is probably an imperfect document, on the one hand, and has been interpolated, on the other.

[2] We do not find this title given to the southern part of Britain except by Sextus Rufus Festus and the *Notitia utriusque Imperii*, neither being before the fourth century. The probabilities are that it was not till the end of the third century that this division of Britain into Britannia Prima, Secunda, &c., took place. Then Calleva was built and the road made, and soon after the Antonine Itinerary drawn up including that road.

[3] At Cirencester is an important junction of five roads. Besides the two roads above mentioned, meeting here, another starts westward into Wales *via* Gloucester (*Glevum*), while through it passed the great *Fosse-way*, uniting it directly with Lincoln (*Lindum*) and the country on the north-east, and with Bath (*Aquae Solis*) and the neighbouring district on the south-west.

closing a space on the map in the shape of a leaf, with London at one extremity and Cirencester at the other. The site of Oxford is in the midst, and, although considerably north of a line drawn from end to end, still is found to be at least eight miles from the nearest point at which the northernmost of the two roads passes.

Nor is this all. When a junction road was made southward from the Akeman Street, at the point where the old camp exists, called Alchester (i.e. the *Ald chester*, near to Bicester), to the Thames, it was carried direct to Dorchester, passing some three miles east of the site of Oxford[1]. In all probability this and the last road were made late in the period of the Roman occupation, neither of them being named in the Itinerary of Antoninus, and it would therefore be highly improbable that any Roman settlement of importance meanwhile could have taken place on or near the site of Oxford.

Any one who looks at the Ordnance Survey will be struck by the very straight course of this line of road, which in many parts is so apparent as to be accurately drawn on the map by the surveyors. But more details will be found in the map attached to the late Professor Hussey's account of the road[2]. In this account he points out very many features in its course, most of which are now visible, though not so plain in all cases as they were in 1840 when he wrote the treatise. But Dr. Plot, writing in 1676, who credited the common stories about the antiquity of Oxford, thought the road ought to come to this city. So he writes as follows[3]:—

[1] The high road between Headington and Wheatley has at this distance been cut through it. The section can be clearly seen on the southern side. It has been more obscured on the northern side. In places just above Beckley the line of road is exceedingly plain.

[2] *An Account of the Roman Road from Allchester to Dorchester and other Roman Remains in the Neighbourhood.* By the Rev. Robert Hussey, B.D. Oxford, 1841. The so-called Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester, on which he relies as containing the list of places on this line of road, has been shown to be without doubt an impudent forgery of the seventeenth century by a writer named Bertram. He however deceived Stukeley, and every other antiquarian writer followed in the wake simply because Stukeley had endorsed it.

[3] *The Natural History of Oxfordshire.* By R[obert] P[lot], LL.D. Folio. Printed at the Theatre, Oxford, 1677. P. 318.

[4] On his map he does not attempt to draw the line of the road, and has evidently not traced it further south than the immediate vicinity of Headington; he thinks that it was more probably directed to Calleva. Since, by trusting to fanciful etymology instead of examining the country, he had with others guessed *Calleva* of the Antonine Itinerary to be Wallingford, instead of Silchester, and therefore considered that somehow it must have joined this line of road. In Prof. Hussey's map it will be seen that he is enabled to trace it direct into Dorchester, the lower part of the road having been made use of as a modern highway.

'If it be asked why this way twixt Wallengford[1] and Alcester was laid so crooked? it is plain, 'twas for the convenience of taking Oxford in the way as occasion should serve. For though I could not discover the *diverticulum* tending towards Oxford in the way from Wallengford, yet in the way from Alcester it remains at some places yet plain and evident . . . .'

He then notes certain irregular cuttings in roads, and one place where he says paving was found; and then he brings the road to Elsfield, and to a certain hollow way in Headington Hill (but this cannot now be traced, and his map affords no assistance). Out of this road, he proceeds to say that—

'There seems also another way to have branched about the top of the hill which passing through the grounds twixt that and Marston lane where it is plain to be seen, by its pointing shews as if it once passed the river above Holy-well Church straight upon St. Giles, or the old Bellositum now Beaumont; where about Thomas Rudburn in his *Chronicon Hydense* says, anciently before its restoration by Ælfred, the University was seated "*Quae Universitas Oxoniae quondam* (says he having before discoursed of its restoration by Ælfred) *erat extra portam Borealem ejusdem urbis, et erat principalis ecclesia totius cleri, Ecclesia Sancti Aegidii extra eandem portam.* Which two put together perhaps may make as much for the antiquity of this place as need be brought for it[1].'

The desire of bringing the road to Oxford naturally led Dr. Plot to interpret traces of old roads wherever he found them as belonging to one continuous Roman road. Professor Hussey, in 1840, examined carefully all that Dr. Plot had brought forward, as well as what Warton, in his 'Specimen,' had adduced.

The argument turns chiefly upon the apparent marks of a road (now scarcely, if at all, visible) across the lower part of the grounds belonging to Mr. Morrell's mansion on Headington Hill, and it would appear as if once the road which came down from Shotover Hill past the Warneford Asylum, and now meets the main Headington road just after it begins to rise up Headington Hill, was originally continued across that road and joined the Marston Lane at rather more than a quarter of a mile's distance, near to the turn to King's Mill on the left and close by the old municipal boundary stone on the right.

[1] Plot's *Oxfordshire*, p. 318. It must be remembered that the historian Rudburn died early in 1442, and, as already pointed out, is of no authority. The Hyde Abbey Chronicle, as has been said, is probably much earlier than his date. Plot, however, suppresses the absurdity which is implied in the passage, namely, that the University was only moved back within the walls after 1354, i. e. after the colleges of University, Merton, Exeter, Oriel, and Queen's had been founded. He appears to make the passage say it was moved at the restoration by King Alfred, and this is not accurate. It is an example of how writers unscrupulously deal with passages which, when given entire, refute themselves.

The Shotover road, the lower part of which, next the Headington road, goes by the name of 'Cheyney Lane[1],' was once the chief highway to London, and if the portion of road said to be traceable through Mr. Morrell's grounds, and the small portion supposed to be visible outside, on the left of the path going up to Joe Pullen's tree, and just before it joins the Marston Road, be Roman, then the irregular road up Shotover Hill is Roman also, and in fact that was held to be so. But the grounds on which such a theory is based are not forthcoming, except that Oxford, being supposed to be a Roman city, it was necessary to find a Roman road to it from London.

With respect to the direction of the portion of road being towards Holywell Church, as Professor Hussey has observed, this is not the case, but it is considerably above it, and is directed to the point in the Cherwell where the streams divide. He concludes some other notes by saying, 'However, I can find no trace of it on any part of this ground[2].'

Warton seems to have taken Plot's note, and enlarged upon it. His words are here quoted from his 'Specimen of a History of Oxfordshire':—

> 'Another branch of the branches of the Akeman Street perceptibly slants from the brow of Shotover Hill, near Oxford, down its northern declivity; bisects Marston Lane, crosses the Cherwell north of Holywell Church, with a stone pavement, is there called King's Swath or Way, goes over S. Giles field and Port Meadow, has an apparent trajectus over the Isis, now called Binsey ford, being a few yards south of Medley grove, runs through Binsey churchyard, in which are the signatures of large buildings, winds up the hill towards the left, where stood the ancient village of Seckworth, and from thence proceeds to Gloucester, or falls into the Akeman Street about Witney[3].'

There is a boldness in sketching this outline which for the moment defies argument. If one inquires, 'Where are the traces?' the answer would be, 'They are obliterated'; and as regards crossing of the streams, it would be answered, either the bridges were wooden and have perished, or their stonework has been taken away and used for other purposes. And there is no doubt that a road once deserted and the ground dug over leaves few, if any, vestiges behind. It might, too, be urged, in support of a *primâ facie* acceptance of the theory, that there

[1] Said to be called so from the chain which once went across it, probably to bar it for toll as a turnpike; but the evidence for the statement cannot be given.

[2] Hussey's *Roman Road*, p. 43.

[3] *A Specimen of the History of Oxfordshire, being the History and Antiquities of Kiddington.* By the Rev. Thomas Warton, B.D. 2nd ed., 4to. London, 1783, p. 57.

was in all probability some communication by road between Binsey and the northern end of Oxford before the 'Botley Causey' was made passable as a carriageway, and perhaps that such communication was over the ford. And it might even be urged that when Binsey Church was once held in much estimation for pilgrimages, the roads about here would be more frequented than when such pilgrimages ceased.

Yet, much as this may be true, it does not afford any argument whatever for the imaginary long line of road supposed to start from Alchester, and cross the northern part of Oxford, and join the Akeman Street again, or go direct to Gloucester. It may be well also here to quote the cautious words of Professor Hussey on this point:—

> '*If* the chief ford at Oxford, that from which the name was originally derived, was that by Binsey which passes out of Port meadow a little above Medley lock, there might have been a road from Marston lane across St. Giles's field and Port meadow to it, passing quite to the north of the present town of Oxford. Or there might possibly have been a road in that line to serve as a way to the holy spring at Binsey, or to the neighbouring village of Seckworth: but these are mere conjectures at present. If there had been any evidence of such a road in Plot's time, it is likely that he would have noticed it[1].'

In respect of a road west of Binsey traces really exist, though they are no longer to be seen on the surface. It went across the meadows in a south-westerly direction to Seckworth, or Seacourt, which lay on the Wytham Road, and was originally made, no doubt, in consequence of the existence of a population at Seckworth; and since the buildings there were destroyed (a few uneven hollows by the side of the road being all that remains by which to identify the spot) it has become obsolete. Beneath the fields in places the stones can be found by probing, and in the stream stones are still to be seen where the bridge is supposed to have crossed it. There is no reason, however, to associate this road with the British or Roman period, although it is quite possible that an important road in very early times skirting the southern bank of the Thames valley crossed over the lower portion of the northern slopes of the Wytham hill, and might well have afforded an approach to Oxford in this direction.

As a matter of fact it is dangerous to assign any small portions of road to any specific date, and the presence of a paved road is no evidence as to period, when we find it going over soft meadow-land, since it must be paved in some way to be a road at all; while the character of any kind of paving must depend more upon the material available than the age at which it was constructed.

[1] Hussey's *Roman Road*, p. 44.

That there were roads of some kind in times preceding the Roman invasion, and perhaps some made during that period, may well be allowed; and perhaps, before leaving this subject, the great Icknield way (in some parts called the Ridge way) should be referred to. This is carried along the top of the Berkshire range of hills—connected at one end with a similar road, traceable in places across the Marlborough Downs; at the other, traceable quite distinctly along the lower ridge of the Chiltern Hills of Buckinghamshire. It is well within the area already referred to of the leaf-like shape. Though, from the circumstance of it affording communication between the great British fortresses along that line, the period of its construction may be reasonably ascribed to British times, it may well have been used by the Romans, and continued in use by the Saxons, as it is in use now. At its nearest point, however, it is fully fourteen miles from the site of Oxford. Beneath the same line of hills will be observed another road, passing from Harwell through Wantage as far as Sparsholt, and marked on the map as the Port-way[1], which has been assigned to Roman times, but without sufficient evidence. Further to the east a small portion of road is marked as the Ickleton way. But in all probability the name is but a later reading of Icknield, and has been applied without authority to this part of a lower road on the supposition that it was a different name. Some of the roads too in Berkshire are referred to in the boundaries given in the Saxon Charters as *here-paths*, that is, military roads, which in all probability were found to be such when our forefathers came here and gave this name to them; but, even where identification is satisfactory, they seem to throw no light upon any British or Roman occupation in the immediate vicinity of Oxford.

When we consider the records which we possess of Roman times in the pages of chroniclers, whose work may be depended upon, we see how little reason there is to suppose that the district around Oxford played any part in the history of those times. It is true Oxford is situated on the Thames, and the Thames is named in connection with the earliest event recorded in the history of this country, but the place where Julius Caesar crossed that river could not at most have been far from London. Of course there have been several

[1] The word 'port' is an English word signifying a town—e.g. a *Port-reeve* (distinguished from the Shire-reeve, or sheriff), the *Port-meadow*, &c.—and probably has in this case no direct connection either with the Latin *porta* or *portus*; and the derivation of the word is the only reason, it is believed, why the name has been thought to mark a Roman road.

claims made for places marking the spot, and amongst them one even as far west as Wallingford, though the evidence is far from satisfactory[1].

The invasion of a century or so later—namely that under Claudius (A.D. 47)—may be said to have probably brought the Roman arms as far as this district, if not farther. It must be remembered that we are dependent for our narrative upon a Greek historian of the early part of the third century, but who professes to have followed Tacitus, whose books relating to the history of that period are lost. Several attempts have been made to construct a story of the campaign from the few isolated circumstances recorded; but one feature stands out prominently; the Roman general Aulus Plautius made peace (and a treaty is implied) with the Dobuni. Now there can be little question that the site of Oxford was within their territory,—indeed some map-makers make the River Cherwell for some distance the boundary line separating them from the Catuvelauni[2] on the east,—and if so, the site of Oxford would be at the very south-eastern corner of their territory, and the first to be reached by any stranger coming up the Thames. This however does not appear so natural a boundary as the river Thame and the Chiltern hills beyond, some twelve miles to the east of Oxford.

However this may be, Ptolemy in his geography (the date may be A.D. 120) gives only one city as belonging to the *Dobounoi* (or *Bodouni* according to the spelling adopted in Dion Cassius), and that is *Corinium* or Cirencester, a city which seems to have kept up its importance during the Roman invasion, and up to the time of the Roman occupation, as we have seen from the circumstances of five important lines of road meeting at the point. An English city eventually grew up upon the site of the Roman city which may possibly have included even the original Roman camp[3].

[1] In the Archaeological Journal, 1866 (vol. xxiii. p. 159), in a paper by Dr. Guest, the 'Coway stakes,' near Walton-on-Thames, are contended for. The great difficulty lies in this, that in Caesar's Commentaries, while several lines are given to each day's proceedings in Kent itself, hardly as many words are supposed to include the whole account of a long campaign westward, and then across the Thames, and then back.

[2] Catuwellani of Dion Cassius, but Catyeuchlani of Ptolemy. Identification has been suggested between the first name and the '*fines Cassivelauni*' of Caesar's Commentaries.

[3] The name is, in substance, British, and is derived from the river bearing the name of Churn or Cern, which gives a name to other places on its bank. The first letter in both cases was sounded hard, like K, and the introduction of the *Ch* in spelling the name of the river and that of places, as in Cherney, &c., was possibly for the purpose of giving it this hard sound. The Romans, when they

Here, in all probability, where the Roman head-quarters were fixed[1], all was done, that was done in the way of treaty, between the British King and the Roman General, and it is very possible that the camp here was the first important Roman station established, and being practically at the head of the chief river in the kingdom, was therefore the beginning of the subjugation of the country. And if further we take the view that Aulus Plautius had subdued the line of British fortresses on the Berkshire downs on his way westward, it is probable that on his return he brought the north bank of the Thames, and so the site of Oxford, under his control. Whether that invasion or not was the origin of the great camp at Dorchester[2], is purely a matter of

Latinised it as Corinium, must have heard it pronounced like Korn. The Saxons must have caught the sound of Kirn to have made Ciren-ceaster. We have softened the C in Cirencester, and, leaving out all the rest of the etymological element, called it *Cicester*, whilst in *Churn* and *Cherney* we give a totally different sound to the first letter.

[1] Another argument is sometimes adduced in favour of Cirencester being the place of treaty, namely, that King Alfred had met with some tradition of the kind, since in his translation of Orosius, and in one of those places where he writes his history independently of his author, he has the following passage (A. U. C. 667):

'When he [Caesar] had overcome them, he went into the island Britain, and fought against the Britons, and was routed in the land which is called Kentland. Soon afterwards he fought again with the Britons in Kentland, and they were routed. Their third battle was near the river which is called Thames, near the ford called Wallingford. After that battle the king came into his hands, and the townspeople that were in Cirencester, and afterwards all that were in the island.'

It has been assumed that King Alfred has in some way here joined together the campaign of Aulus Plautius with the two campaigns of Caesar. Orosius is almost silent on this third campaign, and it does not appear that Alfred was acquainted with Dion Cassius. It is highly improbable that any local traditions connecting the two places of Cirencester and Wallingford with the campaigns could have survived more than 800 years; nor could there have survived any British history, or Gildas, Beda. &c., would have become acquainted with it, and it would have been named. On the whole it would appear that Alfred understands Caesar's second descent upon Britain to have been divided into two parts: the first, the fighting in the territory of the Cantii, the second, the march to the Thames; and this is in accordance with Orosius, i. e. 'Primo congressu, Labienus occisus .... secundo prelio Britannos in fugam vertit. Inde ad flumen Tamesim profectus .... Interea Trinobantium firmissima civitas sese dedidit.' The chief ford in the Thames he knew of was Wallingford, not far from the place of his birth; and the chief Roman city he knew of was Cirencester, which was in his own dominion (Silchester had then long been devastated), and therefore he put them down in accordance with a custom not uncommon with makers of histories. In other words, he does not here recount the Claudian campaign at all. It is of course worthless also as an argument, to bring Caesar into the Oxford district. See however Guest's paper in the Archaeological Journal, vol. xxiii. p. 177.

[2] During the last few years a large portion of these fine earthworks were deliberately removed by the owner of the land. See Proceedings of the Oxford Arch. and Hist. Soc., 1870, vol. ii. p. 224.

speculation. It was a place where nature had done much by the bend of the river, so that there was little required from art. It would have kept in check the great stronghold of Sinodun in case it should have been afterwards occupied by the Atrebatii; it would have prevented the incursions of the Catuvellauni—if as has been suggested they occupied the Chiltern Hills, and the river Thame was the boundary line of their territory; and more than all, it would have kept the passage of the Thames open to the Roman arms and closed against their enemies. As to the exact locality of the chief battle of the campaign different views may be held, and must not be here discussed[1].

During the three next centuries, though Britain is frequently referred to by the classical writers, no events seem to be capable in any way of association with this district. The Roman arms seem to have been directed to those border lands of the hill country of Britain, namely, what was afterwards known as Wales and Scotland. The successor of Aulus Plautius carries the Roman arms to the Silures in the far west (A.D. 50), and the forts of the Nen and the Severn become historical. Boadicea revolts in the far east (A.D. 61), and Verulam and Camulodunum are particularly named. Agricola's campaign in the far north (A.D. 81) reaches to the forts erected between the Friths of Clyde and Forth. In the next century, Hadrian builds the second Wall in the north (A.D. 121) and Lollius Urbicus unites Agricola's forts by a continuous vallum (A.D. 139). The revolts of the remainder of the century are recounted, without the name of a single place being recorded. In the third century, when the period of occupation may be said to commence, only political history is recorded; and in the record of the intrigues and assassinations of Roman governors and generals, which universally marked the Roman rule at this period, only one single city stands out prominently, namely, York—where Constantine was born (A.D. 274), and where, on his father's death (A.D. 307), he was proclaimed Emperor. In the fourth century it is much the same, and we look in vain for names of places where the events recorded occur. Here and there incidentally Verulam and London are mentioned, the former especially in ecclesiastical history in connection with the story of S. Alban. But scarcely another city in this part of Britain—not even the great *Calleva* (Silchester), the central city of the south, to which all the roads tended, nor Dorchester, finds a single mention in any of the Roman historians and poets of this period,

[1] See Dr. Guest's paper in the Archaeological Journal, 1866, vol. xxiii. p. 159, in favour of Wallingford, and the paper in the Oxford Arch. and Hist. Soc. Proceedings, 1868, vol. ii. p. 90, in favour of Dorchester.

of which nearly one hundred may be reckoned who mention or describe Britain and whose works have in whole or in part come down to us[1].

The chronicle, however, of the Roman occupation may be said perhaps to be best read in the soil, namely, in the frequency of the traces of a Roman villa; in these the foundations were of stone, and the hypocaust or heating apparatus, composed as a rule of layers of Roman tiles, was constructed beneath the chief chambers, and in some cases beneath a bath room, so that the identification cannot well be missed; apart from the fact that on excavating they are found almost invariably to be accompanied by accumulations containing fragments of Roman pottery of various descriptions, by Roman coins, and by the oyster shells; indeed the persistent presence of the vestiges of these last is most remarkable.

Now the district to the north and south of Oxford seems to be as rich as most districts in such remains, but in Oxford itself scarcely any have been discovered[2].

Dorchester, the nearest Roman city, and the southern terminus of one of the roads already described, has been a constant quarry for Roman remains, but only one or two tesselated pavements are known now to exist *in situ*, and these are preserved simply because they are buried. It has been too a storehouse for coin collectors, but the fields now seem to be getting somewhat exhausted[3]. And though with the

[1] Such documents as the Antonine Itinerary, the geographical lists of Ptolemy, and the *Notitia*, are of course not included; and to lists of this kind may be added the geography by the anonymous writer at Ravenna in the seventh century, and no doubt based upon earlier lists. It may suffice to say that, as regards these lists, out of some 300 names there is not one which can with any reason at all be assigned to any place in the vicinity of Oxford nearer than the southern Roman road referred to above, passing through Calleva and Spinae (Silchester and Spene).

[2] The following should be noted, though hardly to be counted as exceptions. Skelton, in a note (Bullingdon H., p. 3), says, 'I have found Roman money and *other relics* in the gravel-pit opposite the Horse and Jockey Inn'—i.e. in the ground where now the Convent of the Holy Trinity has been erected. Also in Norham Gardens, in digging foundations, c. 1861, a single skeleton and some metal weapons were found. But such cases of solitary burial tell nothing; and it was not, so far as is remembered, determined whether the burial belonged to a Briton, Roman, or Saxon.

[3] There were collectors in Leland's time. 'In the closes and feeldes that lye southly on the Town that now standeth, be found *Numismata Romanorum* of gold, silver, and brass.' The Roman remains of burial found in the Vicar's garden; the 'cochlearia,' or snail spoons, discovered by Mr. Clutterbuck hidden in the dykes; the British shields and other weapons in the gravel of the Thames hard by the camp; and since then many other remains, including flint implements—all these discoveries, coupled with the establishment of the Bishopric in the early part of the seventh century, and the abbey in the twelfth century, prove the continuity of

exception of some coins being dug up in 1796 at Baldon[1], the line of the road northward seems to be singularly free from any traces of Roman remains for some distance, yet when we reach the neighbourhood of Wheatley, the traces of Roman occupation seem to be tolerably abundant.

The possibility of there having been a camp on Bullingdon Green has been already referred to. In 1879, a little to the south-east of Littlemore, and during the works on the City Sewage farm close to the Mynchery, were discovered Roman pottery works. That which was left consisted mainly of broken or imperfect specimens. No villa was discovered, but the skeleton of a man was found buried beneath the débris, amidst the blackened substance from the furnaces (two of which were seen *in situ*), and was thought to be one of the workmen. As it was only half a mile off the Roman road in question, it was no doubt a manufactory, but the very few marks on any of the pottery were not sufficient to connect the manufactures with any period[2].

Further on, and some little distance off to the north-east, upon the high ground, a very fine Roman villa was discovered, Oct. 31, 1845, and the excavations being continued by the Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Buckland, Dr. Bromet, and Mr. J. H. Parker, a very perfect hypocaust and bath chamber above, with the bath and even the lead pipe remaining, were discovered[3]. All, however, have been since destroyed, and it is even difficult to discover the spot. The glass vessels found in the carriage drive within the grounds of the Palace at Cuddesdon, might be assigned to the Roman period, were it not for the objects found with them, but at Holton, close by, a glass vase undoubtedly Roman was found[4]. In a field between Shotover and Wheatley remains of Roman mortars are found, as if once there had been a manufactory near.

Some distance off to the west, and therefore perhaps representing

the occupation of the city from the earliest times, through those of the Roman as well as the Saxon, down to our own.

[1] Hussey, *Roman Road*, p. 41. The coins were, Claudius Gothicus, c. 270; Constantine, 306–337; Magnentius, 350–353.

[2] The Oxford Arch. and Hist. Society visited the spot, 1862; Proceedings, vol. iii. p. 304. But no full account of the discovery was published by the late Dr. Rolleston, under whose superintendence the excavations took place; only a brief note appears in the Appendix to the 'Remains,' Oxford, 1885.

[3] See a full account, with engravings, in the Archaeological Journal (1845, vol. ii. p. 350). The coins discovered were, Maximianus, 292–311; Salonina, 260; Constantinus, 306–337; Gratianus, 375–383.

[4] Arch. Journal, 1847, vol. iv. pp. 157 and 74. A hoard of coins was discovered, 560 in number, on the Shotover side of Wheatley in 1842. They were given up to the proprietor, G. V. Drury, Esq.; but whether an account of these exists has not been ascertained. Ibid. iii. p. 125.

the nearest point of all to Oxford where Roman remains have been found, there were discovered at Wood-Eaton[1], c. 1802, traces of what appeared to be a Roman settlement of some extent. No outline of a camp can now be traced, nor are the remains sufficient to mark the actual site of the villa, but Roman brick is continually turned up by the plough, and large quantities of pottery, broken portions of armour, and weapons, heads of spears, arrows, Roman fibulae, and a plentiful supply of Roman coins dating back to Trajan and Nero, but the majority much later, mark the spot as once occupied by Roman men of wealth and influence. The position was on the rising ground overlooking the valley of the Cherwell. Possibly on the other bank of the Cherwell by Kidlington, there was another small station, since Roman remains have been found in a field a little to the north-west of the village[2].

Again, about two miles off, to the west of the road in the grounds of Oddington Parsonage, in 1824, some interments of men with traces of armour were found, and as the ground from this point for some distance in the direction of Charlton was strewed with débris of Roman pottery, the remains were associated, whether rightly or wrongly, with Roman times[3]. A little way off the line of the road, to the east of Waterperry, a considerable quantity of Roman remains were discovered in 1845, and described by a former President of Trinity College, Dr. Wilson[4].

But still closer to the road, in the year 1862, were discovered, in a field just above Beckley, in a south-easterly direction, the distinct remains of a Roman villa. The part uncovered consisted of four chambers, but the walls were carried further. Three of the chambers were paved with tesselated pavement, but only of ordinary square patterns. The pottery, tiles, and the other circumstances (the presence of the oyster shells included), left no doubt of it being a typical Roman villa, though the excavations did not lay bare any hypocaust[5]. A little

[1] See Hussey, *Roman Road*, p. 37. Since that time many more Roman remains have been collected from this neighbourhood by Arthur J. Evans, M.A., Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, amongst others a very interesting bronze statuette.

[2] A small Roman urn of good shape, found in process of quarrying, c. 1860, is in the writer's possession.

[3] Skelton's *Oxfordshire*, Ploughley Hundred, p. 7.

[4] Archaeological Journal, 1846, vol. iii. p. 116. The coins found were of Claudius Gothicus, Maximus, and Constantine, with the addition of two earlier coins of Domitian and Hadrian. Dr. Wilson refers (p. 123) to the excavations which produced Samian ware, &c., on the hill opposite, about a mile distant. Several specimens from these excavations are preserved in the Ashmolean Museum.

[5] Described, Oxford Arch. and Hist. Soc. Proceedings, 1862, New Series, vol. i. p. 186.

further on, at the hamlet of Fencott[1], a quantity of Roman pottery was found. It was where the clay was admirably suited to the purpose, as was shown by experience, it being the best in the neighbourhood, and the manufactory must have been a formidable rival to that at Littlemore. At Alchester itself, which is a little further on, where the road joins the Akeman street, quantities of Roman relics have been discovered. From the excavations made in 1766, one spot was found to be the site of a villa, but in several places quantities of tiles, pottery, coins, &c., had been found[2].

But the most prolific district for Roman remains in the neighbourhood of Oxford, is some distance to the westward near to Stonesfield, through which the Akeman street passes. The Roman camp lay a little to the north of this road; but close to it, and in the parish of Stonesfield, there was discovered, in 1712, a fine Roman villa with a tesselated pavement, the account of which was published in 1713. Again, in 1812, further excavations were made here, and in the same year another Roman villa was discovered on the south bank of the Evenlode, its situation remarkably resembling the description of Pliny's Villa; the court, and some fifty chambers or more, surrounding it were all carefully traced and planned. The chief chamber with the hypocaust and flues, are still remaining, with the greater part of a fine large tesselated pavement *in situ*, and much of the foundation of the other chambers can be traced. This is known as the Northleigh Villa; the Stonesfield Villa was unfortunately entirely obliterated[3].

[1] Hussey, p. 34. One fragment is stamped with the letters *Jure Uro*; but whether this stamp has been observed on pottery found in any of the villas has not been ascertained.

[2] A MS. account of Alchester came into the hands of Dr. Kennett, written 1622, of which he prints a considerable portion (*Parochial Antiquities*, New Ed., Oxon., 1818, p. 10). The following is an extract: 'In the forefront of Allchester, Allectus for his better defence built a sconce or watch tower . . . where in our days has been digged up much Roman money, brick and tile, and pavement of curious and wrought tile of the bigness of sixpence being delicately laid there.' In further excavations in the Spring of 1766 (See Dunkin's *History of Bicester*, London, 1816, p. 195), they found beneath the débris a court covered with fine gravel; then they reached a wall, of which 3 feet was standing, which they followed for 30 feet; then inside the building a Roman pavement, and beneath this a Roman hypocaust. It is needless to add that all the guesses about *Alauna* and *Allectus* arise from interpretation of the name, Al-chester. Bertram's forgery of the Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester was first published at Copenhagen in 1758; in this he impudently turned the *Old chester* into *Aelia Castra*, and set Stukeley and a number of antiquaries, who followed him, disputing about the part which this city played in the history of the Roman occupation in the third century.

[3] A very good account of the Northleigh villa, with plan, section, and map, is given in Skelton's *Oxfordshire* (Wootton H., pp. 9 to 15). The original drawings were sent to the Society of Antiquaries, but there does not appear to be any notice

If next we look at the southern side of the Thames, the evidence of Roman occupation is scattered much in the same way, but again it does not seem to reach to the immediate neighbourhood of Oxford. One solitary coin, or a piece of pottery supposed to be Roman, is occasionally picked up, but there are few districts, if any, in the kingdom, where this is not the case. The nearest spot where anything like a number of Romain remains have been found is the Frilford cemetery, about six miles to the south-west. The Roman leaden coffins, and in one the coins which had been lodged in the mouth to pay the passage (as the verdigris on the lower jaw belonging to the perfect skeleton testified), were sufficient evidence of the occupation here of some Roman of importance. And although the coins are numerous, and the pottery in abundance, and here and there portions of Roman tile, no walls of a Roman villa have been found[1]. But westward, about one mile and a half, an undoubted Roman villa of some six or eight chambers was discovered, in 1883, beneath one of which was a somewhat unusual hypocaust, and sufficient remains of tesserae to show that there had at one time been a fine tesselated pavement[2]. About 1870 the remains of what appeared to be a Roman villa were found about a mile and a half due west of Wantage. In 1884 another Roman villa was discovered beneath the White Horse Hill at Woolstone, in which one wall, by the side of a passage paved with tesserae, was over a hundred feet in length, and two fine tesselated pavements, with patterns, were found to exist. Burials too had taken place within the inhabited area[3].

of them in the *Archaeologia*. The Oxford Arch. and Hist. Society visited the villa in 1872 (Proceedings, vol. iii. p. 37), and it is due to their exertions that probably the remains have been preserved, and that it has not followed the fate of the Stonesfield villa (see vol. ii. p. 346). With respect to this latter villa, four drawings of the pavement as it was when discovered are preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, and the pavement, being one of the finest known, was engraved as the frontispiece to one of the volumes of Pitisco's *Lexicon Antiquitatum Romanorum*, Venice, 1719. There are also other engravings found in various works. Hearne also has prefixed a 'Discourse concerning the Stonesfield Tesselated Pavement,' to the 8th volume of his edition of Leland's Itinerary, Oxford, 1744.

[1] The excavations were, by the kindness of the owner, Mr. Aldworth, first carried on under the direction of Mr. Akerman, in 1865, and afterwards much more vigorously and scientifically by the late Dr. Rolleston, during 1867 and 1868. Some notices appeared in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, but a full account, from the pen of Dr. Rolleston, will be found in the *Archaeologia* for 1870, vol. xlii. pp. 417–485.

[2] The excavations were conducted under the direction of Professor Moseley and Arthur J. Evans, Esq. The latter communicated a full account to the Ashmolean Society in Michaelmas Term, 1883.

[3] Visited by the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society in June 1884.

The probability is that these represent the houses of the Roman settlers, which were deserted when the Romans left, and were not continued in occupation, as was the case in towns like Dorchester, Cirencester, &c. And in some instances, the invading Northmen of the fifth and sixth centuries might have treated what they found left here much in the way in which they appear to have treated Silchester.

By a survey such as this, we see that the site of Oxford, having no traces of Roman occupation, and isolated as it were by the chief roads ascribed to the Romans, cannot in any way be said to carry its history back to Roman times. But its neighbourhood seems to have been occupied, and to present numerous traces of such occupation, rather above than below the average of the country generally; yet at the same time no event seems to have occurred which has caused the district to be mentioned in the pages of the historians of those days.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SITE OF OXFORD DURING THE SAXON SETTLEMENT TO THE CLOSE OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

AND now, having given some account of what may be gleaned of the Roman occupation of the Oxford district from the general aspect of the country, from the roads, from the few records we possess, and from the remains of habitation, we come to the period of the arrival of the Northern hordes, and a few words perhaps may be said with respect to the manner in which the invasion affected the same district.

After their landing in A.D. 519, the march of Cerdic and Cynric, and of their followers, the founders of the kingdom of the West Saxons, was naturally in a northerly direction. They evidently reached the Thames, and they or rather their successors crossed it. But their progress was slow. So late as A.D. 552—that is, more than thirty years after their first landing—they are recorded to be fighting at the *burh* of Old Sarum; and in A.D. 556, according to the chronicles, at Beran-burh (i. e. the burh of Ber or Bera), probably one of those great fortresses on the northern edge of the Wiltshire downs, still bearing on the map the name of Barbury. This would place the land of the Thames valley south of Oxford at their mercy; and having reached this point not only of their invasion, but it may be said of colonisation, they would not have been long before they crossed over to the fertile fields on the other side also. In Kent another race, from their own northern clime, held sway, and it would appear that a few years later, the West Saxons under Ceawlin and Cutha had, by becoming masters of the Thames River, endangered the safety of the dwellers in Kent and its neighbouring district of Essex; for we find that in A.D. 568, King Æthelbert, the Kentish king, is driven back into Kent after fighting at Wibbandun, which must be Wimbledon in Surrey, up to which point on the east the West Saxons had in the year 571 advanced along the line of the river Thames.

The year 571 was a year of great successes, or else beneath this year the chronicler has gathered together the successes which seem finally to have completely crushed whatever British power remained

in these parts. Of the five places, namely where battles were then fought, and the Saxons became the conquerors, two more closely touch the immediate neighbourhood of Oxford; and their identification is perhaps more sure than the others, viz. the two last on the list, Ensham and Benson. The Chronicle under the year runs thus:—

> 'A. 571. This year Cuthwulf fought against the Bret-walas at Bedcanford, and took four towns, Lygean-burh and Ægeles-burh and Bænesing-tun and Egones-ham. And the same year he died[1].'

That Egones-ham[2] is the modern Ensham, cannot well be doubted. The distance up the Thames from the site of Oxford would, allowing for the curve, be about five miles, and it will be observed it lies, though on the other side of the river, beneath the high ground of the Wytham Hills, the western extremity of which, forming a sort of large knoll and plainly visible from the road up the Cumnor Hill, would have been a suitable place for a fortress[3], which would have to be taken before they could expel the Britons from the Hill which they were probably occupying. The name of the place Ensham is given to the battle by the chronicler, because there was no other English settlement nearer at the time he wrote his chronicle. It is much the same with Benson. The village on the river bank bearing the Saxon name is of little or no importance, but the range of the Chiltern Hills rising above it afforded many places in which the Britons could defend themselves in the neighbourhood of Nettlebed; and the West Saxons would have to make themselves masters of that range before they could expel the Britons from their strongholds. Between Benson and Wytham, on the northern bank of the Thames, there are no hills of great importance, Shotover being the chief; but as the Britons after so many years' fighting with their invaders, were not likely to have had force enough to occupy a lesser range between the two others, we do not hear of this hill under any name by which the capture might be recorded. Practically we may reckon that in this year, A.D. 571, the district lying between Benson and Ensham, the site of Oxford included, became absolutely subject to the West Saxons.

The successes at Lygeanburh and Æglesburh do not concern us so much, excepting that they show the extraordinary progress the West Saxons were now making. As in taking Benson they had become masters of the southern end of the Chiltern Hills, so in taking

[1] Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *sub anno*. Appendix A, § 24.

[2] In the earliest charters belonging to the great Abbey, afterwards established there early in the eleventh century, the name is spelt Egnesham.

[3] Although there are no actual lines of entrenchment visible, some of the scarping may have been done with a view of repelling assault.

Aylesbury they must have become masters of the northern end. That Aylesbury is the place named by the chronicler to describe the victory is probably due to the fact that it lies on the Akeman Street, which no doubt afforded as great facilities to the Saxons in subduing the kingdom as it had to the Romans in keeping the kingdom in subjection. Looking at the extent of their victories as a whole, it would appear that by thus obtaining this range of hills they had practically made themselves masters of the whole of the district of the Dobuni, and threatened the district of the Catuvellauni, and more especially so if we accept the other victory as that of Lenborough, a name which still survives for the high land above Buckingham[1], and the occupation of which would probably have given them command of the Ouse. If they marched down this valley, they would reach Bedford, which, though in no other instance spelt Bedcanford, is no doubt the place meant. Whether they succeeded in carrying their arms so far, or whether the Mid Angles, or any other power, barred their further progress, is not recorded.

But while their success was first to the east of the Oxford district, we find that six years later the Chronicle speaks with no uncertain sound of their having taken three cities from three British kings in the far west, namely, Gleawan-ceaster, Ciren-ceaster, and Bathan-ceaster, as to the identification of which there can be no doubt. Without discussing the position of one or two other places named, we see how the whole of this district north of the Thames, stretching from the Chiltern Hills on the east, and to the Severn on the west, was gradually brought under the subjection of the West Saxon kings and made into the great kingdom of Wessex; and it gives an idea of the vastness of the territory acquired to read, a few years later, in the Chronicle, in the description of the accession of Ceolwulf (A.D. 597) to the West Saxon kingdom, that he 'fought and contended incessantly against the Angles or the Welsh, or the Picts or the Scots.'

The Oxford district was now therefore, at the close of the sixth century, in the centre of the vast kingdom of the West Saxons; bounded on the south by the sea; on the west by Wales; on the east by the kingdom of the East Angles, the East Saxons, and the South Saxons; and finally on the north by the Northumbrian kingdom.

[1] It must not be overlooked that the name Lygean is used elsewhere for the river Lee, which runs by Hertford. If we take this to be the first part of the name, we must look to the high ground near its source above Luton. There happens to be Limbury still marked on the map. If this is the place it meant, they had carried their victories up to the borders of Hertfordshire.

It was from the last-named of these probably that the first great check was received to their arms, or earlier in their history they would have absorbed all parts of the island; the events, however, of the early years of the seventh century are too imperfectly recorded to set them in exact order. Three points perhaps are noticeable in regard to them; first, that their King Cwichelm had attempted to destroy his enemy Edwine, the king of Northumbria, by assassination (A.D. 626); and this implies that although he had failed to conquer him in battle, he had carried his arms as far as Northumbria. The next is that the Northumbrian king had entered into close alliance with the king of Kent, and had married his daughter; so that in the south as well as in the north, Cwichelm was threatened. But the third point, and the most important, is that we now hear for the first time definitely of a king of the Mercians who succeeded to the throne during this year. The growth of this kingdom is not recorded. That it may have had its origin in the marches (whence its name) is probable, and that there may have been kings before Penda is possible; but this is the date at which the kingdom first appears in the pages of history. Failing in the north, and attacked in the west by this Mercian king (who it would appear had allied himself to the British king Cadwalla), Cwichelm had to retire before this newly created foe. Under the year 628 we read of the West Saxon king fighting at Cirencester, a strong city which, just fifty years previously, one of his predecessors had taken, and that, in the too laconic words of the Chronicle, 'he had there made a treaty.' What this treaty involved is unfortunately not recorded. No religious house had as yet been established in the west in which to chronicle such documents; neither could Beda learn anything of it, nor could the compiler of the great Chronicle in Alfred's reign. But gathering from the after-story, there is not much doubt that the Thames was the stipulated southern boundary of Mercia, and therefore from this date the site of Oxford, and Oxford itself, if any vill by this time was in existence there, was in Mercian territory: it would have been for a time at least a border town, and so subject to assault from the other side of the river when the two kingdoms were at war with each other.

During the thirty years of the rule of Penda (A.D. 626–655) the Mercian kingdom seems to have had a success second only to that of the West Saxon kingdom. It seems to have been extended into Northumbria on the north when Saint Oswald the Northumbrian king was slain: but whether or not during the reign of Penda the southern boundary was extended is perhaps doubtful: certainly it was so in the reign of Wulfhere, Penda's successor, when the Mercian kingdom

was carried across the Thames up to the Berkshire range of Hills already referred to. The words of the Chronicle are:—

> 'A. 661. This year during Easter Cenwalh fought at Posentes-burh, and Wulfhere the son of Penda laid the country waste as far as Æscesdun[1].'

It would appear from this that on Penda's death the West Saxon King Cenwalh disregarded the treaty which his father Cynegils had made at Cirencester (presuming it to have fixed the Thames as the boundary between the two kingdoms), and attempted to gain back some, at least, of the territory which his father had been forced to give up. He had been encouraged by the successes which he had gained in the west in A.D. 652 and 658 against the Welsh, obtaining victories (as would appear) both on the River Avon and the River Parret, thereby extending his kingdom westward to the Bristol Channel; this land hitherto had belonged to the Britons, who had readily found in the Mendip Hills many strongly entrenched positions difficult for the Saxons to take. The most probable explanation of the battle of Pontesbury is, that the West Saxon king had made use of the Severn, to effect a raid into the Mercian territory in the neighbourhood of Shrewsbury, up to which point it was navigable by vessels. On the other hand, the Mercian king had retaliated by crossing the Thames. The result however, as regards the site of Oxford, was that instead of being on the southern border of Mercia, it was now well within the limits of the Mercian rule. Before this any one standing on the site of Christ Church Meadow, would look across the river into the kingdom of Wessex, now he would look into a part of the kingdom of Mercia extending southwards some ten or twelve miles to the hills in the neighbourhood of Didcot, and possibly even still further.

There is much doubt as to the interpretation to be put upon the isolated entries in the chronicles for the next forty years respecting this district. Wulfhere, the Mercian king, apparently desirous of obtaining a coast line, and so of providing means of communication with the old country from which his race had come, seems to have gained possession of a strip of border land between the South Saxons and the West Saxons, and to have taken the Isle of Wight, which, the Chronicle records, 'he gave to the South Saxon king, probably for services rendered, and as a matter of policy (though the Chronicler attributes it to the circumstance of Æthelwald the South Saxon king being his god-son). In the last year of his reign, A.D. 675, we find

[1] Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *sub anno*. Appendix A, § 25.

Wulfhere still at war with the West Saxons; but it is impossible to identify the place, Beadan-head, where the fight took place. Ethelred who succeeded carried the Mercian arms successfully into Kent, and ten years later (unless there is some error in the Chronicle) the West Saxon King Ceadwalla does the same, as well as in the following year (i.e. A.D. 686 and 687).

When the century turns, the probability is that the kingdoms of Mercia and Wessex are much in the same condition as they were at the time of Penda's death, though from incidental circumstances, which are connected with the ecclesiastical history, it is somewhat doubtful whether the great tract on the south of the Thames, which for convenience we may call the Abingdon and Wantage district was absolutely in the kingdom of Mercia or in the kingdom of Wessex. The record is so meagre, and what there is so much taken up with ecclesiastical events—which were naturally considered to be of more importance by the compiler of the Chronicle—that it is quite possible there were treaties by which the under-king of the district may have bound himself in certain points of allegiance to both the one king and the other, and a neutral strip of territory to have been the result.

In A.D. 688 the great King Ine had succeeded to the West Saxon kingdom; and in A.D. 704 the Mercian King had retired to become a monk.

We have now arrived at the beginning of the eighth century, and as this includes the foundation of St. Frideswide's Nunnery, it will be well to pass on to another chapter.

CHAPTER V.

THE FOUNDATION OF ST. FRIDESWIDE'S NUNNERY. A. D. 727.

BEFORE speaking of the foundation of a nunnery in Oxford, it seems necessary to say a few words on the ecclesiastical history of the district, and the circumstances which render the foundation of such an institution probable at this time in this part of the kingdom. For it will be seen that the evidence we have of the foundation is of the very slightest description, and therefore the surrounding circumstances must weigh considerably in the acceptance or rejection of the legend.

Augustine's mission in A.D. 596, like Caesar's invasion, began and, for all practical purposes, ended in Kent; but Birinus in A.D. 634, like Aulus Plautius in his conquest, occupied, to begin with, a much larger kingdom, and his work was afterwards extended to a dominion larger still. The curious circumstance attending his mission is that, though directed to the West-Saxon King Cynegils, whom he baptized, and though virtually the Apostle of the West-Saxon kingdom, his stool, or seat, was fixed at Dorchester, which like Oxford was on the north bank of the Thames, and so seemingly in the Mercian kingdom, the king of which was the heathen Penda. What makes it more strange is that the saintly Oswald of Northumbria came and stood godfather to Cynegils at his baptism at Dorchester, A.D. 635, whom, eight years after, the heathen Penda slew. The explanation probably lies in the circumstance of the kings of Wessex and Northumbria finding it convenient to meet at some border city like Dorchester, which was more or less neutral ground; and there is enough recorded to show that there was an alliance between these two kings as against Penda.

The circumstance is told so clearly and definitely in the Chronicles, that there can be little doubt that there was a Register kept in the church at Dorchester at this time, from which the passage has been extracted. Royal baptisms (for two others are recorded later on) are just such events as would be so recorded. It is not therefore as if the district in which Oxford lay was uneventful at this epoch or without means of record; and therefore the reason of the name of

Oxford not occurring was either that it did not exist, or that no event of importance took place there.

In A.D. 655, after the death of Penda, the Mercians embraced Christianity—at least so runs a line in the Chronicle under this year; and when Wine is appointed to the Bishopric of the West Saxons, in A.D. 660, it is doubtful whether his seat was at Dorchester or at Winchester. Possibly, first of all, at Dorchester; and when Wulfhere extended the Mercian kingdom over the Thames as far as Æscesdun, in A.D. 661, Dorchester became so isolated that the Bishop moved into the church which had already been built some years previously at Winchester. And this is probably the explanation of apparent contradictory statements as to his title both in Beda and in the Chronicles.

Though the Mercians became Christians, we do not find that the kingdom of Mercia became a diocese, as was the case with Wessex. The king seems rather to have passively admitted Christianity than actively to have supported it, and Diuma the Scot, who appears to have been the first Mercian bishop, fixed his seat at Repton, far away from Oxford. At first, therefore, there was no diocese which could be said to include the site of Oxford; but some years later, that is about the year 680, when the Mercian kingdom is supposed to have been separated into dioceses, at the instigation of Archbishop Theodore, we gather from an entry in Beda[1], that Ætla was appointed to the old see of Dorchester, so that what had been once the chief seat of the great Wessex diocese, was perhaps now a seat of one of the Mercian dioceses, and to this Oxford would belong.

At the close, then, of the seventh century, and in the early part of the eighth century, we find not only that the Mercian kingdom was ruled by a Christian king, but that it had been separated into dioceses, and Oxford was within some ten or twelve miles of the seat of one of the bishops.

Next it should be borne in mind that we have now arrived at a period when the foundation of nunneries was by no means uncommon in England. Beda refers frequently to the founding of these establishments. For instance, when writing of the accession of Earconbert to the kingdom of Kent, in A.D. 640, he observes that the king had a daughter Earcongota, a virgin of great virtues, serving the Lord in a nunnery in the region of the Franks (i.e. at Brie).

> 'For at that time, there being *not as yet* many monasteries built in the region of the Angles, many were wont, for the sake of monastic

1 Beda book iv. cap. 23. At the same time there are some difficulties as to the appointment of Ætla. See Bright's *Early Church History*, Oxford, 1878, p. 311.

conversation, to go from Britain to the monasteries of the Franks, or of Gaul; and they also sent their daughters to the same to be instructed[1].'

In speaking too of the community of Heruteu or Hartlepool having been founded by a religious handmaid of Christ, Heiu, he adds, 'who is said to have been the first woman who took the vow and habit of a nun in the province of the Northumbrians[2]. As she was consecrated by Bishop Aidan, the date must be between A.D. 635–651. If we take the names of the abbesses in this country mentioned by Beda only before the year A.D. 735, we should make a fair list, but chiefly of those in the north. One of the first in the South was Ethelburga, the daughter of King Ethelbert of Kent, who had received Augustine. She had married the Northumbrian king, and on his death, returned, with Bishop Paulinus, to her own country, and founded for herself the religious establishment at Liming about 633. The only other nunnery recorded by Beda as founded in the south of England, is that which Bishop Erconwald established, over which his sister could preside, at Barking, in A.D. 677, having already founded a monastery a few years previously at Chertsey, both being on the Thames. As however Beda was living far away, at Jarrow, it is not surprising that we have but few records of what was passing in these parts. And this accounts for the fact that he does not mention S. Frideswide, though, if the date of A.D. 727 may be relied upon for the foundation of her nunnery, he might well have recorded it, for he brings his history down to the year A.D. 731, and lived four years afterwards. In the same way he does not name the foundation of the great monastery of Abingdon, which took place before the close of the seventh century: and as that is so immediately in the neighbourhood, it may be worth while to point out in what way this foundation may be said to illustrate that of S. Frideswide; for in the Abingdon documents we have far more evidence touching on the early history, than in the case of S. Frideswide. At the same time, there are some difficulties in interpreting the record accurately.

One of the two chroniclers of Abingdon commences his story with extracts from the fiction of Geoffrey of Monmouth, introducing the names of Faganus and Diruvianus, and an etymological invention about a certain Aben, a monk of Ireland and a hermit, based solely upon the name of Abindon; the writer has therefore to be followed with

[1] Beda, book iii. cap. 8, Beda mentions two daughters of English kings, viz. Sæthryd and Æthelberga who had been abbesses of this very nunnery at Brie. Appendix A, § 26.

[2] Ibid. book iv. cap. 23.

caution. The other has a more succinct account; but it appears to be based, partially at least, upon fragments of charters, which are very awkwardly pieced together, and he has not perhaps quite understood them. The author of the *De Abbatibus*, another chronicle, has written a connected story of the foundation, and this is evidently based upon the charters; but much seems to have been added which was due to his ingenuity, if not pure invention. The charters seem to point to the fact that King Cissa [1], who was by implication a predecessor of King Ceadwalla of Wessex, granted land to Hean [2] (who is called by the title of *patricius*), and to his sister Cilla (who is referred to as the abbess in one of the charters), to build, as it would appear, respectively a monastery and a nunnery. There are confirmations of their grants by King Ceadwalla (who succeeded A.D. 685), but a refusal by King Ine (who succeeded A.D. 688), on the ground that Hean had not fulfilled the conditions on which the land was granted. The most concise of the two Chronicles summarises the matter thus:—

> 'Who the first founder was we have learnt from ancient records; namely, that Cissa, king of the West Saxons, gave a place to a certain Hean, a man of religious life, and abbot, and similarly to his sister, for building a monastery to the worship of Almighty God; and at the same time adding, of his royal favour to the grant, many benefits and possessions to supply the necessaries of life to those who should live there. Both of them were of royal race. But not long after, before he could set about the work he had contemplated, the king died [3].'

It is not necessary to go into the difficulties, or the question whether Hean behaved well or ill, or how after five years he appears to have been tired of the monastic life, and required his possessions back again. What concerns us is a passage which the Chronicle introduces to the following effect:—

> 'However, King Ceadwalla [685–688], on whose soul God have mercy, not only gave the above-named possessions to Abingdon, but also of his own free will he also granted to Cilla, the sister of the

[1] No such king is mentioned in the chronicle, but the circumstances there narrated leave it quite open that there was such an under-king. After the death of Cenwalh, A.D. 672, the chronicle leads us to suppose that the government was in an unsatisfactory state. He left no heir, and the Queen undertook the rule for a year. We find also the names of Escwin, 676, and of Centwin, 685; Beda writes very distinctly 'Acceperunt subreguli regnum gentis et divisum inter se tenuerunt annis circiter decem.' Liber iv. cap. 12. Ceadwalla did not succeed till 685.

[2] The compiler of the treatise *De Abbatibus Abbendoniae* (printed from Cottonian MS. A. XIII. in Abingdon Abbey Chron., Rolls Series vol. ii.) makes Hean the nephew of King Cissa.

[3] Abingdon Abbey Chron., Rolls Series, vol. i. p. 1, note. Appendix A, § 27.

patrician Hean, leave to build a nunnery, in the place that is now called Helenstowe, near the Thames, where this virgin dedicated herself to God, and, taking the holy veil, assembled around her several nuns, over whom she eventually became the Mother and Abbess.

'After her decease, and after some time had passed, the aforesaid nuns were moved from this place to a vill which is called Witham; and after several years had passed, when the terrible and unheard-of war arose between Offa, king of the Mercians, and Cenwulf, king of the West Saxons [A.D. 777], there was, at that time, a fortress made upon the Hill of Witham, and on account of this the nuns removed from that place, nor were permitted afterwards to return[1].'

The point to be noticed is that here an under-king grants to his niece (if we accept the author of the *De Abbatibus*) land for the foundation of a house of religious women in A.D. 675, and this therefore is certainly a precedent which renders very probable the grant some years later, also by an under-king to his daughter, and for a similar purpose, just on the other side of the Thames. But what are we to say to the story of the nuns leaving Abingdon and coming to Wytham?

The later chronicler of the three expands the story[2]; but the substance is the same, except that he introduces the story of the grant of a cross, in which was inserted a portion of one of the nails from our Lord's cross, which story may or may not be his own pious addition to the Chronicle[3]. But the departure of the nuns to Wytham cannot well be an invention, and it is not, so to speak, required for colouring, and the Witham, or Wittheam (as it is spelt in one case), must be the Wytham which in the Domesday Survey is stated, with its church and mill, to belong to Abingdon Abbey, and 'always to have done so[4].'

As can readily be seen on the map it is situated on the other bank of the little stream which forms the actual boundary of Berkshire and Oxfordshire, near where S. Frideswide chose a spot for her dwelling. The two churches of Wytham and Binsey are scarce two miles apart, and the parishes adjoin. If (as appears to be the case by the passages extracted from the later Chronicle) upon the death of the foundress of Abingdon, which probably happened about A.D. 700,

[1] *Historia Monasterii Abingdon*, Rolls Series, vol. i. p. 8. Appendix A, § 3.

[2] *De Abbatibus*, p. 269.

[3] Later on the Chronicle recounts the finding of the cross when Athelwold was abbot (i.e. about 955 to 963, before he was translated to the Bishopric of Winchester), and when they were making their watercourse; and that they set it up in the monastery, 'and that it was held in great reverence to the present day.' He adds, 'this is that which is called the Black Cross.' In all probability the name Helenstowe is given to fit the legend, but this of course in no way discredits the story of Cilla actually founding the nunnery.

[4] There are also numerous references to it amongst the summaries and charters contained in the *Chron. Mon. de Abingdon*. It is usually spelt 'Uuitham.'

the nuns moved thence to Wytham, and were there till A.D. 777, S. Frideswide, when she went to Binsey, must have found companions there in 727. To this story of S. Frideswide, and the evidence on which it is based, it is now time to turn; but so much has been said to show an *a priori* reason for accepting at least the main part of that story.

The material on which we have to rely for the history of the foundation of S. Frideswide consists, chiefly, of what professes to be a copy of a charter, granted by King Æthelred in 1004; this only recites, first, the fact of the previous existence of the monastery; secondly, that of the body of S. Frideswide reposing there; and thirdly, that of the books and charters of the monks, which secured to them their property, having been lost by a fire two years previously: but some copies of this charter are preceded by a summary of the story of foundation. Besides this, we have certain lives of the virgin which appear to have been written as early as the twelfth century; but possibly copied from or based upon others still earlier.

The following extract contains the summary of the story, and just so much of the charter as concerns the early foundation. Perhaps the earliest transcript of the summary and charter are found in a volume transcribed for the use of Oseney Abbey, which, it will be remembered, was once a formidable rival to S. Frideswide. This Cottonian MS.[1] consists mainly of a cartulary, but at the beginning are the few pages of a brief chronicle, described in the original catalogue of the library as 'a chronicle of the English from 1066–1179.' This is followed by a list of the Abbots of Oseney, and by the charters of the monastery of Oseney; but the MS., like so many others of the collection, suffered terribly in the fire of 1731, and only the central portions of the leaves are legible. Fortunately we have other copies, for from this very manuscript Dugdale had made a transcript before the fire, and printed it in his *Monasticon*; and further we find fourteenth century copies of it preserved in the larger of the two cartularies of S. Frideswide, namely that in the possession of the Christ Church Chapter. The passage runs as follows:—

> 'It is to be noted that Didanus, formerly king of Oxford, reigned about the year of our Lord's Incarnation, 726. This King Didanus

[1] In Plantas Catalogue (1802) it is described as *Codex Membr. in 4to incendio corrugatus et pene inutilis in capsula asservata.* The editors of the enlarged edition of Dugdale's Monasticon (1817) speak of it as 'but a collection of burnt fragments'; yet with the care recently bestowed on the MSS. in the British Museum it has been rendered accessible, each leaf having been carefully mounted so that the central portion is generally tolerably legible.

was father of S. Frideswide, who gave to her the place which she had desired, and caused the nun's habit to be given to her.

'He constructed a church, and near it various buildings most suitable to religion, as appears in the Life of the holy Virgin. Also it appears, there, that the same Virgin peaceably obtained the place which was then called Thornebirie, but now Benseia; for in concealment there a fountain sprung forth in answer to her prayers, and she cured one who was vexed of a devil, and another whose hand had clave to an axe.

'Some time after the glorious death of S. Frideswide, the nuns having been taken away, Secular Canons were introduced.

'Afterwards, in the year of grace 1004, King Ethelred ordered all the Danes of either sex then inhabiting England to be killed, and all those who had fled thither were burnt at Oxford, together with the Church, the Books and Ornaments, as appears from the Charter of King Ethelred, which follows in this wise.

'In the Year of our Lord 1004, in the 2nd indiction and in the 25th year of my reign, according to the disposal of God's providence, I Ethelred, ruling over the whole of Albion, have with liberty of charters by royal authority and for the love of the Almighty, established a certain monastery situated in the city which is called Oxoneford, where the body of S. Frideswide reposes, and have recovered the lands which belonged to this same monastery (*arcisterio*)[1] of Christ by the restoration of this new book of charters; and for all those who shall look upon this page, &c.[2]'

It is not convenient to print the rest of the charter in this place, because the reason assigned is the attack, on S. Brice's day in 1002, by the townspeople upon S. Frideswide's church, in which the unfortunate Danes had taken refuge from the slaughter which King Æthelred had commanded; and so its discussion belongs to a later date. But by this attack, which involved setting fire to their place of refuge, if we are to believe the charter, the books belonging to the church were all burnt, and therefore we must suppose what was afterwards written was ascertained from tradition.

[1] Arcisterium. Ducange suggests that the word is a misspelling of *Asceterium*, derived from the Greek ἀσκητήριον. Whenever it is used it simply means a monastery.

[2] Cotton MS. Vitellius, E. xv. (not F. 16, as originally given by Dugdale, vol. i. p. 174 (1682) and reprinted in the edition of 1817 and 1846, vol. ii. p. 143); printed in Dugdale as above. Though carefully restored and every leaf put as far as possible in its position, it is difficult to say exactly to what part each leaf belonged. The charter and the introduction to it occupy the recto of folio 5 of the MS. as it is now paginated, and on the back has been transcribed a charter, apparently of the 5th of Henry III (i.e. 1269). The transcription of the summary and charter of S. Frideswide is quite as late, if not later. Also found in the S. Frideswide's Cartulary, preserved in Christ Church; folio 7, but actually the first folio of the Cartulary itself. See Appendix A, § 29.

We must suppose then that this charter, or an early copy of it, was in their leger book and was thence copied at a later date by some monk at Oseney. But we have an independent and earlier testimony to the fact that some such charter existed in some shape in the treasury of the church, namely William of Malmesbury. In his History of the Kings of England, which he completed about the year 1120, when he is giving an account of the Danes being driven for safety into the tower of the church, he adds, 'I have read this in writing, which is preserved in the archives of the church, as a proof of the fact[1].' It will be seen, when we have to consider the circumstances of this massacre, that William of Malmesbury is evidently referring to this charter, though he has, in one respect, interpreted it erroneously.

But in addition to the charter there is the introduction, in which we obtain an outline of the story of an establishment, first of a nunnery, then of a monastery. It cannot be denied that the paragraph, taken as a whole, is similar to such general statements in respect to original foundation as often appear at the beginning of Cartularies; and the Oseney chronicler may have seen it in that of S. Frideswide, together with the charter, exactly as he has written it. And this view would be somewhat confirmed by the fact that the same general introduction, beginning '*Notandum est quod Didanus*,' appears in the existing Cartulary, preserved at Christ Church[2]. At the same time, in the earlier copy preserved in Corpus Christi College, the introduction is absent, and the charter is there given as if it stood alone[3].

It will be observed, in the extract preceding the charter, that there is a distinct reference to the 'Life of the holy virgin.' The most important point therefore, is to ascertain as far as possible the earliest form in which that life was written; for it is the nature of all such biographies to expand under the religious fervour of successive transcribers: the element of historical truth thereby often becomes lost, and we gain instead details which, though they are intended to evoke our piety, may result only in leading us astray as to the facts.

[1] William of Malmesbury, *De gestis Regum Angliae*, Lib. II. § 117, Engl. Hist. Society's Ed. London 1840, vol. i. p. 279. See later on, Chapter VIII.

[2] S. Frideswide's *Cartulary Ch. Ch.* folio 7. Though really the first folio of the Cartulary itself, the paragraph follows the rubric, 'Here begins the Register of Charters and Muniments of S. Frideswide.' The paragraph beginning 'Afterwards in the year of grace,' appears as a rubric to the Charter beginning 'In the year of our Lord 1004.' The whole is repeated three times in other parts of the Cartulary, namely in an Inspeximus of Edward I (fol. 25), of Edward III (fol. 36), and of Richard II (fol. 45). There are slight variations in all, but not affecting the sense. See Appendix A, § 29.

[3] S. Frideswide's *Cartulary*, preserved in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, fol. 271.

William of Malmesbury, in his History of the Kings, as already mentioned, refers to the Charter which he had seen, but in his Lives of the Bishops, written about five years later (i.e. about 1125), he gives an account of the foundation of S. Frideswide, which he obtained either from documentary evidence, or, as in this case is very possible, from hearsay. It runs as follows :—

'There was anciently in the City of Oxford a Convent of Nuns, in which the most holy virgin Frideswide reposes.

'She, the daughter of a king, despised marriage with a king, consecrating her virginity to the Lord Christ. But he, when he had set his mind on marrying the virgin, and found all his entreaties and blandishments of no avail, determined to make use of forcible means.

'When Frideswide discovered this she determined upon taking flight into the wood. But neither could her hiding-place be kept secret from her lover, nor was there want of courage to hinder his following the fugitive. The virgin therefore, having heard of the renewed passion of the young man, found her way, by the help of God, through obscure paths, in the dead of night, into Oxford. When in the morning her anxious lover hastened thither, the maiden, now despairing of safety by flight, and also by reason of her weariness being unable to proceed further, invoked the aid of God for herself, and punishment upon her persecutor. And now, as he with his companions approached the gates of the city, he suddenly became blind, struck by the hand of heaven. And when he had admitted the fault of his obstinacy, and Frideswide was besought by his messengers, he received back again his sight as suddenly as he had lost it. Hence there has arisen a dread amongst all the kings of England which has caused them to beware of entering and abiding in that city since it is said to be fraught with destruction, every one of the kings declining to test the truth for himself by incurring the danger.

'In that place, therefore, this maiden, having gained the triumph of her virginity, established a convent, and when her days were over and her Spouse called her, she there died. In the time of King Ethelred, however, when the Danes, being condemned to death, had taken refuge in this monastery, etc.[1] . . .'

He here summarises what he had already written in his History of the Kings, and brings the narrative down to the appointment of Prior Guimond, which took place probably about 1120; but whether before or after his visit to Oxford, to which he refers in his former book, is not certain.

Besides this summary written by William of Malmesbury, which

[1] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, Lib. IV. § 178; Rolls Series, ed. Hamilton. London, 8vo, 1870, p. 315. It is generally accepted that he completed his *Historia Regum* about 1120, and his *Gesta Pontificum* about 1125.

must be dated not later than 1125, we have two rather complete lives of S. Frideswide, apparently of about the same date as regards the handwriting, but both rather later than the above date. The one is preserved in the Cottonian Collection in the British Museum[1], the other amongst the Laudian MSS. in the Bodleian Library[2].

Without entering too much into the details respecting the life of S. Frideswide, which these manuscripts afford, there are some points which bear upon the general question of the amount of credit to be assigned to the story of the foundation of S. Frideswide's Nunnery, in its main outline, to which some reference may well here be made.

And first of all it is to be remarked, that William of Malmesbury gives no names; secondly, that he omits many important parts of the story which the other biographers and those who follow them give in detail; and thirdly, that in some particulars he tells the story very differently[3].

As has already been said, it was not till 1122, or thereabouts, that Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, who was then Chancellor, appointed Guimond, the king's chaplain, to the charge of the monastery. He at once introduced regular canons, and the monastery took a new start—it may almost be said was refounded: and it was probably at this time or soon after, that the lives, as we possess them, were compiled.

The writer of the Cottonian MS. introduces '*Rex quidam Oxnefordia cui nomen erat Didanus*,' as being the father of S. Frideswide. The Laudian MS. has '*subregulus quidam nomine Didanus*.' There could not have been a king of Mercia of the name of Dida, but there is nothing improbable in there being an under-king[4] of some such

[1] Cottonian MSS. Nero E. 1, a collection of Lives of the Saints, most of which are written in handwriting as early as the eleventh century; but at folio 362 another and later hand is commenced.

[2] Bodleian MS. Laud. Misc. 114 is also a collection of Lives of the Saints, written in a twelfth-century hand throughout, and would appear to have been compiled, if not written, about King Stephen's reign.

[3] When William of Malmesbury visited Glastonbury, it is obvious he collected what he could from hearsay when he made his history, as the word 'ut fertur' shows. We have no original MS. of that history, as we have here in the case of the account of S. Frideswide, in the *De Gesta Pontificum*, and the earliest copy is much interpolated. But a consideration of what seems to be original matter shows that he was a careful historiographer, rejecting what he thought improbable, but at the same time accepting much which was only the talk of the several places about which he wrote at the time he visited them. It is quite possible that he wrote a good deal of his account of S. Frideswide from hearsay.

[4] The example of an under-king in Wessex a few years previously has already been noted.

name, though so far as has been observed no charter is extant with such a signature. Still the name is similar to many contemporary names, like Oba, Lulla, &c., and Dida, in the Latin form, would be Didanus. Again, the Cottonian MS. has '*Hic accepit uxorem nomine Sefridam,*' while the Laudian MS., more fully expanding what was originally written, has, '*Hic nutu divino uxorem moribus suis congruam Safridam nomine accepit,*' but neither of the names would appear to have existed in the story as told to William of Malmesbury. The Cottonian MS. has the circumstance that at five years old they handed her over '*cuidam matronae Algiva nomine, ad erudiendam litteras.*' The Laudian has '*literarum studiis erudienda traditur sub matronem cujusdam ad modum religiosae disciplinae cui nomen Algiva.*' The Cottonian tells us briefly such were her powers, '*ut infra sex menses totum sciret psalterium.*' The Laudian asks who would not be astonished, '*quinquenam virgunculam in quinque fere mensibus Psalmos Daviticos, qui centum quinquaginta sunt, didicisse memoriaeque commendasse?*' The difference between the five or six months is of no great importance, but it seems to show that the original had not defined the exact time. The few lines about her virtue and piety and of the austerity of her living, described in the Cottonian, appear much expanded in the Laudian MS.

The mother dies; the father, according to the Cottonian MS., builds a church, and has it consecrated in honour of the Holy Trinity, of the Immaculate Virgin Mary, and of All Saints; and S. Frideswide begs her father to give her the church. After a time she beseeches him to let her adopt the nun's habit, and ever to praise and bless God in His holy temple. The king is overjoyed (*valde gavisus*) and sends for a holy man, '*Osgarum nomine Lincolniensium Pontificem*'; he orders him to consecrate his daughter to God, and twelve virgins of noble race are consecrated with her. The Laudian MS. tells the story somewhat differently; but it has the passage so far, that the king is '*inestimabiliter gavisus,*' and makes him send for a bishop from the neighbouring diocese. Although the writer expands all the descriptive details more than his rival biographer, he has not ventured upon either the name of a diocese or the name of a bishop. Nothing however could be more unfortunate than the guess which the first, and to all appearances more accurate biographer, has made, for Lincoln was not the seat of a diocese till Remigius moved his see from Dorchester thither about A.D. 1090. Had he chosen almost any other diocese we should not have suspected his interpolation, but he only knew Oxford was in the Lincoln diocese at the time he was writing, and not being at all versed

in ecclesiastical history he invented the name Osgar, which it is hardly necessary to say occurs in no list of bishops whatever. Though unfortunate for him as regards exposure of his inventive powers, it shows to us that his addition to the story cannot be earlier than the twelfth century, or the diocese of Dorchester would not have been forgotten in Oxford; it is most likely of the same age as the copy which we possess, and of which the handwriting may be assigned to somewhere about the year 1130.

But to proceed with the story. Both her parents being dead, and the virgin installed in her nunnery, the two writers relate substantially in the same manner her encounter with the Devil, who appears before her with a crowd of demons (the same words '*demonum constipatus caterva,*' occurring in each), and the answer which S. Frideswide makes to him when he promises her all she wishes if she will worship him, is so far the same as to appear to be the expansion of a common original which gave some of the details.

Then we come to the great point of her legend. The Cottonian MS. has a certain '*Rex Leicestrensium vir nefandissimus et Deo odiosus successit in regnum post obitum Didani regis, Algar nomine.*' The Laudian MS. has also the name Algar, '*Regem namque Algarum,*' but the writer has not ventured to give him a definite kingdom. Now, since we have seen how the author of the Cottonian has used his skill in finding the name of a diocese which did not exist till 1092, the suggestion forces itself on our mind that he may have obtained the name Algar from the Domesday Survey of 1087, for in it, under Oxford, we find that the town was held by 'Comes Algar' in the time of Edward the Confessor[1]. Whether or not it was in the original life from which both biographers copied must be an open question; it is quite as likely that the name having been once suggested, both the first and second writers inserted it in their lives from

[1] It will be noticed also that the title given is *Rex Leicestrensium*. Earl Algar, it must be remembered, was the son of the famous Leofric. Henry of Huntingdon, under the year 1057, writes: 'Lefricus quoque consul nobilissimus defunctus est... Algarus vero ejus filius suscepit consulatum Cestriae.' The title *Rex* is given probably for the sake of historical consistency and according to the knowledge which the writer possessed. The only other examples, except two Bishops, of nobles bearing the name of Algar (written usually Ælfgar) are Algar, a kinsman of King Edgar, who died A.D. 962, and was buried at Wilton, and Algar, son of Earl Alfric, whom King Ethelred ordered to be blinded in 993. Possibly this last fact may have further recommended the name, if not have given rise to that special element in the tradition. For the above see Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the respective years. The statement however that the *Rex Leicestrensium* succeeds to the kingdom of the *Rex Oxnefordiae*, is sufficient to show that the names can have no historical basis.

hearsay, but the first only ventured upon the geographical detail of his being King of Leicester before he succeeded to Oxford.

Both the chroniclers tell this part of the story differently from what William of Malmesbury has recorded. Of course it is just possible that he had heard the same story as the others and remembered it so imperfectly as to write it differently. Still, it is only a possibility, and the variations must be noted and be taken for what they are worth in the general chain of evidence. The Cottonian and Laudian MSS. have first the story of the despatch of ambassadors to Frideswide. They were to use arguments and persuasions, and if these did not succeed, then threats and actual force. The conversations are duly given, and in the second MS. at considerable length. When they came to use force they were struck blind; all the people were astonished; they begged of the virgin, and she prayed to God that they should receive their sight, and they did so. They then went and told the king. It will be observed, however, that in William of Malmesbury's version it is the king who is here struck blind, and the messengers who implore the virgin to restore the king's sight. Further, all this, which is narrated from Malmesbury and the two twelfth-century biographers, is wanting in the 'Notandum quod Didanus' of the Chartulary. Such important variations rob the legend of much of its value.

Then, to follow the story; if we take the extract as it stands in the copy in the Cartularies, we have an account of S. Frideswide immediately obtaining a place at Thornbury, afterwards called Binsey; William of Malmesbury merely says 'a wood': but if we take it as told by the two biographers, after the messengers had returned, and the king was furious at what he heard, Frideswide was warned in a dream by an angel to flee and is directed to go to the Thames, and take with her as many of the nuns as she pleases, and then she finds, as was told her, a boat with a young man sitting in it, who requests them to get in. Then both MSS. agree that in the space of one hour they arrived at a vill which is called Bentona[1]. The close similarity in this respect seems to show that the name was in some earlier version than that of the two biographers. The view that there was this earlier version perhaps receives support from the Cottonian MS. which, after narrating how the youth suddenly disappeared when S. Frideswide and her companions quitted the boat at Benton, and how for fear of the wicked king they entered into a certain wood, has a blank space left, as if the scribe could not read the name of the wood, and left it to be

[1] Cottonian MS. *Bentonia*. Laudian MS. *Bentona*.

filled in afterwards, as the sentence ends, *non longe a supra-dicta villa*[1]. In the Cottonian MS. their path leads them '*ad mansiunculam quam quondam fecerunt subulci custodientes greges porcorum*,' covered all over with ivy. In the Laudian '*Tandem mapale conspiciunt ad porcorum tutamen constructum*,' but so overgrown with ivy that no one could see the entrance. Both agree in the hut being covered with ivy, but in nothing else, for in one case it was the dwelling of herdsmen, in the other of the pigs. Meanwhile the king came with his followers to Oxford, and when he began to enter he became blind. The Laudian, in process of expansion, has '*Cumque appropinquant portae quae ad aquilonarem ducit*,' the former not venturing to name which gate it was. In both the king is made to remain blind for the rest of his life, a very different story from that of William of Malmesbury. Both chronicles also refer to the tradition that from that time no king ventured to enter Oxford, which it will be observed William of Malmesbury inserts in his account. The insertion by the latter seems rather to show his faith in the legend, than to be based upon his recollection of historical fact[2].

Then we have in the Cottonian MS. an account of three miracles, all happening while sojourning in the wood at 'Benton.' The first is the cure of a blind girl, seven years of age, '*in supradicta villa Bentonia*,' through the virtue of the water, which she was to obtain, wherein S. Frideswide had washed her hands. The next was that of a young man, by name Alward, who lived in the vill which is called Sevecordia, who while cutting wood with an axe on Sunday, '*parvi pendens diem Resurrectionis Dominicae*,' found his hand fixed to the handle, so that he could not let it go. The third relates to some

[1] In another MS., but of the fourteenth century, viz. MS. Lansdowne 436, which follows this for a great part verbatim, the words run 'Ingressae sunt nemus de Beneseya,' but whether the transcriber had before him an older copy, and read what the Cottonian writer could not read, or whether, finding in the copy of the latter the place vacant, had filled in of his own device the word 'de Beneseya,' there is no evidence to show.

[2] A very long dissertation is given upon this point by the writer of the articles on S. Frideswide in the *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. viii. p. 538, but the argument is mainly taken up in showing that Henry II. did not enter into the town at the time of the translation of S. Frideswide's bones in 1189. This may be so, but as his palace of Beaumont was just outside the wall, it would be extraordinary if on no occasion he had passed within the gates of the town. But the Bollandist writer does not touch facts which William of Malmesbury must have known when he wrote his account, namely, King Eadward the Elder in 912, in taking possession of Oxford, must surely have entered it. King Æthelred, according to his own showing, in 1015 was present at a Gemot in Oxford. Henry of Huntingdon makes King Edmund to be murdered at Oxford in 1016, and in 1039 several chroniclers make King Harold die at Oxford.

fishermen, one of whom was seized with a violent fit and had to be bound. His name was Leowin, but we are not told where he lived. Then, after these miracles, S. Frideswide proposed to her companions to go back to Oxford, where she was honourably received '*a civibus et ab omni clero.*' As she entered she was met by the leper, who begged her to kiss him, which, after making the sign of the cross, she did, and he was cured of his leprosy.

In this narrative, it will be observed, we have no mention whatever of Binsey or Thornbury. On the other hand, in the Laudian MS. we have an account of the miracle of the girl being healed '*in villa praedicta Bentona,*' and then S. Frideswide is made to say to her companions that she thinks it time they returned to their monastery. They then got into a boat, and were carried '*ad praedium civitate propinquum quod Buneseia dicitur,*' and then we are told that there was in this 'praedium,' a place much overgrown with bushes of a thorny character called '*in lingua Saxonica Thornbiri.*' Here she built the oratory and many buildings most fit for a dwelling for the holy women, and here, since the spot was some distance from the river, and so inconvenient to the sisters, in answer to her prayer a spring broke forth, '*qui nunc usque superest.*' Then it is that the '*infortunatus juvenis in villa quae dicitur Sevecordia,*' has his hand released from his axe, and of course now the story is made consistent, for 'Sevecordia,' or Seacourt, is only the other side of the stream from Binsey, the shire ditch dividing the two, as has been observed; and the narrator introduces the circumstance of the man being taken to her, '*amne transito,*' i.e. by the road which led from Seacourt to Binsey, to which reference has already been made[1]. It was here, too, that the fisherman who was seized with a fit was healed.

Then it was that, feeling her death approaching, she returned to her monastery, and the population met her, and she healed the leper by the kiss.

All this about the migration from Benton to Binsey is entirely new, and beyond either what William of Malmesbury or the writer in the Cottonian MS. have given; but the name Thornbury, the story of the spring, and one or two of the miracles, occur, as will have been noticed, in the abstract which is given in the Oseney History, and of which copies occur in the S. Frideswide cartularies.

The account of her death in both biographies (for neither in the Oseney summary, nor in William of Malmesbury is any mention of it) is narrated much in the same way as if there was a common original.

[1] See ante, p. 69.

She had foretold her decease, and had her grave dug, because the following day being Sunday, she wished no one to work. The variations are of no special moment, except, perhaps, one passage. The Cottonian MS. in respect, of her burial, merely narrates she was buried in the church of S. Mary on the southern side. But the Laudian MS. has the following expansion:—

> 'The holy virgin was buried in the church of S. Mary, on the south side, near the bank of the Thames. For at that time the church was thus situated [and was so] up till the time of King Athelred, who, when the Danes who had fled thither were burnt in it, enlarged the circuit of the church as he had known it. Hence it happened that the tomb which before was on the south side came afterwards to be in the middle[1].'

These four narratives then, the one which William of Malmesbury procured for his history about 1125, the Laudian MS., which from certain evidence in the MS. itself appears not to have been compiled before 1140, and the Claudian copy, which seems to lie between the two, and the abstract found in the cartularies, which, though the latest as to MS. authority, may be based on the earliest form of the story of all, provide us with the material on which to judge of the circumstances attending the first definite event which can be associated with Oxford[2].

We have to treat legends, it must be remembered, very differently from myths. They, as a rule, grow up around a shadow, while legends grow up round a substance. It is true it is not always easy to discover it, but by taking surrounding circumstances into account it is not unreasonable to hope to arrive at it approximately.

Some stress has been laid upon the story of a nunnery being founded hard by about fifty years previous to the date ascribed to the foundation of S. Frideswide; while in the few records we possess of that particular period such foundations are not uncommon. At this date Æthelbald was ruling Mercia, having succeeded in 716. Though a warlike king, yet, judging by the charters granted in his name, he seems to have encouraged the foundation of religious institutions. Again, although, as has been insisted on more than once, a site like Oxford, so close to the borders, was not favourable altogether to settlement, still there seemed now to be less danger to ecclesiastical than to royal property, because King Ina of Wessex, the foe to be feared, would not willingly have injured the Church.

[1] Bodl. MS. Laud Misc. 114, folio 138. Appendix A, § 31.

[2] It has not been thought necessary to refer to the variations of the legends as given by John of Tynemouth, Capgrave, and other writers.

The name of Frideswide, more properly spelt with the ð, and so written in some MSS. 'Frithes-witha,' has all the characteristics of a good Saxon name. One is perhaps at first sight surprised to find in the Annals of Winton this:—

> 'In the year 721 Ethelward was king of the West Saxons. His wife, Queen Fritheswitha, gave Taunton, which was of her patrimony, to the church of Winchester; and Ethelward on his part added to the same manor vii manses for the need of the church [1].'

But this appears to be a various reading of the name which we find in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 737, viz. Frithogith [2], who then with Bishop Forthere visits Rome. It is singular, however, that the two should occur about the same time, the one the daughter of a Mercian under-king, the other the wife of the Wessex king. The coincidence might indeed suggest that in consequence of her gifts to the church, the West Saxon queen had been canonized, and some later chronicler, wholly ignorant of the circumstances, had ascribed to her that which was at the time looked upon as the highest attribute of sanctity, namely, holy virginity—and that the several stories gathered round her in consequence. But there must at once be set against this, that the place associated with her name (and that certainly anterior to the year 1004, when Ethelred's charter refers to the foundation as something well known) was in Mercian territory and not in West Saxon territory. Had we found a monastery dedicated to S. Frideswide on the river Tone, or Parrot, or even on the Itchen, there would have been some reason for the supposition; but as the church founded in her name was situated on the north bank of the Thames, there is little doubt but that the fame of S. Frideswide's monastery, in the thirteenth century, was such that the Winchester annalist, in writing of the queen of Wessex, blundered her name, and called her after the Oxford saint.

Then as to the story of the persecution by King Algar [3]. A tradi-

[1] From the *Annales Monasterii de Winton*; printed in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 289. Appendix A, § 32.

[2] Leland also, in his *Itinerary*, vol. iii. p. 72 (Hearne's ed. p. 88) gives in an extract '*Ex Libello Donationum Winton. Ecclesiae*' the following line, '*Fritheswiglia Regina dedit Tanton.*'

[3] In the *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. viii. p. 539, there is a reference, on the authority of Malbrancq and others, to S. Frideswide's journey to Rome, that writer speaking of a chapel existing there dedicated to this Virgin. In this case there can be little reasonable doubt that the recorded visit of S. Frisogith has been changed into that of S. Frideswide through error. Whence the origin of S. Frewisse, who is honoured at Bomy (Pas de Calais) about five miles south of Therouanne, does not appear. The Bollandist writer starts on the assumption that S. Frideswide went there; and though several pages (vol. viii. 560 et seq.) are given to the discussion he does not

tion may have been handed down of some under-king who had asked her in marriage and whom she had refused, choosing rather to dedicate herself to God. Such a story is far from improbable, and the founding of a church with a community of women attached in order to avoid him is quite in accordance with what we might expect. The charter of King Ethelred seems distinctly to assert that at least certain lands were possessed by a community calling themselves from the name of the saint, who was buried in the church within their precincts. And this could not have come about without some portions of the legend being substantially true. The names of Algar, Algiva, and Osgar, as already said, may perhaps one and all be dismissed as additions by the transcribers of the legend.

The next point to consider is the introduction of the name *Bentonia*, as the place to which S. Frideswide is supposed to have fled from her persecutor. The place, it will be observed, is named by both the biographers as if they had copied a common original. In the summary given with the copies of the charter in the Cartulary of S. Frideswide, as has been said, no mention is made of the journey to this Bentonia; she is said simply to have taken up her abode 'peaceably at Thornbury, now called Binsey.' Again, William of Malmesbury, in his story, omits all reference to the longer journey, and implies that a sojourn was made in a wood near Oxford, which would agree with this simpler version that her abode was at Binsey. In the Cottonian MS., on the contrary, there is no mention of the sojourn at Binsey at all, only at Benton. In the Laudian MS., which from the general character of the narrative appears to be the latest, both places are named; first Bentonia, then Binsey[1].

Now it happens very frequently, when two stories are told in different ways, that the next chronicler inserts both stories and makes one succeed the other. There is much reason to suppose it has happened in this case. It is just the same probably with the story of the messengers first being struck blind, and then the king some time afterwards being struck blind also; and it will be observed that the second story is introduced somewhat awkwardly in the Cottonian version, because S. Frideswide was away at Benton when the King is supposed to come to Oxford to find her. On the whole therefore the more prob-

seem to get beyond seventeenth and eighteenth century writers such as Malbrancq, De Neuville, and Le Heurdre, and what they have to say appears to be simply derived from guesses. There is probably no connection between S. Frewisse and either Frisogita, or S. Frideswide.

[1] The fourteenth-century version in the Lansdowne MS. (see *ante*, p. 99) combines the two by making the wood of Binsey close to Bampton.

able solution is that Benton came to be written erroneously, that there was only one place actually occupied, and that most likely was Binsey.

But if this were not so, then where is Bentona? Amongst the guesses from the sound the commonest with writers has been Benson, i. e. Bensington, and though this is on the Thames yet it is over twenty miles down the river. There appears to be nothing to show that this place was in the mind of the original writer; but on the other hand it is to be noted that Bentonia is a name which occurs in Domesday in the list of the king's lands in Oxfordshire. The list begins with Besington, i. e. Benson, and then after several other names, e. g. Hedinton, Cherilintone, Optone and Sciptone, it gives Bentone, which is undoubtedly to be identified with Bampton[1], the parish of which lies on the north bank of the Thames, some seventeen miles up the river[2], though the church and present village are some two miles away from the bank.

It may, of course, be argued that if the nuns moved from their place in Oxford, they may just as well have moved as far as Bampton to begin with, and then afterwards moved to Binsey on their way back. But if so the detail of the legend as given by both the writers, and therefore to all appearance belonging to the earlier copy, is very inconsistent, namely that the journey by water was '*unius horæ spatio.*' This would take them possibly to Binsey, it could not possibly take them seventeen miles to Bampton against stream: while in the after history of S. Frideswide's we find that the monastery held land at Binsey, but none at Bampton.

That the nunnery situated in the town might have a 'cell,' as was so commonly the case in after years with so many monastic establishments, is not extraordinary, nor on the other hand would it have been strange if the nuns had found the residence in Oxford inconvenient to them, and seeking the quiet of the country actually moved thither;

[1] The fourteenth century transcriber of the Lansdowne MS. 436, already referred to as introducing the 'wood of Beneseye,' has written *Bamptonia* instead of *Bentonia*, that being the place he considered to be meant by Benton.

[2] The identification with Abendon, i.e. Abingdon, which has been suggested by some writers, has nothing to recommend it except that one legend speaks of Benton being ten miles off on the Thames; and as Abingdon is nearly eight it has been thought sufficiently near to warrant the supposition.

[3] So far as has been observed no event in the history of Bampton seems to be associated with the story of S. Frideswide. Whereas as regards Binsey, throughout the middle ages the place has belonged to S. Frideswide's monastery and still belongs to Christ Church; and though we do not find mention of S. Margaret's Well till a comparatively late date, it is just possible that the direct association of this with S. Frideswide's spring, which burst forth in consequence of her prayers, may have had its origin in an older tradition.

and either of these would give rise to the stories which, after all, are only so much colouring of facts. Whether S. Frideswide herself moved during her lifetime to the quietude of Binsey, or whether the nuns moved after her death, as appears to have been the case with the Abingdon nuns who removed to Witham on the death of Cilla, would make no difference. Wherever the nuns went, there, as the story would be told, would S. Frideswide be said to go.

We need not be troubled with the fact that no place near bears the name of Thornbury now, or that it is found in no other record. One answer is, we have no early charters describing the immediate surroundings of Binsey, and names of the kind are soon lost. On the other hand, the choice of the place is not otherwise than reasonable. The water-way was the safest and the easiest in those times, and although somewhat circuitous it was no doubt most frequently adopted. The district is one not unknown previously, if, as has been suggested, the Wytham to which the Abingdon nuns removed was divided only from Binsey by the Shire ditch, and but half a mile between the spots where afterwards the two churches rose. In its after history we certainly find the land to be in the possession of the monastery of S. Frideswide; whether or not it had been so from the first cannot be learnt from the charter of Ethelred in 1004, since the possessions then granted may not all be named. When we come to the Domesday Survey of 1087, though the record does not include Binsey, at the same time it does not exclude it, as it may possibly be included in the four hides near Oxford[1].

It is further somewhat favourable to this theory that, in King Stephen's reign, the meadows to the north of Binsey were chosen as a site for a nunnery, which in its day was only second to that of S. Frideswide and Oseney, namely Godestow. Merely a ditch separated the parish of Binsey, which may be supposed to represent S. Frideswide's property, from the land of the nunnery in which Fair Rosamund passed her early years; while the meadows at the south-eastern corner, bearing the name of the middle-eyt (i. e. the middle island, or Medley, as it is known commonly, and gives its name to the lock which exists there), belonged to the nuns, and there a building was erected to which at times they could retire, and which may be said to

[1] The entry is 'Canonici Sanctæ Frideswide . . . iiij hidae juxta Oxeneford . . . et 100 acrae prati et 8 acrae spineti.' This is so vague that it is just possible the 'spinney' was on the Binsey side and was the 'thorn thicket' referred to. There is however no reference to any property on this side of Oxford in the descriptions of the land which are attached to the charter of King Ethelred of 1004.

have borne the same relation to Godestow as Binsey might long before have borne to S. Frideswide's.

Such, then, are the grounds on which there is good reason to believe that, in the eighth century, the vill of Oxford, although the name appears nowhere else in our Annals, possessed a religious community which had settled there, and that besides their property to the south-eastern edge of the promontory of the gravel bank already referred to, and where their church was erected, they possessed property and buildings at the far western extremity of the Mercian soil and so bounded on its western side by the Shire ditch. To this in times of war with the West Saxon king, when raids upon such a border town as Oxford would have been frequent, and rendered the position of the nuns unbearable, they could retire. All definite record of this community is lost, but it survives in the description given by the monks of S. Frideswide in after years of the life of the foundress; it is in legendary language, which cannot be construed with any certainty of the exact meaning, though it may convey a tolerably clear outline of the actual facts.

CHAPTER VI.

OXFORD A BORDER TOWN DURING THE EIGHTH AND NINTH CENTURIES.

FROM what has been said in the last chapter, it is only reasonable now to speak of Oxford by name, as a vill of some kind must by this time have been existing here on the border of the Thames. There is no reason to believe it had been as yet fortified, because if it had been, it would most probably have played some part worthy of record in the struggles of the eighth and ninth centuries.

The year after the foundation of S. Frideswide's monastery, the good King Ina of Wessex died, but not before he had restored by charter to Abingdon the property which through the negligence of Hean in carrying out the conditions of the original grant, had been practically lost; and as part of their land was on the Mercian side of the Thames, we find in this charter of restoration, or rather in the confused abstract of it, which alone has been handed down to us, the name of Æthelred, the Mercian king, as having granted part of the land, and the signatures of Æthelbald together with that of Ine amongst those who appear to have attested the charter of confirmation[1]. This shows that at this time Oxford was a border town, the Thames separating the two kingdoms.

The long reign of King Æthelbald (who had succeeded as early as A.D. 716) seems to have begun peacefully, and no difficulties seem to have arisen between him and Ina, or Ina's successor Æthelheard, who ruled the West Saxons from A.D. 728 to 740. Indeed only one battle is recorded, namely, in the year 733, and at Sumerton, in these words:—

'Ann. 773. In this year Æthelbald captured Sumurtun[2].'

It is often difficult to identify places named in the Chronicles, especially where they stand alone, and in this case the chronicler has not even recorded against whom the king was fighting. Two places have been fixed on by different historians; and one of these is the Somerton on the Cherwell, about ten miles north of Oxford: such a battle

[1] *Hist. Mon. Abingdon*, Rolls Series, vol. i. p. 10. Note also Æthelbald's Charter, ibid. p. 38.

[2] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles spell this place variously Sumurtun, Sumertun and Sumortun.

would have of course affected Oxford considerably, for it would involve the supposition of the West Saxon king having previously crossed the Thames and made a raid up the Cherwell and occupied Somerton.

It is, however, very improbable that such a raid would have been recorded in the manner in which we find it described in the Chronicle. For a king would scarcely be said to capture a place which was in his own dominions; and then, further, there is no trace of any fortress there which would have been likely to have caused a siege. Equally improbable is it that Æthelbald would make a long raid across Wiltshire and Somersetshire, and fight at Sumerton, south of the Mendip hills, which is the second place fixed on by historians. There would have been some serious fighting first, and other places would have been named, which would have fallen before such a raid was successful. The most probable explanation seems to be afforded by Henry of Huntingdon, who, in expanding the Chronicle in respect to the events of this year, adds 'for he determined to carry his kingdom up to the Humber[1].' This being so, we must look rather to the borders of Lincolnshire: and there we find a Sumerton which was in the middle ages chosen as the site of a fortress, portions of which still exist[2]. So that we may suppose that during the time that Æthelbald and Æthelheard were kings of Mercia and Wessex respectively, Oxford was not in any way disturbed.

In the reign of Cuthred, Æthelheard's successor, for some reason or another the two kingdoms went to war again. In A.D. 743, the entry in the Chronicle describes them as both fighting against the Welsh. Whether as allies, or whether each on his own account, we are not told. It is just possible that their successes led to their disputing with each other. Certain, however, it is that, in the year 752, the Battle of Beorgford was fought—a battle vividly described by Henry of Huntingdon—in which the Mercian king was put to flight. There can be no question that this is Burford, about fifteen miles north-west from Oxford. The circumstances would have been these. The West Saxon king would have crossed the Thames, sweeping very possibly over Oxford, and reaching the line of hills on the north, which are in part capped by Wychwood Forest; once having gained these hills he would have the whole of the district between them and the Thames at

[1] 'Edelbald igitur rex Mercensis maxima virtute super reges coætaneos provectus omnes provincias Angliæ usque ad Humbram flumen cum suis regibus sibi subjectas esse voluit et fecit.' Hen. Hunt., Rolls Series, ed. 1879, p. 115.

[2] Somerton Castle is in the parish of Boothby, eight miles south of Lincoln, and on the river Brant, which flows into the Witham near to Lincoln. Edward I. granted a licence to crenellate it in 1281.

his mercy. Standing on the Whitehorse Hill, we can readily take in the meaning of this conquest, for the valley of the Thames and its tributaries lies at our feet, while in the far distance another line of hills appears bounding the horizon, beneath which the vill of Burford was situated. Just as the capture of the Berkshire Downs had put the Mercian king in possession of the Abingdon and Wantage district, so now the capture of these hills put the West Saxon king in possession of the Oxford and Witney district. Of course this was the battle of the campaign, and, therefore, duly recorded; and the town of Burford, lying beneath the range of hills for which these two armies contended, receiving its name from the ford across the Windrush, beneath the Beorg or fortress, gave the name to the battle. No record exists of how Oxford was then treated, but having no fortifications, it would probably have submitted and suffered as cities then did before a victorious army. The Mercian King Æthelbald seems to have been thoroughly routed.

The next three years witnessed the death of both Cuthred and Æthelbald; also the accession to the Mercian kingdom of the great King Offa, and to the West Saxon kingdom of Cynulf (Ceolwulf). It is clear that Offa set about gaining back what his predecessors had lost, but one great battle only is recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, namely of A.D. 777. The words are brief:—

> 'A.D. This year Cynewulf and Offa fought about Benesingtun, and Offa took the town[1].'

This, however, is to be read in connection with a passage which occurs in the Abingdon History, of which the meaning is probably as follows:—

> 'When Cynewulf was conquered by Offa, King of the Mercians, in battle, King Offa took possession of all those parts which had been subject to King Cynewulf's jurisdiction on the southern side [of the Thames] from the town of Wallingford, and along the Icknield Street, as far as Essebury [i. e. Ashbury], and on the northern side as far as the river Thames itself[2].'

The district is clearly that to which reference has before been made as the Abingdon and Wantage district, i.e. the low ground between the Thames and the Berkshire hills. The accuracy of the description will be seen readily by turning to the map, better still by mounting up to Cwichelmshloewe, the mound covered by the clump of trees, so well seen from the neighbourhood of Abingdon, lying as it

[1] Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *sub anno*. Appendix A, § 33.

[2] *Hist. Mon. Abingdon*, Rolls Series, ed. Stevenson. London, 1858, vol. i. p. 14. Appendix A, § 34.

does in the midst of the range of the Berkshire downs. It stands about midway between Wallingford on the east and Ashbury on the west. Starting from Moulsford, which lies on the river a mile or so below Wallingford, and mounting by the road on to the top of the downs, the great long turf way, called the Icknield Street, can be followed almost without intermission along the whole length of the ridge passing beneath the foot of Cwichelmshloewe itself and within bowshot of the great British fortress of Letcombe, and closer still to that of Uffington, and then to within a few yards of the old cromlech called Wayland Smith's cave. This is immediately over Ashbury, which lies down in the hollow beneath. The great road is continued along the downs which extend into Wiltshire for miles further, overlooking the Whitehorse vale beneath. But at this point, namely above Ashbury, the line of Offa's conquest seems to have ceased. All the way along, at almost every part of the road, the fertile plain which was overrun by the Mercian king, can be seen lying beneath. The line of the Thames cannot be easily traced by reason of the high ground of Cumnor and Bagley Wood, which also hides Oxford from the view. On the east, the limit of the conquered territory is a natural one, since the Thames here makes its way through a gap in what would otherwise be a continuous range of Berkshire and Buckinghamshire downs. It will be observed in the Chronicle the place of battle is called Bensington, the old name which is given under 577, when the West Saxons drove out the Britons; while in the Abingdon Chronicle, the boundary line starts from Wallingford. The towns named, however, are scarce two miles apart, but Benson is on the Mercian side, Wallingford on the West Saxon side of the river; the former representing access to the *Chillern* of Buckinghamshire, the latter that to the *Æscesdun* of Berkshire.

On the west, however, it does not appear why at this time the particular spot, namely Ashbury, should have been chosen to mark the limit of the conquest. But it is an interesting circumstance for this reason: Ashbury is now the last village westward in the county of Berkshire, along this range of hills, and if a line be drawn northward from that point to the Thames at Lechlade, it will be found to follow very nearly the line of demarcation between Berkshire and Wiltshire. We have, therefore, here a foreshadowing of the county boundary line, before we hear anything of counties. We have not even yet heard of the Wilsaetas or of Bearrucscire [1], yet Offa's con-

[1] The first mention of the Wilsætas is under the year 800. The first we obtain of Bearrucscire is under the year 860.

quest was confined to Berkshire. It is perhaps the more remarkable because the boundary between the counties at this point follows no natural line of demarcation, except for a very short distance (i.e. a small portion of a streamlet called the Coln).

Whether or not the village almost adjoining Ashbury, on the Berkshire side, spelt Offentune in the Domesday Survey, be Offantune, i.e. the tun of Offa, and whether it derives its name from this conquest, may be reasonably discussed, but cannot be affirmed; and the further question whether the White Horse cut on the hill, which has through successive generations been preserved, was the mark then made on the hill to denote the extent of the conquest, is a question rather for antiquaries to discuss than to settle.

The result, however, of the battle was that Oxford was once again not only a Mercian town but, further than that, as had been the case once before, its inhabitants, looking from amidst their dwellings across the river, gazed on Mercian territory as far as the eye could reach.

And Oxford seems to have remained Mercian for some time; for successive kings of Mercia extended rather than otherwise their kingdom, which might now have absorbed the whole island, as it had threatened once before to do. But Ecgbryht, who had succeeded to Wessex in 800, was energetically extending that kingdom also, both west and east. The battle at Ellendun[1] in 823 is thought to imply that the Mercians meanwhile had already extended their kingdom into Wiltshire but were now driven out, and at the same time the West Saxon king while driving the Mercians out of Wessex, extended his kingdom into Kent. All the country on the south side of the Thames seemed to submit readily to his arms; while the Mercians had found another formidable enemy in the East Angles. Then, under the year 827, the Chronicle records that Ecgbryht conquered the kingdom of Mercia, and thus laid the foundation of the single kingdom of England. The result, however, can scarcely be said to have made Oxford again West Saxon; rather it became what is best understood by the comprehensive name English, because, though as yet by no means all the kingdoms had become definitely united in one, yet so far

[1] Usually ascribed to one of the Allingtons in Wiltshire. That to the south-east of Amesbury may be put out of the question. That to the north-west of Chippenham, and that to the east of Devizes might have each something to be said for them: the first of the two looking forward to the Danish battle-ground of 878; the second looking, perhaps, back to the battles of 592 and 715, supposing that Woddesborough is Woodborough, an outlying hill on the south of the high range of the Marlborough Downs. Still there is little to support either view; it is more likely a battle fought on some 'dun' of which the name has not been handed down to us.

as the special district of Oxford was concerned, there were no more troubles in store for the place in consequence of its being a border town. The ruler of Mercia continued, it is true, to bear the title of king for some little while after, but Buhred was an independent king rather in name than in fact. Except, therefore, in the event of internal rebellion it might have been supposed Oxford would have been safe from all assault.

CHAPTER VII.

OXFORD DURING THE DANISH INCURSIONS IN THE NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES.

ALTHOUGH Oxford was, as has been seen, no longer subject to the danger consequent on being a border town, a new and unlooked-for peril arose from it being situated on a navigable river. No sooner did internal struggles seem to have come to an end than a new and foreign foe began harassing the country. The Danes, it may be presumed, having heard of the prosperity of their old neighbours the Saxons and the Angles in the new country, thought well to join them. But they were met by difficulties, for the whole land had practically been partitioned out, and therefore whatever they desired they would have to gain by conquest, much in the same way as the former settlers had gained it, from the British occupants: and the task of the Danes now was of course much harder than that of the Saxons and their fellow-settlers some four hundred years previously. The peculiarity of their warfare in the earlier years of their invasion was by sailing up estuaries and rivers, ravaging the country, seizing whatever towns lay on the banks, and then returning to their ships. We must suppose they brought over with them a fleet of boats of shallow draft suitable for the purpose. Between the years 832 and 837 Wessex seems to have been attacked on all sides, first at Sheppey on the east, at Charmouth on the south, and then on the west by the enemy sailing up the Bristol Channel, where they found ready allies in the still unconquered Welsh. Egbert lived to see his great work of pacification neutralised, and during the twenty years of his successor's reign (837–857) the raids were continued with increased vigour. We find the Danes landing at Southampton, then in the isle of Portland; next as far north as Lindsey: then in East Anglia; then in Kent, then at Charmouth again, and then again at the mouth of the Parret. In 851 they ventured up the Thames as far as London, and their victories increasing, they began after this to carry their ravages inland, e. g. into Surrey; but still not far from the river, to which they could retire and take refuge in their boats. These annual voyages over the Northern Ocean occasioning them loss and delay, in

855 they began to winter here, so as to begin their work of depredation early in the spring, or perhaps earlier if the frost allowed: and the result was that places far more inland began to suffer. And, what was worst of all, they had found an asylum amongst the East Angles, who appear to have bought their own peace and quietness at the expense of the rest of the kingdom, as it gave the 'heathen army' (as the Chronicles usually describe the Danes) an admirable base for their operations. From this base they were in 868 enabled to seize upon Nottingham and even take up their winter quarters there. The tributary king of Mercia attempted to drive them out, and called the West Saxon king to his aid, but without success. York followed Nottingham in 869, and Peterborough in 870, when they devastated the glorious abbey, known then as Medeshampstead; and in 871 they ventured much further than they had ever done before up the Thames.

Had they succeeded in this more important raid than any which perhaps they had as yet attempted, Oxford would no doubt have fallen a prey, and we should most likely have found its name appearing in the pages of history some forty years earlier than is the case. But Reading bears the honour of saving, for the present at least, the Upper Thames district from their ravages.

The circumstances were these. At Reading the Danes seem to have left their boats and encamped on the bank of gravel in the angle formed between the Kennet and the Thames, which, just 250 years after, was chosen as the site of the great Reading Abbey[1]. The temporary fortress which they made, or which they found to hand, was suddenly threatened by Æthelred, king of Wessex, who in company with his brother Ælfred, having heard of their design, had marched to meet them and prevent their further progress up the Thames. Whatever might have been their first intention, it is clear that when they saw the advantages of gaining the ridge of the Berkshire Hills, the before-named *Æscesdun*, a large portion of their number made for it by the way of Englefield. At this village, however, they were met by the ealdorman Æthelwulf, and driven back to their camp at Reading. Here they for a time withstood the assault of Æthelred and Ælfred, who next day came up, most probably by the line of road skirting the south bank of the Thames. The position of the Danes was a precarious one, in this triangular space with the two sides surrounded by the rivers and a strong force assaulting the third side. Had there

[1] The foundation of Reading Abbey dates from 1121, though the charters assigning them their property are not dated till 1125. The great abbey church itself was not completed ready for consecration till 1163.

been the few only who had been left behind in the first instance, they might have taken to their boats and fled directly they found the Wessex king was approaching, but as the whole of the army were here, in consequence of the repulse at Englefield, and as they had been rendered bold by previous victories, they gave fight to Æthelred, and rushing out they broke through the West Saxon lines and made for the hills. There was no Æthelwulf now to bar their way at Englefield. He had come up with his forces to join Æthelred, and had unhappily been slain.

At night the Danes reached the ridge, by much the same road no doubt as can still be traced on the map from Englefield up to Lowbury, a spot where they found a camp to their hands, and which from recent excavations is shown to have been previously occupied in Roman times[1]. Æthelred and Ælfred however lost no time. The latter knew the country well. Born at Wantage, beneath the very range now before him, it is not improbable that from his early years he was acquainted with the roads and distances.

Returning along the road by which he had come, as far perhaps as Moulsford, Æthelred mounted the hill by a straight road, which seems to have left behind it traces still to be seen on the map, and as we gather from Asser's Chronicle, before sunset gained another part of the rising ground[2], a little to the north-east of that occupied by the Danes. In the early morning, since the Danes had not anticipated such vigour on the part of the West Saxons, they were not prepared for battle, and thus by the clever tactics of Ælfred and the prowess of his men, they met with a severe defeat; a king, several 'jarls,' and many thousands of the enemy were slain. It is the first important defeat we read of in the annals of their incursions: the battle of 871 not only saved Oxford, but saved the whole of the Abingdon and Wantage district from being pillaged by the Danes. No fortified towns then appear to have existed to prevent their devastating the country wherever they went.

It was at this time that Ælfred became king. Through all the entries in the Chronicle during the twenty-nine years of his reign, there is no statement which implies, directly or indirectly, that Ælfred came

[1] The camp, though small, must have been intended for a lengthened occupation, for at one corner remains of buildings have been discovered (1884): Roman coins (of late date), abundance of pottery, and the invariable oyster-shells, testify sufficently to the square earthworks (still partially visible) having been once a sojourning place of the Romans.

[2] Curiously enough, on the map it is marked as the 'King's standing ground.' The name unfortunately cannot be connected with Æthelred's days, but is supposed to be associated with the 'Fair mile' on which racehorses were trained early in the present century.

to Oxford, or indeed nearer to it than his marches along the line of the Berkshire Hills would bring him. He is continually fighting the Danes, and with more or less success, on the eastern and western extremities of the old kingdom of Wessex, and it is most probably as much due to the fact of his having in previous years provided a fleet, as to the treaty which he made with Guthrum after the fight at Ethandune in 878, that the Danish incursions were much checked, and that they did not again venture up the Thames so far as Oxford during his reign.

In the reign however of his successor, Eadward the Elder, they seem to have burst over Mercia from the old district of the East Angles, which, as has been already said, they were allowed to occupy. It seems that in 905 they went westward, so as to reach Cricklade, probably not by the Thames valley, but across Mercia. King Eadward pursued them as far as he was able, and retaliated by overrunning East Anglia.

It is perhaps impossible to define exactly the position which the kingdoms held towards one another, or to the chief kingdom of the West Saxons at this particular time. It has been seen how the East Angles had independently made peace with the Danes, and how the latter had been using that territory as a base from which to make incursions upon Mercia; and it will be noticed that at times Mercia made peace also, as it were independently: and now, in 912, the year in which we find Oxford first mentioned, the entry in the Chronicle stands as follows:—

> 'This year died Æthered ealdorman of the Mercians, and king Eadward took possession of London and of Oxford and of all the lands which owed obedience thereto.'
>
> 'This year Æthelflæd, lady of the Mercians, came to Scaer-gate on the holy eve, Invention of the Holy Cross, and there built the burh; and the same year that at Bridge[north][1].'

As to what is implied politically by the phrase 'took possession of' will be considered later on; but there is little doubt it had an immediate and practical effect on the town of Oxford: although the fact is not here stated, the surrounding circumstances point very strongly to this being the date when Oxford was fortified. It would appear that in 911 Mercia had been again overrun by the Danes, who seem this time to have made Northumbria the base of their operations; and on the death of Æthered the ealdorman of Mercia, his widow, the lady

[1] The first paragraph is found under this year in the five earliest of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles. The sixth has the same paragraph under the year 910. The second paragraph is only found in the second and third Chronicle in order of date, and these, as will be seen later, are referred to under the letters B and C. Appendix A, § 35.

Æthelflæd, seems to have erected fortifications on all the rivers likely to be ascended by them. In 910 she had built the 'burh' at Bremesbury. In 912, at Scargate and at Bridgnorth on the Severn. In 913, King Eadward constructed the 'burh' at Hertford on the Lea, and the Lady Æthelflæd that at Tamworth; and in the next year that at Eddesbury and Warwick; and in the next at Cyricbury, Weardbury, and Runcorn, and so on. The Chronicle for several years presents a record of the Danes attacking places, and either Eadward or his sister Æthelflæd defending them, and building fortresses for their defence. Before this time the mention of the 'burh' or fortress is rare in regard to a town, and no case is recorded of any being built.

This date then it is thought with some reason may be applied to the fortification of Oxford, inasmuch as it seems to fit in with the series which are spoken of as fortified for the first time.

And if it is asked what was the probable nature of the fortifications, it may be replied that analogy leads us to attribute the castle hill, which still exists, to this particular date. For comparing several places together mentioned in the above list the one common feature is a conical mound of earth. Those nearest to Oxford, i. e. Tamworth and Warwick, overlooking respectively the Avon and a tributary of the Trent called the Tame, possess mounds remarkably similar to that at Oxford, the former being somewhat more lofty and larger, the latter somewhat smaller. But at Warwick the early mound has been subjected more to the system of the fourteenth century fortification of the castle, and from its position above a rapid slope has been incorporated so to speak in the line of wall. At Tamworth it has been left more in its pristine shape, and the ditches surrounding it remain much more perfect, and in one part masonry which may be coeval with the original structure remains against the inner edge.

The following description is given of the fortification of Rumcofa, i. e. Runcorn in Cheshire, and one of the series:—

> 'Its situation was judiciously chosen by Ethelfleda queen of the Mercians for the foundation of a town and castle, erected in 916; for here, by a projection of a tongue of land from the Lancashire side, the bed of the Mersey is suddenly contracted from a considerable breadth to a narrow channel, easily commanded from the shore. It was just opposite to this *gap*, as it is called, that Ethelfleda built the last of the range of castles by which she protected the borders of her extensive domain, and though no vestige of the building remain, its site is marked by the name of *the Castle* given to a triangular piece of land surrounded by a mound of earth, jutting out into the river, guarded on the water-side by ledges of rocks and broken precipices, and cut off

from the land by a ditch at least six yards wide. This fortress, in its entire state must have afforded an excellent defence against the naval inroads of the Danes, who ran up the rivers with their fleets at this period and committed the most cruel ravages[1].'

In the other places which have been identified, the mounds are more or less a prominent feature; some are natural and some artificial, but in the former case no doubt scarping and similar work was resorted to in order to render them more efficacious[2].

One or two considerations suggest themselves respecting the general character of the fortifications of the town of Oxford. Admirably situated as it was in respect of repelling attacks from land forces, with the Thames on the west and south, and the Cherwell on the east, it was dangerously open towards the north. In all probability a fosse of some kind was excavated separating the southern end from the rest of the gravel promontory, and following no doubt generally the line occupied afterwards by the northern wall of the city, but when this was first done there is no means whatever for ascertaining. It should also be borne in mind that, at this time, although in their ravages the Danes freely used their boats, Oxford had still some protection on these three sides; the main stream of the Thames does not seem in any part to have washed the gravel bank on which Oxford was built. Even up to Elizabeth's reign, as shown in Agas' map, something more than ditches joined the Trill mill stream on the west with the Cherwell on the east, on either side of the ground afterwards occupied by the Broad Walk; and the excavation for the construction of the new buildings at Christ Church facing the meadow showed the presence of a stream, which must have washed close by the enclosure of S. Frideswide's[3].

In following the course of the Thames along the western side of Oxford, though it may be doubted if ever the main stream was that which is now known as the Shire-ditch, on the other hand, the probabilities are that it was never the easternmost of the seven streams which

[1] Aikin's *Forty Miles round Manchester*, 1795, p. 417.

[2] There are difficulties in the identification of several of the names. Bremesbury is assigned to Bramsbury in Lincolnshire. Scargate has been guessed to be Sarrat in Hertfordshire, on the Chess, a tributary of the Colne; but there is nothing to recommend the identification. As to Hertford there can be no doubt as to the two 'burhs,' and this was specially important on account of the meeting of the three streams. Cyricbury has been identified with Cherbury in Shropshire; and Weardburh has been supposed to be Warborough in Oxfordshire, but this is very improbable. 'Eadesbyrig' is probably Eddisbury in Cheshire. All the burhs which can be identified seem to be at or near the Mercian frontier, or readily accessible by the rivers.

[3] See paper by Mr. Conradi, Oxford Arch. and Hist. Proceedings, 1863, New Series, vol. i. p. 217.

the road to Botley crossed, and which gave it the name of the Seven-Bridge Road. So again with respect to the Cherwell; there probably ran between the main stream and Oxford one or two smaller streams; and two of these may now be seen enclosing Magdalen Water-walks. The result generally speaking, therefore, was that Oxford was surrounded on the south and west and east by what was probably marsh land, and which could readily be changed into a swamp by damming up here and there a portion of the several streams which intersected it. This of course would afford great natural protection to a place, as besiegers would fight under great disadvantages.

But still, without a fortress Oxford would have been much at the mercy of the Danes, and a spot therefore appears to have been chosen, and the mound, with accompanying ditches, was constructed; the earth thrown out from them provided material for the mound, there being no natural rise of the ground of any consequence in this direction.

This was the Castle. The circumstances which led to the western edge of the town being chosen instead of the south-eastern corner, which would have guarded the mouth of the Cherwell as well as the Thames, are not apparent. Divested of nearly all its buildings, and with the streams probably more numerous than they are now, and with undrained land surrounding the greater part of the town, the place must have presented so different an aspect from what it does now, that it would be futile to attempt to argue the question whether the military engineer of those days did wisely or unwisely in fixing on the spot which he did.

And while speaking of the fortifications, it might probably be thought well that something should here be said upon what there was existing at this time to fortify. The probabilities are, that though the space available for occupation was practically marked out by nature, there were, at this date, but few houses built upon it. Most towns appear to have had a nucleus which has in some measure determined the position and shape which they afterwards assumed. Sometimes it has been a castle, as at Warwick, at the back of which the town has grown up, till eventually it has been walled round and made separate and distinct from the castle. At others it has encircled some religious foundation, as at Coventry. In Oxford, at the time spoken of, it is not at all clear whether the religious establishment was still one of nuns, or whether it had been changed into a monastery, or whether it was of sufficient importance to have gathered round it any extensive population; but in all probability whatever were so gathered, lay above it on the slope between the northern enclosure wall and the road which

afterwards came to be the High Street; this group of houses would be bounded on the western side by the road which afterwards had the name of Southgate Street, then Fish Street, and in later years S. Aldate's.

There is not much likelihood of a road such as this having materially changed its position, and one or two considerations suggest themselves in connection with it. To all appearance there could scarcely have been any other line of road across the South Hincksey meadows than that occupied by the present causeway, and it may be taken for granted also that Folly Bridge, which takes the place of the old 'Grand-pount,' occupies the site very nearly, if not exactly, of the older fords over the shallow streams which intersected those meadows. Possibly, indeed it may be said probably, this was the original ford from which the town derived its name.

As long as Mercia and Wessex were two distinct kingdoms, it is not so probable, though of course possible, that a road of great importance would have been made across the river at this point, but on the union of the two kingdoms such would have been of a 'first necessity,' both for commercial and military purposes[1]. It is true the rivers were themselves the chief means of communication, but of course they were first of all restricted to the few, who could afford to possess or to hire boats; and next the traffic depended much on the seasons; in the time of heavy rains the rivers would be so swollen and the banks so overflowed that the lading and unlading boats would present as many difficulties as the passage of the boats themselves would in dry seasons when there was not sufficient water in the streams to float them. The roads, therefore, must have supplemented the rivers in the way of traffic to a considerable degree, and the country people no doubt made use of such ways, tracks and paths, more or less available according as the reeves and other shire officers provided them. Further, there is some reason to suppose, that one of the direct lines from the north-west to London, in the eleventh century, and possibly in the tenth century, passed by Oxford; the road up to this point would have been carried across the district north

[1] The making and repairing of roads and bridges were amongst the three charges always retained on estates when all others might be remitted. The *trinoda necessitas*, as it was called, consisted of—(1) Bryge-bot, i. e. for repairing roads and bridges; (2) Burgbot, for repairing fortifications; and (3) Fyrd, for providing the military and naval forces for the defence of the kingdom. These charges are referred to frequently in the early charters, and in all probability, on the annexation of the portion of Mercia, one of Eadward's first cares would have been to have seen that there were good roads provided for communication.

of the Thames, but at Oxford, crossing the Thames and following the line of the Thames valley, would have been continued southward. This would be the road already referred to as crossing the ford at the point where Folly Bridge now exists; it would cross the South Hincksey meadows, and then pursue its course beneath the rising ground, by one or other of the many roads which intersect this district[1].

This road, then, which gave access from Wessex, passed through the centre of Oxford; leaving the river, it skirted the enclosure of S. Frideswide on the eastern side, and gradually ascended the sloping gravel bank in a northerly direction, where it was met by another road which, coming from the east, connected Oxford with the Wallingford district. The road from Berkshire crossed this, and being continued gave access to the North, and formed the most natural outlet, so to speak, for Oxford as long as it was in Mercian territory[2]. In all probability on either side of this, as far as the site of the North Gate, houses lay scattered here and there at this time when Oxford was fortified. On the erection of the castle, however, the buildings which may have been hitherto few in a westerly direction would grow up thickly, on the eastern bank of the castle ditch, and by degrees plots of ground with a solitary building would give way to rows of houses thickening as they neared the castle, thinning as they neared Carfax.

Thus in a natural way the four quarters of Oxford would be formed. First of all the south-eastern would have been most occupied because of S. Frideswide's; next, portions of the north-western and south-western on account of the castle; the north-eastern would probably have been left more open for a longer time than any.

Although somewhat anticipating the record, it must be adduced here, as one important fact in the evidence bearing upon the growth of Oxford, that the first parish church of which we find mention is S. Martin's, which is situated at the meeting of the roads, and, as before stated, at the highest point on the gravel bank; and it may be noted in passing, that although there was no other S. Martin necessitating a distinctive term, it seems for long to have borne the appellation of S. Martin's at Carfax, and indeed Carfax church. But further, it is essentially, and always has been, the city church; hence no doubt sustaining the privileges which it had acquired from being the

[1] The line of road on the west and south of the Thames in this part cannot now be followed, owing to the many alterations which have taken place as different properties became enclosed.

[2] It will be observed that the road leading into Oxford on the north, and passing by Cutslow, is referred to in one of the boundaries attached to S. Frideswide's Charter of 1004 as 'the Port-way,' i.e. the town road.

first parish church in the city. Other circumstances are corroborative of the position assigned to it, inasmuch as there is good evidence of the Port-mannimots, or Town Councils, having been held in the churchyard, which was once, and before sundry encroachments, of much greater extent than now.

On looking at the map it will be at once seen how this central spot is evenly surrounded by the parish which belongs to it, and how that in its turn forms the nucleus round which other parishes cluster; and although the division of the parishes belongs to a period much later than that under consideration, the circumstances just mentioned all hang together, and bring out into prominence the importance of the three elements in the formation of the plan of Oxford, namely, the crossing of the roads at Carfax in the centre, S. Frideswide's in the south-eastern quarter, the Castle on the low ground at the far western extremity. The following hundred and fifty years made no doubt a great change in the aspect of Oxford, but it was probably not till Robert D'Oilgi's time that the outline of the town became clearly defined by fortifications and boundaries, or marked out definitely by its streets; but the growth was along the old original lines, the erection of the castle being an important factor not only in the formation of the plan of the town, but in its progress towards that importance which we find it had attained in the eleventh century.

Before continuing the record of events, it is thought well also to say a few words respecting the authority of the passage which has been quoted, representing, as it does, the earliest historical mention of Oxford. And it is considered to be of all the more importance from the circumstance that several pages of this treatise have been occupied in exhibiting the worthless character of so much which passes for history; hence it is necessary to point out distinctly the grounds on which this passage is accepted as true history, while so many have been absolutely rejected. And what is here said will, in a measure, apply to some of the other facts narrated later on, though not perhaps in the same degree, as to the passage in question.

That passage is the first mention of Oxford in the chief record we possess of events which took place in the tenth century. For convenience it is called 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,' and while for some reasons that title best describes it, there is the further reason that it has, since the invention of printing it is believed, always been referred to by that title. But while using the name it must not be overlooked that there are several Chronicles, or rather several editions of the one Chronicle, all of which very much resemble one another in

the earlier part, but gradually differ more and more, because being kept in different monasteries events more or less local became transcribed into one which were not transcribed into others [1].

This series of Chronicles then, included under this one name, comprise, when taken altogether, the period from the invasion by Cæsar to the end of King Stephen's reign. We know nothing of the personality of the authors, but there is good reason to suppose that there was one record, compiled officially from all the available sources, about the time of King Alfred, and then carried on by different but contemporary compilers.

The internal evidence derived from a comparison of the various MSS. would fix the general compilation about the time named; but we have, besides, the record of the Norman poet of the twelfth century, Geoffrey Gaimar, which is not to be despised, who refers distinctly to it being compiled under the direction of King Alfred, and chained in the Bishop's palace at Winchester [2].

Of the manuscripts which we possess of this valuable Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the chief in importance as to date is that (A) preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, extending from the invasion by Cæsar to the year 891, and there is little reason to doubt but that the *MS. itself is absolutely of this latter date*; in other words, that we have the Chronicle as the chronicler left it, brought down to his own time, and are not dependent upon a later copyist, which is so generally the case with our early records. There are interpolations by a later hand, seemingly of the twelfth century, and continuations by several hands, belonging to the various periods which the history covers, but the difference of the handwriting is clearly marked. It is very possible that this is the identical copy referred to by Gaimar, as having been written by Alfred's order and chained up at Winchester.

Another MS. (B) of a century later, and preserved amongst the Cottonian MSS. (the reference is Tiber. A. vi) is written in the same handwriting down to the year 977. It formerly belonged to the monastery of S. Augustine at Canterbury.

[1] Although in most cases it is thought sufficient to speak of it as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in some cases the term Anglo-Saxon Chronicles will be used, and the particular Chronicle referred to by an index letter.

[2] 'A Chronicle by name, a great book; The English compiled it. Now it is of such authority, that at Winchester, in the Bishop's Palace, There of Kings is the true history, and the lives, and the memoirs. Alfred the King had it in his possession, and had it fixed by a chain, So that any one who wished to read it, could well look at it, But could not from its place at all remove it.' Geoffrey Gaimar; L'Estorie des Engles, line 2332.

Two more (C, D) of the eleventh century are preserved also in the Cottonian collection (the references being respectively Tiber B. i and Tiber B. iv); one is in the same handwriting to the year 1046, and is continued by a later hand to 1066; the other is in the same hand to 1016, and is continued to 1079. The former of these is called by Josselyn the Abingdon Chronicle, and it may well have been kept there, and the latter part been compiled in the monastery itself.

There is one (E) in the Bodleian Library (the reference being Laud 636), written in one hand to 1122, with additions made by various hands to the year 1154. This, from the circumstance of several charters belonging to the Peterborough monastery being transcribed into it, seems to have been preserved there.

Lastly, there is one (F) in the Cottonian collection (Domit. A. viii), written in the twelfth century and more carelessly than the others.

There is also a Fragment of another copy of the eleventh century in the same collection.

There are additions and variations in all, so that it would appear that there were several copies distributed about the ninth century; of these, only one absolutely remains, while others have formed the basis from which MSS. B to E, and others, have been copied, with the additions which progress of time had rendered necessary, and with interpolations which acquaintance with other records had enabled their possessors to make.

It will thus be seen that we have for the greater part of the period which has to be traversed, what may be called distinctly contemporary authority, and in some cases a consensus of that authority; very different from the material on which the writers have relied who carry back the history of Oxford to King Mempric, or that of the University to the Greek scholars, or to King Alfred. Remembering too the evidence we have of the Chronicle being compiled by order of King Alfred, and the probability that we have the very copy chained up by his command at Winchester, it would have indeed been strange that had he founded Oxford, or built any college there, that no note whatever should have been inserted in that Chronicle.

As a matter of fact, however, in none of these MSS., either in the original writing or in the interpolations by later hands, does the name of Oxford once occur until the year 912, and then the one circumstance is recorded about Oxford which has already been quoted. This passage, exactly as it has been given, is found in all the six MSS. named, although in MS. F it is inserted (probably erroneously) under the events of the year 910.

Besides these different copies of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle we have the writings of several historians of the twelfth century who have made use of them in the histories which they wrote, adding all the information which was obtainable from other sources at that time. One or two of the chief of these will be briefly noticed. First among them in point of date stands Florence of Worcester. He died in the year 1118, but his Chronicle was continued by another hand to the year 1131; and, in one or two MSS., to ten years later still[1]. He uses some copy (possibly a different one from any we possess) of the Chronicle between 455 and 597, and then chiefly Beda, inserting from lives of saints, till 732, when he returns to the Chronicle, but still intersperses many notes derived from the lives of saints. Further on, he makes use of Asser's Life of Alfred as already said, and, besides the legends of saints, material derived from other sources. Again, it is to be observed that he has found no mention of Oxford worthy of record till he comes to this same year, 912.

His record of this year does not exactly follow the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, but stands thus:—

> 'DCCCC.XII. Æthered, earl and patrician, lord and under-king of the Mercians, a man of excellent worth, after having done many good deeds, died. After his death his wife Ægelfleda, daughter of King Alfred, for some time most firmly held rule over the kingdom of the Mercians, except London and Oxford, which cities her brother King Eadward kept in his own power[2].'

In the Chronicle of Simeon of Durham, which terminates in 1119 (and there is reason to suppose the writer did not live long afterwards), the first mention of Oxford is in connection with the same event: it is simply a translation of one of the Chronicles, and as he puts it under the year 910 he has probably followed a Chronicle of the type referred to as F:—

> 'King Edward took possession of London and Oxford and all which belong thereto.'

Next in order must be named Henry of Huntingdon. He issued the first edition (so to speak) of his history in 1135, and had ample

[1] There are three MSS. existing as early as the twelfth century, and two or three besides of the thirteenth century. The oldest is perhaps that in Corpus Christi Library in Oxford; it once belonged to Worcester: the next that in the Lambeth Library; it belonged originally to Abingdon Abbey.

[2] Florence of Worcester *Chronicon*, sub anno. *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 569. Appendix A. § 36.

[3] Simeon of Durham *Historia*, sub anno. *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 686. Only one MS. exists of the twelfth century, i.e. in C.C.C. Library, Cambridge. Appendix A. § 37.

opportunities for examining all the sources of history which the kingdom could afford. His first mention of Oxford, again, is under the year 912, and to the same purport as Simeon of Durham; but his translation, or rather summary, from the Anglo-Saxon is different from that of the other two:—

> 'In the following year, Edred earl of Mercia having died, King Edward seized London and Oxford, and all the land belonging to the Mercian province[1].'

Geoffrey Gaimar, to whom reference has already been made, must be added to the list of twelfth-century historians who have gone over this ground, and incorporated or extended the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The *Estorie* which we possess begins with the arrival of Cerdic, and ends with the death of William II, 1100. He composed his history soon after the middle of the twelfth century, and was prepared to add to it the life of Henry I., but did not do so.

His first mention of Oxford is also under the same year, and the following is an English rendering of his version of the story:—

> 'Just at this time there died a king; his name
> Was Edelret; who o'er the Mercians ruled.
> This Edelret o'er London too, held sway:
> Elveret [Alfred] the King it was who placed him there,
> He had received it not in heritage.
> When near to death he did that which was wise,
> He rendered to King Eadward his just right
> With everything which did thereto belong;
> London he yielded, ere he yet was dead,
> The city, too, he gave, of Oxeneford,
> And with them all the country and the shires
> Which to the cities did belong[2].'

There are others of the twelfth century, who copy the Chronicles direct or incorporate the above-named into their own histories; and later on numerous chroniclers, some of them of great esteem, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, go over the period from Augustine to the Conquest; and, in some cases, while copying the substance of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, either directly or at second hand from the twelfth century chronicles, vary it; but their variations and interpolations as regards the early period, are obviously not worthy of any especial consideration, and certainly are not to be accepted as authorities when we can go ourselves to the very source whence they derived their information. These therefore are not noticed.

[1] Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, Rolls Series, 1879, p. 155. There are several MSS. of the twelfth and thirteenth century. Appendix A. § 38.

[2] Geoffrey Gaimar, *L'Estorie des Engles*, line 3477. Printed in *Monumenta Hist. Britannica*, p. 807. Appendix A. § 39.

It will be observed that the one event which has yet been recorded from the Chronicle directly naming Oxford, is told in a slightly different way by one or two of the twelfth century chroniclers. It does not appear at all certain that they had any further data whatever for their conclusions than we have now, but they deduce what they add by way of expansion from other parts of the Chronicle. Florence of Worcester, by taking into account the entry in the Chronicle under the year 918, in which Æthelflæd is recorded to have died 'in the eighth year of her lordship over the Mercians,' easily deduces the fact that Eadward did not at once take possession of all Mercia. Henry of Huntingdon, it will be observed on the other hand, is less careful, adding to the taking of Oxford, 'all the land belonging to the Province of Mercia,' possibly reading the word 'thereto' as referring to the Mercians, instead of as referring to London and Oxford. By itself the passage might bear his interpretation, but taken in connection with other circumstances, that of Florence is no doubt the right one. Geoffrey of Gaimar in the course of his expansion introduces, as will have been observed, other considerations, but such as may be deduced from previous passages in the Chronicle, and by no means necessarily implying any reference to further records than those which we possess.

In order to gauge the value of these variations some few considerations must be taken into account, in respect of London as well as of Oxford, since they are both named together.

It will be remembered that the year after the battle of Æscesdun in 871, which saved Oxford, the Danish army, which had again assembled at Reading, were driven down the Thames to London, and there took up their winter quarters, through the cowardice of the Mercians, who readily made peace with them. In 878, after the fighting in the neighbourhood of Chippenham, where Ælfred made 'a peace' with Guthrum[1], London appears, so far as the boundary line goes, to have been left outside the Danish territory, but whether or not it was made free at this time, it is clear that the Danes were shortly afterwards driven out from the city, for under the year 886 Ælfred is recorded in the Chronicles to have 'set in order' (*gesette*) London; this is translated by the historians 'restau-

[1] Generally called the Peace of Wedmore; but it is difficult to see on what grounds. It is true that one of the Articles of the Peace was Guthrum's baptism, which took place near to Athelney, and afterwards Alfred invited him on a twelve days' visit to Wedmore where his 'chrism losing' took place. But the 'Peace' must have been made and signed some time before the visit, probably immediately after the battle of Ethandune and in the neighbourhood of Chippenham where the Danish head-quarters seem to have been.

ravit[1],' and it implies, perhaps, that the fortifications which had been destroyed by the Danes were renewed. The Chronicle also adds, 'Ælfred then committed the burh to the keeping of the ealdorman Æthered.' So far we see Gaimar has distinct authority for the statement that Alfred had placed Æthered there (*mis i l'aveit*); but there follows:—'he had it not in heritage.' Possibly what is meant is, that since London and the adjacent country had been practically severed from Mercia, the ealdorman had no rights whatever over it, and that Ælfred having won back the city from the Danes, he had as it were granted it to Æthered for his lifetime only, and therefore it was due to be given back to Ælfred's heirs at his death. The words of Florence also 'kept in his power' (*sibi retinuit*) imply the same thing, that is to say, the city was already in his possession.

Indeed the word in the Chronicle translated 'took possession of' seems to have a special meaning. The expression of Simeon of Durham, *suscepit*, and that of Henry of Huntingdon, *saisivit*, taken in its legal sense, are nearer to the original. The word *feng*, which is used in this case in the Chronicle, is frequently found in the sense of a king succeeding to his kingdom—that is, in due course of inheritance. It is so in 800, when Ecgbryht succeeds to the kingdom of Wessex; in 819, when Ceolwulf succeeds to Mercia; in 825, when Wiglaf succeeds to Mercia; and in 828, when he again returns to his kingdom; and in 836 and 871, when Æthelwulf and Ælfred respectively succeed to the West Saxon kingdom[2]. It is, however, also used of a bishop taking charge of a see[3].

Although Gaimar does not say so, it is clear that London and Oxford in the year 912 stand on the same footing as regards Eadward's taking them into his possession. And the question resolves itself into this: if London, in consequence of the incursion of the Danes, had been separated from Mercia, it is probable that Oxford had been also. In other words, though in 871 Oxford seems to have been saved, it must have fallen afterwards into their power, and further, like London,

[1] Following Asser, who writes, 'post incendia urbium, stragesque populorum Londoniam civitatem honorifice restauravit, et habitabilem fecit.' Asser, sub anno. *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 489.

[2] 'Ecbryht feng to Wesseaxna rice'; A.-S. Chron. 801. 'Cenwulf Mercena Cyning forth ferde and Ceolwulf feng to rice'; Ibid. 819. 'Wiglaf feng to rice'; Ibid. 829. 'Eft Wlaf feng Miercna rices'; Ibid. 829. 'Feng Æthelwulf Ecgbrihting to Wesseaxna rice'; Ibid. 836. 'Tha feng Ælfred Æthelwulfing to Wesseaxna rice'; Ibid. 871.

[3] 'Ceolnoth sercebisc. onfeng pallium'; A.-S. Chron. 831, and even of a Pope succeeding to the Papacy—'Leo Papa forthferde: and æfter him Stephanus feng to rice'; Ibid. 814.

been rescued by Ælfred and put into the keeping of Æthered. Of London we read of the 'setting in order' in 886, but of Oxford we find no mention. In all probability Oxford had been restored by Guthrum's peace in 878, and at that time, when it was expected the Danes would retire behind the Wætling Street boundary, there was no need of fortifying towns so far away; and that it was not fortified is shown by the fact that the Danes, in 894, passed up the Thames on their way to the river Severn presumably without molestation. A fortress at Oxford would have stopped them, or at least produced a battle which would probably have been recorded. In 912 the aspect of affairs was very different, and hence Eadward's vigorous action.

At present the question of London and Oxford only has been considered, but it will be observed that the Chronicle adds, 'and all the lands which thereto belonged.' There is reason to think that this expression means practically the counties of Middlesex and Oxfordshire; and Gaimar, as will be observed, takes the passage to mean this, '*E le pais e le contez ki apendeient as citez.*'

The exact time of the demarcation of the Mercian shires is doubtful, but the probability is that the work of Eadward in annexing Mercia included the division of that kingdom into separate districts, which if not at once, at least soon afterwards, bore the name of shires. The districts into which Wessex was divided were already recognized, as they followed the lines of the old divisions, each division being to all appearance under the rule of an ealdorman. One of them, however, at the first mention of it, bore the title of shire, viz. Ham-tun-shire, and was called so from the town of Hamptun, or, as it is usually known, Southampton. We first hear of this district in 755, on account of the ealdorman of it choosing to support the king, while the other ealdormen of the kingdom had deserted him[1]. We hear of the Wilsætas in the year 800 as fighting under ealdorman Weohstan against the Mercian Huiccas, at Cynemæresford (i.e. Kempsford on the Thames) under ealdorman Æthelmund; and so again in 878, when the neighbourhood flocked to the assistance of Ælfred, who was then at Æthelney, the chronicler writes, 'there came to meet him all *Somersæte*, and *Wilsæte*, and *Hamptunscire*.' In describing the

[1] A. S. Chronicle, *sub anno*. 'The witan deprived the West Saxon King Sigebryht of his kingdom except Hamtunscire, and that he held until he slew the ealdorman who had longest remained with him.' The reason of Hamtun giving its name to the district may perhaps be connected with the circumstances of a strip of land being taken in 661 out of Wessex communicating with the port giving access to the Isle of Wight, although the Meonwara (see Beda iv. cap. 13) possibly only occupied a portion of what was afterwards the Hamtun-shire.

diocese, however, which was probably in 870 coterminous with the territory of the Wilsætas, the Bishop is spoken of as 'of *Wiltunscire*,' from the chief town of Wiltun: under 898 this ecclesiastical name seems to have superseded the civil name of the district, as we read that 'this year died Æthelm ealdorman of *Wiltunscire*[1].' The *Sumersæte* and the *Dornsæte*[2] had already been mentioned as fighting under their respective ealdormen Eanulph and Osric against the Danes in their raid up the river Parret in 845.

The *Defenas* are first referred to in the Chronicle under the year 823, when they fight the Welsh, and again, under the same title, in 894 and 897; nevertheless, in 851, 878, and 893, we find the district and the ealdorman referred to as that of *Defena-scire*, though no town existed to give the name, as in the case of Wiltshire. On the other hand, the Somersæte and the Dornsæte are not found in the Chronicle with the suffix of 'shire' till after the Conquest. Of the *Cornwealas* we do not read in the Chronicle till 891.

The name *Bearrucscire* occurs as early as the year 860, when the ealdorman Osric, with Hamtunscire, and ealdorman Æthelwulf[3], with Bearrucscire, fought against the Danes, who had come up the Itchen as far as the old Roman town of Winchester, but were put to flight. Probably the name is derived from the Saxon *bearo*, and may have reference to the long line of the Berkshire downs, with Cwichelmshlœwe, a prominent object, in the midst. Yet it is just possible that the original name may have contained the name of some tribe of which all traces are lost[4].

Thus the whole of Wessex proper is shown to be mapped out in shires before the date of 912, while the kingdoms of Kent and Sussex date from still earlier times, and of Suthrige or Surrey we hear under 722, as the place of exile of Ealbriht. Further, it is to be noted that not only these nine several territories, but their very names, survive to the present day.

[1] The country is still called from the town, i.e. Wil-t-shire not Wil-shire. The *t* for the moment is suppressed, though not perhaps lost, in the modern Hampshire, and clearly appears in Hants.

[2] The first mention of the Dornsæte in the Chronicle is in 837, when they fight against the Danes under their ealdorman, Æthelhelm, at the Isle of Portland, where the Danes gain the victory and the ealdorman is slain.

[3] This was the same Æthelwulf who successfully prevented the Danes on their first attempt from reaching Æscesdun, but who was slain in their second sally forth from Reading. See *ante*, p. 115.

[4] Asser begins his life of Alfred by speaking of Wanating (i.e. Wantage), Alfred's birthplace, being 'in illa paga quae nominatur Berrocscire, quae paga taliter vocatur a Berroc, sylva ubi buxus abundantissima nascitur.' *Monumenta Hist. Brit.* p. 467.

But as regards the Mercian kingdom on the north of the Thames it is quite different. The district of the old East Saxons, and the small territory of the Middle Saxons, still retained their name and probably much of their old boundaries, as also the two divisions of the East Anglian kingdom, the North folk and the South folk. The Middle Angles had probably been absorbed into Mercia on the formation of that kingdom; and this and all to the west, reaching up to the Welsh border, comes before us at the close of the ninth century as one great shire ruled over by one ealdorman. No doubt originally there were under-kingdoms, and from the aggregation of these the Mercian kingdom had been formed; but so far as appears from the material left to us, their individuality had been lost, and their boundaries had been obliterated; and though here and there some of the old divisions have left their traces in local nomenclature, they played no part in the meting out of the new shires, which took place, there is reason to suppose, in the tenth century[1].

It is clear also that Æthered held a high position in Mercia before it was subjected to the West Saxon kingdom, and that it was in consequence of this that Ælfred had given him his daughter Æthelflæd in marriage; but we obtain no hint as to what part of Mercia it was in which his patrimony lay, or whether he was of royal lineage or not. In 874 Burhred the actual king of Mercia had been driven out by the Danes 'beyond sea,' and had died soon after in Rome, whither he had fled. Ceolwulf, to whom the Danes had committed the kingdom of Mercia—an unwise king's thane, as the Chronicle calls him—was probably deposed soon after Ælfred's success of 878, when the treaty was made by which the Danes withdrew beyond the Wætling Street, and the former ealdorman (for Æthered seems to have borne that title while the king Burhred was living[2]) was restored again to the dignity—but this time subject to the West Saxon king, who had delivered the greater part of Mercia from the Danish bondage. It was not till 886 that we read in the Chronicle that Ælfred gives him

[1] If for instance we take the district nearest to Oxford, that of the Huiccas, already named, as possessing an ealdorman so late as the year 800, we can only suppose that it occupied parts of Gloucestershire and Worcestershire but not the whole of either: nor would it be unreasonable to suppose that it extended itself over a portion of Oxfordshire and has left its name in the royal forest of Wychwood—referred to in the Domesday Survey. 'In Scotorne . . . et Huichwode dominicae forestae regis sunt.' fol. 154, verso, col. 2.

[2] 'Ethelred Deo adjuvante Merciorum Dux.' K. C. D. No. 304, Vol. ii. p. 99. Also just after the Guthrum treaty (K. C. D. 311) he defines his title 'Dux et patricius omnium Merciorum.'

London in consequence of his position; and he is still termed ealdorman; but, though ealdorman in the sense of being subject to the king of Wessex, he had succeeded to the rule, not of a shire, like the Wessex ealdormen, but as regards extent to that of a kingdom [1].

Taking these several considerations into account, it may reasonably be assumed that it was not till Eadward's rule that Mercia was strictly divided into shires; and further that the annexation of Oxford, 'with all the lands which thereto belonged [2],' was an early, if not the earliest instance of such demarcation on this side of the Thames. From London being situated in the midst of a district which had acquired the name of the land of the Middlesaxons, no land was then assigned to it because it was in the centre of a 'shire' already, and one which retained its old name, like Sussex and Essex, and like the 'sæte' in Wessex already referred to.

As has been frequently pointed out, it is the feature which distinguishes the Mercian shires from almost all the others, that in them while the shire is grouped round the town which gives its name to it, in the others (Hampshire being the chief exception) the chief town has nothing to do with the name, and the position of it is a matter of accident. And this view is further supported by the fact that at this time several of the towns which formed the nucleus of the shire seem to come into prominence for the first time. Not only, as already said, is Oxford named in the Chronicle for the first time, no doubt in consequence of becoming a fortified town on the Thames, but also in 913 Æthelflæd, the lady of the Mercians, ordered the burh at Warwick to be built. The same year she built the burh at Stafford; while Eadward ordered the burh to be built at Hertford between the two rivers; and in 915, at Buckingham, two burhs; and in 919 the burh at Bedford [3]; so that in these cases we have definite reference to the construction of their fortification, in others also it is implied. All these became shire centres.

[1] The two remaining entries in the Chronicle previous to that of 912 concerning him exhibit both sides of his position. On the one hand we hear of him in 894 as having stood sponsor to one of the sons of the Danish commander, King Eadward standing godfather to the other; and on the other, in the same year fighting against the Danes, in conjunction with the ealdormen of Wiltshire and Somerset.

[2] Under 915 again we find a similar expression regarding two other shire towns, viz. the chief men belonging to Bedford and those belonging to Northampton, and in the same year (though Chronicle A has it under 918) we read of the 'men of Hereford and the men of Gloucester.'

[3] Bedcanford had already appeared in the pages of the Chronicle, i.e. in 571, as marking the progress of the Saxon arms against the Brito-Welsh. See *ante*, p. 82.

In 914, it was from Northampton the Danish army rode to Leicester; and again, in 921, they broke the peace at Northampton, and the same year they left the burh at Huntingdon. Then there were the five burhs[1], four of which became shire towns—Derby and Leicester, both of which Æthelflæd took in 917, and Nottingham, which had already as early as 868 formed one of the first strongholds of the Danes, and which they held till 924, when Eadward drove them out and commanded the burh to be built on the south side of the river opposite the other. Lincoln was so far within the Danish lines that it seems to have played no part at this period, but it is included in the list of the five burhs freed by the king up to 941.

These towns, then, became centres of districts or shires, and the few other towns of note were omitted, either from the absence of such natural advantages as to warrant the expense of fortification, of else from their proximity to other towns on the same rivers. In fact, looking at the question as a whole, it would appear as if the division of Mercia proper into shires arose from the necessity of the times, and were as much due to the military requirements as to any political convenience. One point is clear; whatever the cause, Oxford stands as to recorded history in the forefront of the Mercian series in having a shire allotted to it.

It is not easy at this distance of time, and with the little which has been handed down to us, to attempt to determine on what principles the shires were mapped out. In all probability, as already said, the old under-kingdoms of Mercia had long been obliterated, and we cannot suppose there was anything of the kind to guide the lines of the new Oxfordshire. The boundary of the Thames, on the south, was of course natural; but on the eastern side, while one would have expected the Thame to have marked out, at least roughly, a division, and to have carried on the tradition, so to speak, of the times when the Dobuni and Cassivelauni occupied the country, that river is wholly disregarded. For the northern and western boundary, it would be only idle to guess at the circumstances which ruled it; all that can be said is, that the western boundary starts from the same point where the division between the Wilsæte and Bearrocscire ends. Taking, however, a map of this part of England with the roads, railways, canals, and the like suppressed, and the rivers and hills put into the prominent

[1] Under the year 941 the Chronicle introduces their names in a poem. 'Five towns, Leicester, and Lincoln and Nottingham, so Stamford eke and Derby were erewhile Danish under the Northmen . . . until again released them . . . Eadmund King.'

position which the others occupy in most maps, there is a certain system observable in the demarcation, allowing for the circumstances of the rivers and hills, and of the position of the several towns chosen for their importance. The divisions certainly do not seem to have been left to chance, and, as a rule, allowing for exceptional circumstances (of which Oxford affords one example), the town is as nearly as possible in the centre of the shire. One point seems to be very clear; the line of demarcation laid down in the Guthrum Peace, 'up the Thames, and then up the Lea into its source, then right to Bedford, then up on the Ouse into Wætling Street,' had no influence whatever in meting out any of the county boundaries through which that line ran.

Taking, therefore, all the circumstances into account, it may be fairly said that the year 912 saw Oxford made a fortified town, with a definite duty to perform and a definite district assigned to it. From this time forward Oxfordshire was attached to it as a district, and Oxford the chief town of the county; and above and beyond this, at the same time, this county was definitely incorporated into the kingdom of Wessex which was now fast merging into the kingdom of England.

Again, whatever may have been the special reason at this time for fortifying so many places throughout this particular part of the country (for we hear little or nothing of fortifications in Wessex) certain it is, as the result showed, they were needed. The peace of 878 must have been of short duration, and excepting that it was made after a defeat, instead of before, it does not seem to have differed very much from many others as to its temporary character. But this series of fortifications had a different effect. The breaking of the peace afterwards did not mean the horde of Danes ravaging the country; on the contrary, we find either Eadward or his sister gaining over other towns which were on the Danish side of the line of the treaty. In 917, for instance, 'the Lady of the Mercians, God aiding her,' gains over Derby, and, in 918, the burh at Leicester with the greatest part of the army which belongs thereto, becomes subject to her. In 919, Eadward on his part goes to Bedford and gains the town, and in 920 penetrates as far as Essex and takes Maldon, and establishes a 'burh' there, and, in 921, the same at Towcester, which lies on the Wætling Street, the line of boundary in this part. And so the vigour of the king continued. But the result in one respect is unfortunate. Not only for the rest of Eadward's reign, but to the end of the century, there is in consequence no record in any of the Chronicles of any event connecting Oxford with the history of the kingdom. It is true

the name occurs once, and once only, namely when the death of Eadward's son is recorded as taking place there, a few days after his father's death :—

> 'A.D. 924. In this year King Eadweard died in Mercia at Farndon[1]; Ælfweard his son very shortly [about 16 days after] died at Oxford, and their bodies lie at Winchester[2].'

Florence of Worcester has thus followed the above in his Chronicle :—

> 'And his (i.e. Edward's) body was carried to Winchester and was buried in a royal manner in the "New Minster." And not long after his son Alfward died at Oxenford, and was buried where his father was[3].'

Henry of Huntingdon gives the above in different words, but the place of Ælfweard's death is not mentioned by Simeon of Durham or Geoffrey Gaimar. As will be seen by the note, one half of the Chronicles omit all reference to Ælfweard, besides which, these make Eadward's death take place in 925.

King Eadward had several children; by his first wife Æthelstan, who succeeded him, and also Alfred, and a daughter Eadgyth, who was after his death married to Sihtric, king of Northumbria; by his second wife two sons, Ælfward, above named, and Eadwig. Had the children of the first wife been illegitimate, Ælfward would have been heir to the throne[4].

The king's presence at Farndon at the time of his death is most likely to have been by reason of a chance stoppage in the course of one of his journeys, for it was the habit of kings in those days, as well as of a period long after the Norman Conquest, to be constantly on the move. But the death of one of his sons at Oxford, who must have been comparatively a young man, seems to show that the castle here was at this time provided with chambers sufficient for a residence for royalty, as it was in after years when we find several documents

[1] Farndon in Northamptonshire, about two miles east of Market Harborough. The Hyde Chronicle (14th century), which repeats the passage in substance, supposes the place to be Faringdon, for it has 'XII Miliare ab Oxonia distante ad occidentem': but then this Faringdon is on the south side of the Thames, i.e. in Wessex and not in Mercia.

[2] The extract is printed from Chron. B. Chrons. C and D follow it verbatim, the latter introducing the '16 days.' Chrons. A, E, and F omit all reference to Ælfweard. Appendix A, § 40.

[3] Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon*, s. a. *Mon. Hist. Br.* p. 573. Appendix A, § 41.

[4] A legend is told which makes her his concubine, but the succession of Æthelstan without opposition seems to negative the story. The circumstance of the marriage of Eadgyth, Æthelstan's sister, to the King of Northumbria—a marriage no doubt prompted by political reasons—tells also somewhat against it.

relating to the king's chambers within the castle precincts. Further than this, it may be surmised that, Oxford being an important post, when Eadward was assigning the charge of the different fortified towns to nobles he could trust, he put that place under the custody of his son Ælfweard, and that while acting as lord over Oxford he died there[1]. We learn but little of him. William of Malmesbury seems to have collected what he could about Eadward's family, and in the course of his summary he incidentally refers to him:—

> 'By the illustrious Lady Egwin he had Athelstan his firstborn; also a daughter of whose name I have not at hand any note; this was the one her brother gave in marriage to Sihtric, King of the Northumbrians. Edward's second son was Ethelward, by Elfled, daughter of earl Ethelm, thoroughly versed in literature, and much resembling his grandfather Alfred both in appearance and manners; but he was taken off by death soon after that of his father[2].'

That the father elected to be buried at Winchester and not in Mercia, is but natural, since, after all, he was primarily King of Wessex, and the church at Winchester had been once the cathedral church, when Wessex was but one diocese. But more than this, Ælfred his father had been buried there before him, and still more Ælfred had commenced the foundation of the new Minster; and as Eadward himself had completed the foundation, it is probable that Florence of Worcester is right in saying that he was buried in the 'New Minster.' It is, however, by no means certain that he had any authority for this. The Hyde Abbey Chronicle has the same statement, which, as already said, may in several of its parts be based upon some Register still existing in the Abbey in the fourteenth century, though its value as an authority is much diminished by the interpolation of much from Ralph Higden and other later chroniclers.

The vigorous policy of King Eadward as regards Mercia seems to have been carried on by his three sons who succeeded him, namely

[1] The circumstance of a King's son dying at Oxford, and one who was pronounced learned, was too good a point to be passed over by those who argued for the antiquity of the University. The passage in Antony a Wood will be sufficient to quote, 'A. D. 913. About this time the King showed so much favour toward the University, that he sent his son named Ælfward or Elfward; where profiting in letters he became eminently learned.' *Hist. and Ant.* ed. 1792, vol. i. p. 115. There is some reason, however, to suspect that the learning attributed to Ælfweard arises from a confusion between Eadward's son and Ælfred's son. The latter is mentioned by Asser as *ludis literariæ disciplinæ traditus* (*Mon. Hist. Br.* p. 485); and a passage in the Hyde Abbey Chronicle (Rolls Series, p. 126) may be compared with that of Rudburn, already quoted. See *ante*, p. 49.

[2] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, lib. II, § 226. Engl. Hist. Soc. vol. i. p. 197. Appendix A, § 42.

Æthelstan (925–940), his eldest son; Eadmund (940–946), the eldest by his third wife; and Eadred (946–955), another son by the same wife. The Danes seem to have desisted from their attacks while this policy lasted, and though the Northumbrians under a king by name Olaf revolted and carried their arms as far as Tamworth, in 943, the energetic and decisive action of Eadmund soon put an end to the raid, he making himself at once master of the 'five burhs,' as is told in a poem introduced into the Chronicle, where the event is described.

On the death of Eadred, however, serious troubles impended. It would seem that old fires were still burning, and ready to burst out when least expected. Mercia chose one successor to the throne, Wessex another. Eadgar, the second son of Eadmund was chosen by Mercia, but Wessex preferred Eadwig, the son of Edred. In some way, however, the political difficulty was surmounted by the Witan; Eadwig succeeded, and after five years' reign, is in turn succeeded by Eadgar. Otherwise Oxford would have been again a border town, and would with its shire have had to elect whether to join the Mercians, in which territory it lay for the longer part of its history, or Wessex, to which it had been annexed by Eadward.

But these divisions were the beginning of the end. Political intrigues were rife. Eadward the Martyr, who succeeded in 975, was murdered at Corfe-gate in 979, as it is said, by his stepmother Ælfthryth (who, it may be mentioned, was a benefactress to Abingdon Abbey[1]), and his successor, Æthelred II, had not been two years on the throne before the Danes, perceiving the change in affairs, and the weakness caused in the government by internal feuds, began their incursions again. History repeated itself so exactly that the chronicler seems as if he had gone back, and was beginning the story of the last hundred and fifty years over again. Beginning in Thanet on the east, and Cheshire in the north, the next year the Danes are ravaging the coasts of Devon and Cornwall. In 832 they ravage Dorsetshire about Portland, and so on, till emboldened, just as was the case before, they came up the Thames[2]. This was in 993, and they seem at present only to have reached as far as Staines. The circumstances of their reaching Oxford belongs to another century and another chapter. Before passing, however, to this chapter, it is thought well to take a rapid glance at some points in the ecclesiastical history of the district.

The diocesan history is so meagre and so obscure that, though

[1] It is probable that her name was given to the little 'Ælfthryth dic,' which was the boundary ditch separating Fyfield from Tubney in 968, and is so now.

[2] Compare the Danish landings referred to at the beginning of the chapter, p. 113.

Archbishop Theodore is accredited with having partitioned Mercia into dioceses, we hear little or nothing of Dorchester since the appointment of Ætla already referred to[1]. At times it may have been the seat of a bishoprick, but the chief 'stool' for the district seems to have been at Leicester during both the ninth and tenth centuries. William of Malmesbury in his *Gesta Pontificum*[2] professes to have compiled a list of those of Dorchester, but the first nine are those of Lindsey, and had probably no connection with Dorchester: his list of Leicester bishops, however, undoubtedly had, and they are given as follows—Totta, Edberht, Unwona, Werenberht, Rethune, Aldred, and Ceoldred. All of these names, excepting Aldred (which is probably only a misreading of the next), are found in correct succession amongst signatures to charters between 737 and 869, but they are not mentioned in any of the Chronicles so as to bring the diocese into prominence. He then omits Alheard, Ceolwulf, Winsy, and Oskytel, who were certainly Bishops of Leicester if not all of Dorchester as well. Their signatures range between 898 and 956. Of none of them is there any mention in the Chronicles, except that Oskytel is said to have been hallowed in 949 as 'Suffragan-Bishop of Dorchester[3]' before he was hallowed Archbishop of York. His signatures extend to 956; but under the year 954 one of the Chronicles has, 'in this year Archbishop Wulstan again succeeded to the bishopric at Dorchester[4].' Leofwin, whose signatures range from 953 to 965, appears also as Bishop of Lindsey, as well as Leicester; and William of Malmesbury remarks that 'in the time of Eadgar [959–973] he joined the two bishoprics.' The signatures of Elnod (written usually Eadnoth) and Escwin range between 965 and 1002, but these two bishops add nothing to the history of the diocese.

From the early charters of S. Frideswide being lost we know no more of the history of that foundation between the time of its establishment and the restoration of the lands in 1002 (which belongs to the next chapter) than the summary beginning '*Notandum quod Didanus*' supplies; and in that a line will be noticed to the following effect:—

> 'Some time after the glorious death of S. Frideswide, the Nuns having been taken away, secular canons were introduced[5].'

[1] See *ante*, p. 87.

[2] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, Rolls Series, p. 311.

[3] See Chronicles B and C, *sub anno*, 971, 'Se wæs ærest to Dorkeceastre to leod-bisceope gehalgod.'

[4] Chron. D, *sub anno*: 'Wulstan Arcebiscop onfeng eft biscoprices on Dorceceastre.' He was Oskytel's predecessor at York, and had been banished. There may be hence some confusion. His name occurs in no list of Bishops of Dorchester.

[5] Already given from the Ch. Ch. Chartulary, *ante*, p. 92.

The question is, had the writer any grounds whatever for the statement beyond the charter of King Æthelred in which that king is made to say that 'he has recovered the lands which belonged to the said monastery?' The word *arcisterio* would apply to a nunnery as well as to a monastery, and it might have remained a nunnery till its destruction. On the other hand, it is quite possible that the nuns had left and that the lands of the nunnery had been transferred to some 'secular canons,' and that the tradition only survived; if so, the further question arises did they remain secular, or were they turned out by Æthelwold? It must be remembered that the superiority of secular or regular canons was then the great ecclesiastical question of the day, and Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester (who was as energetic as his leader Archbishop Dunstan himself in the promotion of monasticism), had been raised to the episcopate in 963 from the neighbouring Abbey of Abingdon, where he was then ruling as abbot. That abbey must have been at the time in a flourishing condition, though it had suffered much, as we learn, from the Danish incursions in Ælfred's reign, when S. Frideswide's may have suffered also. We learn by one of the Chronicles[1] that Æthelwold, in the same year in which he became bishop, begged of King Eadgar 'to give him all the monasteries which heathen men had before ruined, because that he would restore them; and the king blithely granted it.' The chronicler, however, only names two, namely Ely and Peterborough, which he so restored; but if S. Frideswide's had suffered from the first series of Danish incursions as it did in the second, and the foundation with which Æthelwold, while abbot of Abingdon, must have been familiar, was amongst the number given to him, we may be sure that he would have put in regulars and not seculars. At the same time, under the year 975, we find mention in three of the Chronicles of an ealdorman of Mercia, by name Ælfhere, destroying the monasteries which Æthelwold had restored:—

> 'Ælfthere ealdorman, and others many, the monkish rule obstructed, and monasteries destroyed, and monks expelled, and God's servants persecuted[2].'

This exaggerated language probably only means that the monks were turned out and the original secular priests restored; it is just possible, therefore, that S. Frideswide's was first occupied by secular canons, then by monks in 963, and then again by secular canons in 975. There is another passage, also introduced into the Cartulary, in reference to the turning out and then the restoration of the

[1] A. S. Chronicle, E. *sub anno* 963. [2] Ibid. Chrons. D. E. F. *sub anno* 975.

seculars, purporting however to belong to a later period: this will be best considered further on in its place[1].

But there is one event which is recorded as having occurred at this time at a place which there seems every reason to identify with Kirtlington near to Oxford, and which may therefore be here noticed. The Chronicles B and C under the year 977 have the following:—

> 'This year after Easter (Ap. 8) was the great "gemot" (= Council) at Kyrtlingtun; and there died Bishop Sideman by sudden death, on the 2nd of the Kal. of May (Ap. 30). He was Bishop of Devonshire, and he desired that his body's resting place might be at Crediton at his Episcopal see. Then commanded King Eadward and Archbishop Dunstan that he should be conveyed to S. Mary's Monastery which is at Abingdon, and so it was also done; and he is also honourably buried on the north side of S. Paul's Porch.'

The subjects which were debated at this council have not been handed down to us, or any list of those who were present; but the death of the bishop of Crediton shows that the bishops of the country had attended from some distance. It would appear also that the king and the archbishop were present. The question naturally arises, why should they not have held the council in Oxford itself? Further, why should they not have buried Bishop Sideman at S. Frideswide's if that monastery had been restored, and was in a flourishing condition? The body no doubt, when carried to its resting-place, would enter Oxford by the northern road already mentioned; it would pass the very gates of S. Frideswide's, and out through the south gate of the town, and over the river by the ford, and thence on to Abingdon[2].

On the whole then, from the negative evidence, although it must be admitted such is not satisfactory, we must assume that S. Frideswide's was not in a flourishing condition. It existed as a monastery, and some of the buildings were no doubt standing, as we hear of the church at the beginning of the next century; and if we accept William of Malmesbury's version of the story, it had a tower into which, as will be seen in the next chapter, certain Danish fugitives took refuge.

[1] See *post*, Chapter IX. p. 166.

[2] Of course it is possible that the corpse may have been conveyed by water, for the Cherwell passes near to Kirtlington, or it may have been transferred on to a boat at Oxford. But on the whole the road journey would be the more probable. The north porch of St. Paul would mean the apse either at the east end of the northern aisle or on the eastern side of the northern transept. It is not certain whether the church existing at this time was on the site of the large twelfth century church afterwards erected: that stood in what are now Mr. Trendell's private grounds at Abingdon, though not a single stone of the vast building has been left *in situ*. In all probability it was south of this, namely within the precincts of Mr. Morland's brewery.

CHAPTER VIII.

OXFORD DURING THE DANISH INVASION IN THE EARLY PART OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

THE reign of Ethelred II, which brought the tenth century to a close, and with which the eleventh century opens, was perhaps the saddest of any which England had yet seen. The long thirty-seven years seem to have been fraught with disasters throughout. The name 'Unready,' commonly applied to the sovereign, though in its true signification it meant 'badly counselled,' or perhaps without counsel at all, might have been justly applied in its modern signification as regards his meeting the attacks of the Danes; rash and improvident, he seems to have exerted energy when not wanted, and never to have been ready when it was wanted. For the first twenty years the inland parts were not threatened, but this seems not to have been from the Danes fearing the valour of the English people, but from Ethelred buying them off when they made raids upon the coast, and obtained a footing in any town. It seemed to be a continuous policy of yielding for the sake of peace at one moment, and resorting to any method to get over some difficulty the next.

The year 1002 saw an example of this latter policy which was as wicked, if not as foolish a one as could well be devised. The king seems to have issued an edict throughout the country to all the ealdormen and reeves to have the Danes massacred on a certain day, wherever they were found—not those in arms only but the peaceful, and there is some reason to suppose the women and children also. The Chronicle runs :—

> 'A.D. 1002. . . . And in that year the king commanded all the Danish men who were in England to be slain. This was done on the Mass-day of S. Bricius ; because it had been made known to the king that they would plot against his life, and afterwards those of all his witan, and then have his realm without any gainsaying[1].'

[1] Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, C, D, E, F, *sub anno*. Appendix A, § 43.

Passing by the somewhat feeble excuse which the chronicler makes for the infamous act, it is only necessary to note how it affected Oxford. The Chronicles are wholly silent as to the result of the edict, and we do not know whether it was generally carried out or not; but we have remaining transcripts of an important charter, of which some account has already been given on a previous page[1], which shows that in Oxford not only the Danes suffered, but also the religious foundation of S. Frideswide's.

'In the Year of our Lord 1004, in the second indiction and in the twenty-fifth year of my reign, according to the disposal of God's providence, I Aðelred ruling over the whole of Albion have for the love of the Almighty established with liberty of charters and by royal authority a certain monastery situate in the city which is called Oxoneford, where the body of St. Frideswide reposes, and have recovered the lands which belonged to the said monastery of Christ by the restoration of this new book [of charters] and for all those who shall look upon this page I will recount by means of very few words the reason why this was done. For it is certain enough that it must be very well known to all inhabitants of this country that since there was issued a certain decree made by me with the advice of my nobles and princes, that all the Danes who had risen up in this island by increase like tares amidst the wheat should be slain by a most just destruction. And this decree was carried into effect to the very death; but whatever Danes were living in the aforesaid city in attempting to save themselves from death, entering this Sanctuary of Christ, breaking by force the doors and bolts determined therein that what was a refuge for themselves, should become a fortress against the inhabitants of the city, both those who lived within and without the wall (*urbanos vel suburbanos*). But when the people in pursuit of them compelled by necessity strove to eject them, and could not, having thrown fire upon the planks [of the roof] they burnt this church, as it seems, together with the ornaments and the books.

'Afterwards with the help of God, it is now restored by myself, and by my subjects, and as I have before said, having retained all its customs entire by the dignity of charters which for the honour of Christ have been confirmed together with all the territories adjoining, and with every liberty granted both as to royal as well as ecclesiastical dues.

'But if by chance it should happen at any time that any one of unsound mind . . . . .[2]'

[1] See *ante*, page 91. As the first part refers to the foundation of S. Frideswide's in 727, and the last belongs more especially to the present date, it has been thought well to divide it, a few lines however at the beginning of the charter being repeated.

[2] *Ex Cartulario S. Frideswidae.* The passage will be found in Appendix A, § 29.

It will be convenient before considering the political aspect of the massacre to complete the description of the charter and to add such other evidence as bears upon the event. The charter ends with one of the usual anathemas, which, apart from defying translation into English, is of no special interest[1].

Next, in the larger chartulary of S. Frideswide's, namely that preserved in Christ Church, a series of boundaries of lands are inscribed, which have the appearance of being copied from those attached to the original boundaries, but which in the process of transcription have been somewhat altered, the transcriber sometimes misreading the original, at others substituting his own readings.

The first plot of land named is that of Winchendon of ten hydes. It agrees exactly with what is found in the Domesday Survey of 1086 under *Terra Canonicorum Oxeneford*[2] in the county of Buckinghamshire. It is evidently to be identified with the Nether Winchendon of the map, which lies on the banks of the river Thame, about four miles north-east of the town of Thame, and four miles south-west of Aylesbury: since 'along Thame stream' occurs as a portion of the boundary of the land in question.

The second plot of land named is that of Whithull, consisting of three hydes. As it seems to lie between the Port-strete and the Cherwell, it may perhaps be assigned to the land at the south of Tackley where Whitehill farm still preserves the name; it would therefore lie several miles to the north of Oxford. There is nothing amongst the lands in the Domesday Survey to assist in the identification, and it cannot well be included under the four hydes mentioned as belonging to the monastery in the neighbourhood of Oxford.

The third plot which appears to have been given, or which, if we believe the charter literally, was restored to the monastery, has the title of Bolles, Covele, and Hedington, that is of Bullingdon, Cowley, and Headington. It is described as of three hydes, and as the circuit starts from Cherwell bridge, and as *Ziftele*, i.e. Iffley, is named amongst the boundaries, we may conclude it occupied a large tract to the East of Oxford. This probably is included in the iiij hydes which the Canons of S. Frideswide's held of the king '*juxta Oxeneford*'; and the

[1] It will however be found printed in the Appendix, with the rest of the charter. Appendix A, § 29.

[2] Domesday Survey, folio 146 a. The other Winchendon in the Survey occurs under the lands belonging to Walter Gifard, folio 147 a, col. 2, and is to be identified with the manor, and so with the parish of Upper Winchendon, which lies high up on the hill.

difference between the three and the four hydes may be that the latter includes the land on which the monastery itself was built, and the '*curia*' thereto belonging. The fourth plot, consisting of two hydes, was in Cutslow; this is duly entered in the Domesday Survey as of two hydes[1], and the name is still found as that of a farm, on the north-eastern side of Oxford; like the rest the boundaries are of uncertain identification. The fifth paragraph consists of a recital of the liberties of S. Frideswide's, and these amongst other general customs include the tithing of Headington, at which latter place it will be observed that the charter is supposed to be signed. It is called a 'royal vill,' but whether that involves the king having a definite residence there may be open to question.

That this series of boundaries are copied from genuine documents by the transcriber of the S. Frideswide cartulary, there is no valid reason to doubt, nor will it be disputed that they belong substantially to the year 1004. S. Frideswide's, therefore, though in comparison with that of the neighbouring Abingdon Monastery, it was a poor foundation, held considerable property as the total of eighteen hydes testifies.

The entries conclude with a list of the signatures attached to the charter as follows:—

> This schedule was written by command of the aforesaid king in the royal vill, which is called Hedyndon, on the day of the octaves of S. Andrew the apostle [i.e. Dec. 7] with the consent of these chief men who appear written beneath.
>
> I, Etheldred, King of the English, have granted this charter to the aforesaid with perpetual liberty in the name of Christ.
>
> I, Alfrich, Archbishop of the church of Canterbury, have corroborated the same under anathema.
>
> I, Wulfstan, Archbishop of the city of York, have confirmed it.
>
> I, Elfgifu, the royal spouse, have honoured this gift.
>
> I, Athelstan, the eldest of the royal family, together with my brother, was kindly present as a witness.
>
> I, Alfean, Prelate of Venta, have subscribed thereto.
>
> I, Alstan, Bishop of the church of Wells, thereto have confirmed it.
>
> I, Alfun, Bishop of the church of London, have consecrated it.
>
> I, Godwine, Bishop of the church of Lichfield, have secured it.
>
> I, Orbyrht, Bishop of the South Saxons, have concluded it.
>
> I, Ethelrich, Bishop of the church of Sherborne, have consented.
>
> I, Alfwod, Bishop of the church of Crediton, have revived it.

[1] The Domesday Survey under 'Land of the Canons of Oxford and of other clerks' gives four hydes near Oxford, and two hydes at Cutslow. The other lands under the same head are those of the clerks, and apparently have nothing to do with S. Frideswide.

I, Alfric, ealdorman.	I, Ælfgar, earl.
I, Leofwyne, ealdorman.	I, Goda, thane.
I, Wulfgar, abbot.	I, Æthelwerd, earl.
I, Alsigge, abbot.	I, Athlwyne, earl.
I, Athelmer, earl.	I, Ordmere, earl.
I, Ordulf, earl.	I, Leofwyne, earl.
I, Æthelmer, earl.	I, Godwyne, earl.
I, Ælric, earl.	&c., as in the aforesaid codicil.

Without entering into many details which a survey of these witnesses suggest, such as their rank, their style and title, or the fanciful mode of signature, no doubt due to the ingenuity of the clerk who drew up the charter[1], it is important to consider their bearing upon the date. It may be said generally that a correlation of the whole series as far as dates are known agrees very well indeed with the date in the body of the charter[2]. Consequently there are none of the difficulties which so constantly beset the historian in assigning the date

[1] It will be observed that there are besides the King, eleven Prelates, the Queen (the expression used is '*thoro consecrata regio*'), the king's eldest son Æthelstan, two nobles with the titles of '*dux*' (which has been translated 'ealdorman'), nine with the title of '*comes*' (which has been translated earl), one *minister* (translated 'thane'), and two abbots.

[2] The following are the dates which should tally with 1004. Ethelred the King, 979–1016: Ælfgifu must be Emma, the second wife, who came over from Normandy in 1002 according to the Chronicles C, D, E, F, during Lent (that is, some six months before the edict was issued for the massacre of the Danes), and who seems to have assumed on her marriage the name of Ælfgifu, the first wife not signing apparently any charter whatever, the queen-mother Ælfthyth signing throughout either as *regina* or as *mater regis*. In one charter, dated 1002 (K. D. D. No. 1296), we have the signature Ælfgifu *conlaterana regis*, but as the same form occurs in 1005 and after, it must belong to Ælfgifu-Emma, though occasionally she signs also as Queen. That Æthelstan was the eldest son is borne out by signatures in some twenty charters or more, where his name comes before that of his three or four brothers. His style is sometimes *filius regis*, sometimes *clito*. The first time his signature appears is perhaps in 988 (K. C. D. 666) and with the title of *primus*, his brothers not being mentioned; but if so, Æthelred must have married very young. On his not succeeding to the throne instead of his brother Eadmund see Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. i. 3rd edition, 1877, Appendix SS. p. 685. Elfric, Archbishop of Canterbury 990–1005. Wulstan, Archbishop of York 1003–1023. Ethelric, Bishop of Sherborne 1002–1009. Elfwold, Bishop of Crediton 988–1008. Elphege (more correctly perhaps spelt Ælfeah), Bishop of Winchester 984–1005. Elfstan, Bishop of Wells 990–1012. Alfun or Elfwin, Bishop of London 1004–1012. Godwin, Bishop of Lichfield 1004–1008. Ordbryht, Bishop of Sussex (i.e. Selsey) 989–1009. The above dates are taken from the valuable *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*. As to the ealdormen and earls the material for identification is very slight, as there are often more than one bearing the same name. Probably Alfric was the ealdorman slain at the battle of Assandun in 1016, while Leofwyne was probably ealdorman of the Huiccas, who seems to have succeeded to Mercia in 1017, &c. &c. There are few if any names in the list which are not also found elsewhere about this date. Finally the second Indiction agrees with the date of 1004.

to a charter, when the copyists have combined signatures to the confirmation charter and those of the original into one series.

In giving William of Malmesbury's account of the foundation of S. Frideswide's[1], in the *Gesta Pontificum*, the continuation of the passage was omitted. It is continued as follows:—

> 'In the time of King Ethelred, however, when the Danes, being condemned to death, had taken refuge in the monastery, they as well as the buildings, were through the insatiable rage of the English destroyed by fire. But soon the repentance of the king caused to be built for them a purified shrine and a restored monastery; their lands were given back, and fresh possessions added[2].'

When William of Malmesbury treats the subject in his history of the kings, he makes a singular error. He has transferred the burning of the church with the Danes in it to some nine years after the date of the charter (which it will be remembered recites the event as having already taken place), and further connects the burning of S. Frideswide with an event which took place in Oxford of another kind, which will have to be discussed later on. The passage runs:—

> 'The year following [i.e. 1015] a great council of Danes and of English assembled at Oxford, and there the king [Ethelred] commanded Sigeferd and Morcard, the chief nobles amongst the Danes, to be killed, under a pretence of treason which had been charged against them by the treachery of Edric. Deceiving them by his friendly advances, he had enticed them into his private chamber (*triclinium*), and when they had been made to drink deeply by his servants, who were expressly charged to this effect, he put an end to their lives. The reason of this murder was said to be that he desired their property. Their servants were determined to revenge the death of their lords, but were repulsed by force, and driven into the tower of the church of S. Frideswide. And as they could not turn them out, they were burnt by fire. But soon, by the King's penitence, the stain was blotted out; the holy place was repaired. I have read this in writing, which is preserved in the Archives of that Church as a proof of the fact[3].'

It must first be claimed that there are not likely to have been two burnings of the same church from Danes taking refuge there, within so short a period, and both recorded in the archives. We have moreover a copy of the very charter to which William of Malmesbury refers, and which he duly quotes in his *Gesta Pontificum*, and that clearly ascribes the burning to the massacre on S. Brice's day. It is therefore obviously

[1] See *ante*, p. 94. The few words connecting the two passages are repeated.

[2] W. Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Angl.* lib. iv. § 78. Rolls Series, 1870, p. 316. See Appendix A, § 30.

[3] W. Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Angl.* lib. ii. § 179, Eng. Hist. Society's ed. London, 1840, vol. i. p. 297. Appendix A, § 44.

a blunder on his part in taking or reading the notes which he made for his history. But though it is a blunder, the passage ought not to be at once dismissed. It shows so admirably how a chronicler compiles his Chronicle. He has (as will be shown afterwards) an account of two thanes being enticed by Eadric into a chamber and slain. How was this to be connected with the burning of a number of Danes in the tower of the church? His ingenuity is admirable: he invents the fact of the servants of the thanes desiring to avenge the deaths of their two lords, and that it was these who took refuge in the tower and so were burnt. It shows how cautious one ought to be in accepting the additions to the original chronicles made by successive chroniclers.

Henry of Huntingdon does not mention Oxford in recounting the circumstance of the massacre of the Danes, probably not having seen the S. Frideswide charter; but he writes as follows:—

> 'The king being elated with pride, secretly ordered all the Danes to be treacherously murdered on one and the same day, that is to say on the festival of S. Britius. And of this piece of wickedness, *I in my youth heard some very old people speak*, how the King sent secret letters to each city, in accordance with which, on the same day and at the same hour, the English either killed all the Danes who were unprepared, with swords, or having suddenly seized them burned them with fire [1].'

It is not improbable that the story he had heard of the massacre was the Oxford story, as it will be shown further on that he had a friend in Oxford who might have told him of the tradition of the place. The burning by fire was at least a very rare form of capital punishment at this time, even if any example could be found; but the Danes being burned in the tower of S. Frideswide would be just the kind of story which would be handed down with horror, and which would become transformed into the shape in which Henry narrates it.

It is very singular that, so far as has been observed, no other example of a single massacre on S. Brice's Day has been recorded than this one at Oxford, and it will be seen that we only obtain that through the chance circumstance of the charter of King Ethelred having been preserved. It is perhaps too much to hope that Oxford was the only place where the edict was put into force.

Having seen the manner in which William of Malmesbury compiles his Chronicle, there is no reliance to be placed upon the detail which he gives of the Danes having taken refuge in a tower, which differs

[1] Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, Rolls Series, 1879, p. 174. Appendix A, § 45.

from that given in the charter. It is quite possible that S. Frideswide had a tower, and it is just possible it may have been of wood, and so easily burnt; but it is more likely that the Danes had taken refuge in the church itself, as a place of sanctuary: if this were so, the fury of the mob would pay no attention to it; they would throw torches on the boarded roof, covered perhaps with wooden shingles, which would soon catch alight, and falling down within the walls of the church, would either suffocate the fugitives, or compel them to rush out and meet their fate.

At any rate it was a horrible as well as discreditable business, and it is a great misfortune that Oxford was the scene of such an event, and the more so as it is the only place we find connected with the edict; it is, too, only the second event which has brought Oxford prominently forward in history.

How far the events of the next few years may have been the results of the revenge to which the Danes would be naturally aroused, cannot be determined; nor is it known whether Exeter had been the scene of crime like Oxford or not. Certain however it is, that early the next year Exeter was entered by the Danes, and, as would appear, through the treachery of the reeve appointed by the Norman Lady Emma, Ethelred's second wife. The ealdorman Ælfric, pretending illness at a critical moment, also treacherously allowed the Danes, under the command of Sweyn, to sack Wiltun and Salisbury and to return safely to their ships. In East Anglia, however, matters went differently, when the following year Sweyn landed on the coast; but Ulfkytel seems not to have been able to assemble the whole country, and so they got away again, though with no plunder, as it would appear, but with great loss of men. In the year 1005 all we find recorded is that a great famine spread over the land; but in 1006 the Danes came again from the Isle of Wight, straight up Hampshire, and so to their old quarters at Reading. The few words of the Chronicle are as eloquent as brief:—

> '1006. And then at the midwinter they went to their ready farm: out through Hampshire into Berkshire to Reading, and there they did their old wont; they lighted their war beacons wherever they went. Then went they to Wallingford, and that all burned; and were then one day in Cholsey; and they went then along Æscesdun to Cwichelmshloewe, and there abode as a daring boast; for it had been often said that if ever they should reach Cwichelmshloewe they would never again get to the sea. Then they went homewards another way[1].'

One hundred and thirty-five years had elapsed since the Danes came to Reading on the occasion already recorded. History so far

[1] Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, C, D, E, *sub anno*. Appendix A, § 46.

repeated itself that, then and now, they aimed at making themselves masters of that long range of Berkshire hills known as Æscesdun, to which reference has already frequently been made, and reaching Cwichelmshloewe, the central spot marked by the clump of trees, which is so prominent an object on the horizon, as seen by any one mounting to the top of Cumnor hill[1].

In 871 they failed to reach the coveted spot. In 1006, as far as we can judge, they marched thither without hindrance. Now there was no ealdorman Æthelwulf to bar the road at Englefield—no army surrounding their fortress at Reading, through which they had to cut their way—no Alfred and Æthelred to meet them in the early dawn, when they had gained the top of the hill, and then to disperse them in all directions[2]. There was still an Æthelred ruling, but how different a king! If on that morning in 871 the Danes had gained a start along the Icknield Way, they would have reached Cwichelmshloewe before the English caught them up, and the results might have been very different. In 1006 all we hear of Æthelred the Second is, that he was away in Shrewsbury, probably little recking of the ruin which his long-continued policy of procrastination, compromise, and finally retreat, was bringing upon the country.

On this occasion the Danes did not cross the Thames. They had probably no means with them; and further, having found their 'ready farm' at Wallingford and Cholsey, had as much as they could carry away with them over the hills 'another way'—that is, they avoided Reading; but in their journey southward they still had to fight a small army on crossing the river Kennet before they reached the sea.

After this the same policy is again followed. To quote the words of the chronicler, 'then was there so great awe of the Danish army that no man could think or devise how they should be driven out from the land, or this country held against them; for they had cruelly marked every shire in Wessex with burning and with harrying.' Then we read that the king sent to the army and 'directed it to be made known to them that he would there should be peace between them, and that tribute should be paid and food given them.' At one moment fighting recklessly, at the next offering terms—no wonder that the successive years saw increasing numbers coming to this

[1] It is necessary to walk a short distance along the road past the brick-kilns, to where it bifurcates, one branch leading into Cumnor village; the whole range of Æscesdun, stretching as far as the White-horse Hill, here bursts into view bounding the southern horizon. The clump of trees marking Cwichelmshloewe is seen on the left; that seen in the distance on the far right, and due west, is the clump on the top of the old 'burh' at Faringdon.

[2] See *ante*, p. 114.

country. England, having lost its prestige, every northern nation found men who thought it worth their while to come over; for probably the term 'Denisc' and 'heathen army' included more than the inhabitants of the little island of Denmark. In 1007, thirty-six thousand pounds was paid to the army, and Eadric, who had been one of the worst of the counsellors, by whom the 'unready' king was 'counselled,' was promoted to high office in the kingdom, and made ealdorman of Mercia. This was another step in the wretched policy of the king; and in its results, as will be seen, it concerns Oxford.

In 1009 an attempt seems to have been made to meet the Danes on their landing and a really vigorous policy to be initiated. But again Eadric counselled the king, and his brother Brihtric accused Wulfnoth the South Saxon of treason; under pretence of seizing him, he kept the ships away that should be doing service to the country. The Danes came, some landing on the eastern coast, some on the southern. Those who came to the latter ravaged Hampshire and Berkshire—'as their wont is,' writes the contemporary chronicler. Thurkill's army, which had found comfortable winter quarters in Kent, after S. Martin's Mass day 'fought against London, but praise be to God that it yet stands sound.'

The Chronicle continues:—

> 1009. 'And then, after Midwinter, they took an upward course, out through Chiltern, and so to Oxford, and burned that town, and then took their way, on both sides of the Thames, towards their ships[1].'

The several chroniclers who follow the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle do not vary the story materially.

Florence of Worcester, making the date 1010, writes:—

> 'In the month of January the army of the Danes, leaving their ships, go to Oxford through the woods of Chiltern, and sack the town, and set it on fire, and so in going back they carry on their ravages on both sides of the Thames[2].'

Henry of Huntingdon merely says, 'After Christmas the Danes went by Chiltern to Oxford, returning to their ships after they had burned it'; and Simeon of Durham and Roger of Hoveden follow Florence of Worcester verbatim.

The army of the Danes had, after their attack upon London, which

[1] The extract is from Chron. C. Chron. A, now written by later hands, has become very meagre, and Chron. B ceases entirely with the year 977. Chrons. D and E follow the above with little variation. Appendix A, § 47.

[2] Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon*, printed in *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 586. Appendix A, § 48.

had proved a failure, marched up the Thames. The usual route was on the southern side, but they marched along an unusual route, thus avoiding Reading, and over the Chiltern hills. In all probability the rush upon Oxford was sudden; and it will be observed that Florence of Worcester paraphrases the words 'out through Chiltern' by *per saltum qui dicitur Chiltern.* Instead of the few scattered woods which we now see on the sides of the Chiltern Hills, there was probably a kind of belt of continuous woodland, making a vast forest, which would have concealed their movements[1]. Whether from having seen the spot, or from the description of those who had, the paraphrase of Florence brings before us the secrecy and suddenness of the raid. The Mercian ealdorman, as might have been expected, remained inactive. No resistance seems to have been offered at Dorchester, or anywhere along the route, and therefore they made straight for Oxford. The danger of such incursions had been foreseen by Edward the Elder a century previously, but it is probable that Ethelred's 'unready' rule had allowed the fortifications to be neglected, and the chief defences, which were perhaps of wood, to become decayed. The Danish march, as said, was probably so rapid that no time was left for fresh preparations, and thus Oxford easily fell a prey to the invader. The burning of the town was no doubt part of a consistent policy of the Danes. They had treated Wallingford so, as has been seen, a few years previously, and the action is described as 'is their wont.' And the reason was this:—the principle of buying them off once established, they raised their terms of course as high as they could, and it materially helped the assessment of the terms to show, now and then, what extensive damage they could inflict when not paid to keep away.

The following year the same work went on; but in East Anglia Ulfkytel was still ealdorman. The Danes evidently met with a firm and well-sustained resistance there, instead of unprepared and hasty sorties, or abject submission, or disgraceful bribes to go away. But again Ulfkytel, as in 1004, was overpowered by numbers: had there been but a few more such vigorous and determined men, England would have been easily saved. The army again visited Oxfordshire; but as Oxford had been burnt and plundered the year previously, they probably left it alone now, and passing out into Buckingham they marched over fresh ground, 'down the Ouse to Bedford, and so

[1] Amongst the good deeds of Leofstan, Abbot of St. Albans in Edward the Confessor's time, was the making of a road through Chiltern, which, on account of so much woodland, was infested by gangs of robbers who were a terror to the neighbourhood, and rendered travelling, except in large armed companies, impossible. (*Gesta Abbatum S. Albani*, Rolls Series, 1867, p. 39.)

onwards to Tempsford, ever burning as they went. Then went they again to their ships with their booty.' The Chronicle proceeds with a few words which bring vividly before us the indecision and incompetency of Ethelred to rule a kingdom :—

> 'And when they had gone to their ships, then should the force have again gone out to oppose them if they would land: then the force went home; and when they were east, then was the force held west; and when they were south, then was our force north. Then were all the witan summoned to the king, and they should then advise how this country could be defended. But though something was then resolved, it stood not even for a month; at last there was not a chief man who would gather a force, but each fled as he best might; nor even at last would any shire assist another[1].'

The heart-rending scenes which followed when tribute was not paid, are here and there briefly described by the Chronicle. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Elphege, whom we commemorate in our Prayer Book calendar, was one who made a stand, and was given over to the vengeance of the mob. We read the same year of the traitor Eadric presiding over the chief Witan in London, while the Archbishop was carried off 'and smitten with bones and horns of oxen till one of them struck him with an iron axe on the head, so that with the blow he was struck down.' Eadnoth, our Bishop of Dorchester, and Ælfhun, Bishop of London, are recorded to have secured the body and buried it in S. Paul's Minster. For each step backwards on the part of the rulers of the kingdom, counselled by Eadric, the enemy made a step forward, and in 1013 the climax came. Sweyn arrived, and all the country seems to have submitted to him, one county after the other. First all the towns in the old Danelaw on the east and north of Wætling Street, and then the Northumbrians, then the people of the five boroughs. The Chronicle continues :—

> '1013. And after he came over Wætling Street, they wrought the most evil that any army could do. He then went to Oxford, and the townsmen immediately submitted and gave hostages; and thence to Winchester, and they did the same[2].'

Florence of Worcester, followed almost verbatim by Roger of Hoveden, substitutes the following :—

> 'While his men were acting thus and raving like wild beasts, he (Suanus) came to Oxford, and obtained that city sooner than he thought, and having taken hostages, hastened to Winchester[1].'

[1] From Chronicles C, D, E. Appendix A, § 49.

[2] From Chronicles C, D, E, and F. Appendix A, § 50.

[3] Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon*, printed in *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 588. Appendix A, § 51.

Henry of Huntingdon slightly varies the original also, but the substance is the same, and William of Malmesbury copies the event in this abridged form:—

> 'Soon coming to the southern districts, Sweyn obliged the men of Oxford and Winchester to obey his laws[1].'

This shows, perhaps, to what an abject state the kingdom had been brought. Before the victorious march of Sweyn the people seem to have been cowed, and to submit rather than fight. Oxford could hardly have been yet built up again; for though erections of wood, or of lath and plaster, which no doubt were the materials of most of the buildings, did not take so long as stone, the people were probably poor, and it would have taken them some three or four years to restore the whole of the town. However this may be, it appears they did not wish to risk any second burning of the town. They had suffered much from Thurkill's army, and they did not see any better chance of being able to resist Sweyn's; besides, they had probably no men, or no defences which could resist the incursions, and so they yielded 'sooner than Sweyn expected.'

On Sweyn's death, in 1014, there seemed to be some chance for retrieving England's disaster. The Witan sent after King Ethelred saying, 'No lord was dearer to them than their natural lord, if he would rule them better than he had before done.' In his reply he promised to amend all those things which they all abhorred; still he seems in the last two years of his life to have shown no amendment at all. The same year as his promise, Cnut is allowed to deceive the people of Lincolnshire, and later on the army which lay at Greenwich—the scene of Elphege's murder—was paid twenty-five thousand pounds.

The year following we read that the great council of the nation is held at Oxford, possibly because London was not safe; and an event occurred there which is thus narrated.

> 'A. D. 1015. In this year was the great meeting at Oxford; and there the ealdorman Eadric insnared Sigeferth and Morkere, the chief thanes in the Seven Burghs. He enticed them into his chamber, and therein they were foully slain. And the king then took all their possessions, and ordered Sigeferth's relict to be taken and brought to Malmesbury. Then after a little space Eadmund, Ætheling, went thither and took the woman against the King's will and had her for his wife.
>
> 'Then before the nativity of S. Mary (Sept. 8) the Ætheling went thence from the west, north to the Five Burghs, and immediately took

[1] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Angl.*, lib. ii. § 177. Eng. Hist. Society's ed. vol. i. p. 178. Appendix A, § 52.

possession of all Sigeferth's and Morkere's property, and all the folk submitted to him[1].'

Again Florence of Worcester follows closely in the wake of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and this in turn is copied almost verbatim by Simeon of Durham and Roger of Hoveden:—

'This year, when there was a great council (placitum) held at Oxford, the perfidious ealdorman "Edric Streon" treacherously received into his chamber the most powerful and honourable thanes amongst the Seven-borough men, namely Sigeferth and Morcar, sons of Earngrim, and ordered them to be secretly killed: and King Ethelred took their possessions and ordered Aldgitha the widow of Sigeferth to be taken to Malmesbury: and while she was kept there, there came thither Eadmund Ætheling, and against the will of his father he took her in marriage; and between the feast of the Assumption (Aug. 15) and the Nativity of S. Mary (Sept. 8) he went to the Five-boroughs and invaded the land of Sigeferth and Morcar, and made their people his subjects[2].'

Henry of Huntingdon narrates the circumstance, but does not say that it took place at Oxford. He writes:—

'Anno XV. Ealdorman Eadric betrayed the eminent nobles Sigeferd and Morcher. For when they were called into his chamber he had them killed. But Edmund the son of King Ethelred seized their lands and married the wife of Sigeferd[3].'

The extract relating to this event from William of Malmesbury has already been given[4], because he has confused two events, and erroneously connected the assassination of the two thanes with the burning of S. Frideswide's on S. Brice's day in 1002.

It is not easy to gauge the importance of this event. Eadric seems to have been one of those able yet selfish men who at all periods of history have been the curse of humanity. By fluent language they gain the popular ear, and by discovering some weakness in those in high position and of high character, they pander to it and obtain their confidence. To lookers-on it is astonishing how it is that they are trusted. Ethelred probably was not altogether bad, but he was led by the duplicity and cunning of Eadric, who cared nothing for the kingdom, only for himself, and perhaps hoped out of the misery and degradation of the kingdom to help on his own advancement and obtain still greater power. It is only by considerations such as these, that with the King and all the Witan at Oxford, such a crime could

[1] From Chronicles, C, D, E, F. Appendix A, § 53.

[2] Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon*, printed in the *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 589. Appendix A, § 54.

[3] Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, Rolls Series, 1879, p. 181. Appendix A, § 55.

[4] See *ante*, p. 146.

have been ventured on, or allowed to go unpunished. But from what is gathered Eadric seems to have made the King and the Witan party to his infamy. It is not improbable that he it was who counselled the secret massacre of the Danes in 1002, and prompted his brother in 1009 to advance the charge of treason against Wulfnoth child (accused justly or unjustly we do not know), and obtained permission to go and attack him, by which means the English ships were fighting each other instead of joining to fight the Danes. Certain it is that he, at this time, as Ealdorman of Mercia, allowed Thorkell's army to ravage Oxford, and again in 1010 to ravage all Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Bedfordshire.

This foolish betrayal and murder of the Danish thanes is in keeping with the rest of the deeds for which Eadric's name has been made notorious. They were governors of the seven burhs (for York and Chester had been added to the names of the five boroughs already referred to more than once), and were probably therefore the two ealdormen sent to represent the seven shires or districts belonging to the said boroughs.

The plan was probably suggested on account of the blow which it was thought would be struck at the Danish power; or if done by Eadric, without the knowledge of others, he would rely for pardon upon his pretended zeal for the welfare of his country. He might even calculate upon the approval of some, and thus hide his treachery and ingratiate himself still further into the favour of his lord and king, and so gain further scope for his own aggrandizement.

As to the facts, there is not much difference between the story as told in the Chronicle, and that as told by the other chroniclers. That William of Malmesbury should give the name of the widow is but natural, as it would most likely have survived in his abbey, by tradition if not in the registers.

It may be presumed that it was thought to be a matter of policy to order all Sigeferth's possessions and his widow to be brought to Malmesbury, well away from the Five burhs. Whether she had accompanied her husband to Oxford to the *Gemot* there is nothing to show, but the probabilities are that if not there, she was at least away from her own people and readily seized.

While then on the one hand we see that this year Oxford was honoured by being the place chosen for the great *Gemot* of the kingdom, it was also dishonoured by a dastardly crime.

The end of Ethelred's memorable reign was approaching, and the end too of the independence of England, so far as it was to be ruled

by an English king; and still again it is to be regretted that there is every reason to suppose that Oxford was the scene of a tragedy, and for the third time dishonoured by a crime.

King Ethelred at the close of 1015 seems to have been lying ill at Corsham, in Wiltshire. The Danes, under Cnut, with 'their usual wont,' landed at Sandwich and harried the neighbourhood, and then going westward had landed at different seaports seizing whatever they found to hand, till they came to the mouth of the Frome; and going up country over Dorsetshire and Wiltshire, they came dangerously near where the king lay. Eadric, with his usual show of loyalty, gathered forces together, though, as ealdorman of Mercia, his business lay elsewhere, and then finding a favourable opportunity, enticed the forty ships from the English and submitted to Cnut. As far as can be seen he now openly played into the enemy's hands, and he could not have done so had he not some considerable followers with him. The battles fought were of no avail, and the energy and courage of the men who fought were thrown away as long as a large portion of the people had been cajoled into caring little for their country's honour, and had found a man who either was trusted by the king or who from his influence was feared by him, and could thus upset every counsel that was rightly tendered, or destroy the effect of every blow which was struck in the country's cause. The king himself had probably escaped to London, for there can be no doubt he was, when in Wiltshire, at Eadric's mercy. Early in the following year, 1016, Cnut, with his army, and the ealdorman Eadric with him, marched from Wiltshire, apparently side by side, over the Thames at Cricklade, into Eadric's own territory, which he was bound to defend. The hopes of the country then lay in the Ætheling Eadmund alone.

The events of this year, 1016, are many, and rapidly succeed one another; but it is necessary briefly to recapitulate them as they bear upon the evidence that the climax took place at Oxford. Eadmund did not go to Wessex, as Eadric had gained the ears of the people, who seem to have blindly followed him. In the north he hoped for better things from Uhtred, but it was not so. Uhtred had before yielded to Sweyn, he now yielded to Cnut, but with a different result; for Eadric, finding perhaps a dangerous rival, prompted Cnut, on Uhtred's yielding, at once to slay him. Meanwhile the army was gathering in different parts in the east of England, and, it would appear, dispersing again because of the vacillation of the king. Perhaps there was reason now why he could not hope to go out and fight Cnut and Eadric with any hope of success; the twenty-seven years of

listless government had rendered energy almost useless at the last. Still the Ætheling Eadmund did not despair. Failing in the north to raise a patriotic spirit, he seems to have reached his father in London before his death, which took place on April 23rd. It is needless to say, Eadmund was at once chosen king. The ships of King Cnut were on their way to London, expecting no doubt, in the present state of affairs, an easy victory. They reached Greenwich on May 7th, and as is described by the Chronicle, proceeding further up, came round and behind the bridge by cutting a water-way through the marsh land on the Southwark side.

Eadmund however was there, and a united people at his back, and so they withstood the assaults. More than that, a series of campaigns were inaugurated which must have taken up the next six or seven months to accomplish. The first battle fought against Cnut and the traitor was at Gillingham, in Somerset, the next at Sherston, in Wilts, and we have a date for this, namely that it did not take place till after Midsummer; then a third campaign near Brentford, which included a march into Wessex, to gather men and a defence of London; a fourth took place in Kent, and here, strange as it may seem, ealdorman Eadric meets the king at Aylesford; and if the words, 'never was greater evil counsel counselled than this was,' are taken literally, it would imply that Eadmund had actually listened to his father's enemy and his country's traitor. The campaigns however went on. The fifth at Assandûn in Essex, where it would seem Eadric was again pretending to fight on the English side, and again 'betraying his royal lord and the English race.' Here was an ealdorman by name Ælfric[1] slain. Then Cnut lead his army into Gloucestershire, where he learned that King Eadmund was. Unhappily again, Eadric was there, and a treaty was agreed upon. This again seems strange after all that had occurred. We read the Witan was there; but then, no doubt, Eadric had a strong political party behind him—a party whose cry must have been peace at all hazards and at any cost. Eadmund, who had shown the spirit of Ælfred, must have heard the speeches which were made there with disgust; and it is not too much to suppose that Eadric laid stress on the precedent of Ælfred's treaty with Guthrum in 878, which was signed probably not many miles distant from the island where they met; it is an island, which the dividing stream of the

[1] It could scarcely have been the Mercian ealdorman of that name who treacherously deserted in 992 and in 1003 shammed sickness before the battle. See *ante*, p. 148. Possibly, however, it may be the one who signed Æthelred's charter to S. Frideswide, see p. 145.

Severn makes opposite Gloucester, and which the chronicler names as 'Olaney near Deorhyrste[1].' The Chronicle then proceeds:—

> 'And then they separated with this agreement, and Eadmund took to Wessex and Cnut to Mercia. And the army then went to their ships, with the things that they had taken, and the Londoners made a truce with the army, and bought themselves peace; and the army brought their ships to London and took them winter quarters therein. Then on S. Andrew's Mass-day (Nov. 30) King Eadmund died, and his body lies at Glastonbury with his grandfather Eadgar.
>
> '1017. In this year King Cnut succeeded to all the kingdom of the Angle-race and divided it into four: to himself Wessex, and to Thorkell East-Angli, and to Eadric Mercia and to Eric Northumbria[2].'

It must have been with a very heavy heart that Eadmund, after the signing of the treaty, set out on his journey home: that home was probably London. There he had been proclaimed king; there his friends were gathered; there he was more wanted than anywhere else; but it is clear he never reached that city.

Florence of Worcester, it is true, adds that he died at 'London,' but as he uses no other sources than the Chronicle itself at this time, it is clearly an interpolation—either a guess, or an error, from London appearing in the previous line[3]; but he is copied by Simeon of Durham, and Roger of Hoveden[4].

But Henry of Huntingdon gives the circumstances of Eadmund's death in detail, and he says it occurred in Oxford. His account runs in substance thus:—

> 'Edmund the King was a few days afterwards killed at Oxford by treachery. And thus he was murdered. When the King, so terrible to his enemies, and so much feared in his kingdom, went one night into his private chamber, the son of ealdorman Edric, who had by the counsel of his father, concealed himself there ... he stabbed the King twice with a sharp knife, leaving the instrument in the wound, and then left him and fled. Edric then coming to King Cnut saluted him saying, "Hail, thou art sole king!" When he had made manifest what he had done, the King replied, "I will make thee on account of thy most high deserts, higher than all the tall men of the English." And so he ordered him to be beheaded, and his head to be fixed on the top of a

[1] The island is marked on the Ordnance map as Alney, and is of considerable extent.

[2] From Chronicles, C, D, E, F. Appendix A, § 56.

[3] Just in the same way Florence of Worcester stands alone amongst the chroniclers (excepting of course those who have copied from him) in making King Harold die at London, instead of Oxford, in 1040.

[4] Other later writers, e. g. Brompton, Knighton, etc., sometimes follow Florence of Worcester, sometimes Henry of Huntingdon. For a summary of the variations see Freeman's Norman Conquest; Appendix XX, third ed. 1877, vol. i. p. 711.

pole, on the highest tower of London. Thus died Edmund, a brave king, after he had reigned but one year, and he was buried next to Edgar his grandfather at Glastonbury[1].'

William of Malmesbury tells the story of the violent death of Eadmund, which he speaks of as being a matter of general rumour. It is somewhat the same story as that told by Henry of Huntingdon, as a matter of actual fact. The former however does not name any place as the scene of his death. He writes :—

'And soon afterwards on the feast of S. Andrew [Nov. 30] Edmund died—it is doubtful by what accident—and was buried at Glastonbury near to his grandfather Edgar. Rumour asperses Edric that to obtain the favour of Cnut, he compassed his death by means of his own servants. It is said that there were two kings chamberlains to whom the King entrusted wholly his life; these he won over by promises, and though they were at first much horrified at the enormity of the crime, in a short time he managed to make them his accomplices[2].'

It will be observed that William of Malmesbury speaks of the story as an aspersion on Eadric, and perhaps, if he had no better authority than general rumour, this might well suggest itself to him. But it ought not to be allowed to weigh too much against the definite narrative of Henry of Huntingdon's statement, that he met with a violent death in Oxford.

And a general survey of the surrounding circumstances points in this direction. Allowing for the time necessary for the events of the year, the treaty of Olney must have been in November; there it is that we last hear of Eadmund, and in this month he died. As already said, he never appears to have reached London at all, whither there is little doubt he would be bound. The negative evidence of his name not appearing in the narrative of the events which took place at London, when the Londoners made a truce with the army and bought themselves peace, is very strong. The positive statement that he was buried at Glastonbury is stronger. For had he reached London before he died, he would undoubtedly have been buried in S. Paul's, where his father Æthelred had been buried in April of the same year.

Oxford lay in the direct line from Gloucester to London by almost any route likely to be taken, and, more than that, there is a special reason why Oxford may well have been chosen as a place for the crime, if crime it was. By the terms of the treaty, Wessex was to be

[1] Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, Rolls Series, 1879, p. 185. Appendix A, § 57.

[2] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Angl.* Engl. Hist. Society's ed., London 1840, lib. ii. § 180, p. 303. Appendix A, § 58.

in the future the kingdom of the English king. Once there, the loyalty of his people would protect him, for his misfortunes would win for him their sympathy. Once past the borders—once out of the kingdom of Mercia—nay more, once outside the south gate of the border town of Oxford, he would be safe, and after all Eadric's strategy and villany his chosen lord, King Cnut, might fail to gain and hold the whole kingdom, and he himself enjoy the personal honours for which he had so basely striven. This was the last chance when a successful blow could be struck; Eadric too was well acquainted with this last halting-place within his dominion, and as ealdorman of Mercia he was all-powerful there, and no one could question his acts. Moreover the man who employed assassins to strike down the thanes Sigeferth and Morcar at his bidding there, only the year before, might well know what hands could be relied upon for a similar purpose now.

While accepting the outline of the story, there is no necessity of accepting the details; they are simply such as would occur to the historian to add in order to accentuate the enormity of the crime—and his story of Cnut's sentence of punishment, that his head should be cut off and raised on a pole on the highest tower of London, must be attributed to poetic licence. While we learn, however, that Cnut did reward him for his general treachery by confirming him in his old command over Mercia as ealdorman, we also learn that in the following year he was slain in London; and as the Chronicle adds, 'very rightly,' it is not unreasonable to suppose that, presuming too much on his power and popularity, he entered London, and that the loyal subjects of the murdered Eadmund avenged themselves on the murderer. Florence of Worcester hints that it was by Cnut's orders that Eadric was assassinated as being a dangerous man, and in this respect he would, so far as this point is concerned, be in agreement with Henry of Huntingdon. Still, on the whole, Cnut's tenure of the kingdom was of too uncertain a character to risk such a step, if, as seems to have been the case, Eadric had a large following: it was different in the case of his ordering the Ætheling Eadwy to be slain the following year, as few perhaps would be found to avenge it.

It may perhaps be asked, 'How is it that Henry of Huntingdon should learn that such a circumstance had taken place in Oxford, unknown to all the other chroniclers?' In answer to this the following considerations may be worth a moment's attention. The position and influence of the instigators of the assassination may well have prevented a record being made in the Chronicles, and hence the handing down of the story would have to depend wholly upon tradition; and further,

in no place would that tradition be likely to be better preserved than where the event took place. Now there is reason to suppose that Henry of Huntingdon had an intimate friend in Oxford, an historian like himself, who probably assisted him with material in compiling his history. His name was Walter; and Henry addresses to him an epistle upon the 'contempt of this world's honours.' This was no doubt Walter the Archdeacon of Oxford, a name which we frequently meet with at this time[1]. It may fairly be advanced, then, that Henry of Huntingdon had in Oxford a friend who, from his fondness for history, was likely to be well acquainted with the traditions of the place and who would have told him of such though not to be found in writing. The Archdeacon died about the year 1140, and just before Henry's epistle reached him, for it ends with his epitaph. If the Archdeacon was seventy years of age at his death he might in his youth have conversed with people who were actually living when the murder took place[2].

Passing on we come to the year 1018, and we find that Oxford again plays a part in the chapter of English history. Already a Gemot had been called and held by Cnut in London, in which the general settlement of the kingdom was arranged. At Oxford there seems to have been a special Gemot for deciding upon the laws which should be accepted as the common laws of the land. The words of the Chronicle are, as usual, very concise:—

> 'A. D. 1018. And the Danes and the Angles were unanimous at Oxford for Eadgar's law[3].'

Florence of Worcester, followed by Roger of Hoveden, simply translates the exact words, and that very closely. Neither Henry of Huntingdon nor William of Malmesbury refer to this assembly at Oxford.

England was now entirely under the Danish King Cnut, and his holding a council at Oxford shows to what importance the place had now risen. No doubt its central position had something to do with

[1] His name appears as a signature as early as 1115. He appears amongst others at the foundation of Godestow Nunnery in 1139 and signs the charter officially. Geoffrey of Monmouth (*Hist. Brit.* lib. i. § 1) refers to Walter the Archdeacon of Oxford, a man skilled in oratory and learned in foreign histories. Geoffrey Gaimar also mentions 'Le bon livere de Oxenford, ki fust Walter l'Arcediacn' (L'Estorie line 69 from end). The Epistle to him is printed as the last tract in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 694. Also as an Appendix in Henry of Huntingdon. Rolls Series, 1879, p. 297.

[2] Henry of Huntingdon in recounting the burning at the massacre of S. Brice, says 'of this, I in my youth heard some very old people speak.' See *ante*, p. 147.

[3] This is from Chron. C. It is followed almost *literatim* in Chrons. D, E, F, Appendix A, § 59.

the choice, as well as the fact that it was situated on the chief river of the country when rivers afforded the chief means of communication. The Thames had ceased to be the boundary between two great divisions of the kingdom, but the old traditional boundaries of Mercia and Wessex had, nevertheless, a considerable influence in the selection of the place[1]. The result of the meeting seems to have been a complete reconciliation between the new subjects and their new king. It is the first event that we have yet come to of this class. In 912 Oxford is being prepared to resist the attack of the Danes; in 1002 it is the scene of the burning of unsuspecting Danes who had fled to a church for safety. In 1009 the city is sacked and burned by the Danes; and in 1013 it ignominiously surrenders to a Danish king; in 1015 it saw the treacherous murder of two of the chiefs of an important district in the power of the Danes; in 1016, it is the scene of the assassination of the English king through indirect Danish influences.

It is a relief therefore now to find at the end of the story in which Oxford seems to have played so important a part, that something was done here to promote the welfare of the country. It is satisfactory too to find that though a Danish king presided over the Gemot, the old laws of the country were to be retained and to be in force for Englishman and Dane alike, and so in a measure the subjection to a foreign ruler would be the less felt.

It is probable that in these troublous times the Gemots were all held within what are called the Castle precincts. Occupied now by the county courts and prison, the area is a large one, and was larger still before the New Road was carried across the inner bailey at the foot of the Castle mound, a mound so familiar to all who go from Carfax to the Railway Station, but perhaps looked upon by few as so fraught with historical associations. As already said, it was constructed there at the beginning of the history of Oxford, namely in 912, to prevent the inroads of the Danes, and now, in 1018, beneath its shadow a Gemot was held presided over by a Danish king. Within the precincts were houses set apart for the royal residence. In one of the apart-

[1] The Chronicles under the year 1017 refer to the fourfold division of the country under Cnut, viz. Northumberland, East Anglia, Mercia and Wessex. See *ante*, p. 158, while the old divisions appear to survive in fact, though described differently, to the Conqueror's time, if the laws which bear his name can be accepted as genuine. In those '*De Pace Regia*' the difference of the 'bot' is thus expressed: 'Secundum Merchena-lahe C, solidos pene; secundum Dene-lahe pena CXLIIII librorum, et forisfactum regis, quod ad vicecomitem pertinet, scilicet XL solidos in Merchene-lahe et L solidos in Westsaxene-lahe.' (Thorpe's Ancient Laws and Institutes, vol. i. p. 467). Whatever was the influence, certain it is that Oxford was also chosen as the place of the Gemot, as will be seen, in 1036 and again in 1065.

ments Æthelweard the king's son breathed his last. In another, probably, the Northern thanes, Sigeferth and Morkar, led from the great banqueting hall, were betrayed and slain. In another, perhaps, King Eadmund was foully murdered. Over all these events that lofty mound has cast its shadow; it is all that we possess to connect the present with those times. The deep ditches have been filled up[1], and a portion only of their line is marked by the current of water which supplies the Castle mill. Above the mill rises the great tower; that tower saw the results of the Norman Conquest, and indeed may itself be said to be one of them. But the mound alone of all that remains has looked down upon the Danish Conquest and all its attendant humiliations and horrors, which have been described in this and the preceding chapter.

[1] The best view of the Castle mound is obtained by mounting a few steps leading from Bulwarks-Lane on to the piece of high ground in front of Elm Cottages, at the back of the new High School for boys in George Street, and looking over the site of Jews' Mount (i.e. *Mont de juis*). The view over the Castle mound is undisturbed and, as few houses are visible, one is able somewhat to conjure up the scene as it really presented itself in the days to which these historical notes refer.

CHAPTER IX.

OXFORD DURING THE FIFTY YEARS BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

THE destruction which had been wrought by the burning and plundering of the Danes in 1009 must have left Oxford in a very desolate state, and the constant drain of money and men during the costly but futile attempts to repel the Danes, must have left little opportunity for the town to retrieve the losses it had sustained. Although Cnut was a foreign king, it was agreed by the Gemot held here in 1018 that the English laws should be obeyed; and we may therefore presume that with peace there was some chance of prosperity returning to the town, and this view is borne out by an incidental reference to Oxford relating to this time. It is not found in the Chronicle, or, indeed, in any of the chroniclers, but amongst the charters of the great abbey in the neighbouring town of Abingdon, and in connection with a little village in Berkshire, about four miles north of Wantage, and ten miles south-west of Oxford, now known as Lyford, but in the charters and in the Domesday Survey spelt Linford. The date of the charter is 1034, and it runs as follows:—

> '. . . . Wherefore I Cnut, by God's free mercy and especial goodness King of all Albion, have granted for ever the small plot of ground which is called by the inhabitants of these parts Linford, that is to say sufficient quantity for two tenants, and a certain minster (*monasteriolum*) dedicated in honour of Saint Martin, Bishop, together with its adjacent messuage (*praediolo*)[1] in the city which is called by the celebrated name of Oxford, to our Lord Jesus Christ and to his ever-virgin Mother Mary, for the use of the monks in Abingdon . . . .'[2]

[1] The exact force of the words *monasteriolum* and *praediolum* cannot perhaps be determined definitely. They are probably translations of the words used in the Saxon charters. The former means quite as frequently a church as a monastery; the *praediolum* was probably equivalent to the glebe land attached, or, in a town, certain messuages, the rental of which would help to sustain a priest.

[2] *Abingdon Abbey Chronicle*, Rolls Series, London, 1858, vol. i. p. 439. It should perhaps be added that Mr. Stevenson, the editor, who has had great

The boundaries of the land at Lyford are then given, and at the end is added, in one of the two manuscripts of the Chronicle, and in the language of the time, the following:—

> 'This land-plot bequeathed Ethelwine unto Abbendune and the hagæ at Oxnaford, in which he himself "onsæt" [i. e. dwelt], before many witnesses[1].'

The witnesses included Cnut, Elgyfu (*praedicti Regis conlaterana*) Æthelnoth, Archbishop of the church of Canterbury, Ælfric, Archbishop of the city of York, six other bishops, whose names are given, four abbots, two priests, two ealdormen (that is, Godwine and Leofric), fifteen thanes, and one *praefectus* (i. e. reeve)[2].

Later on in the same chronicle there is still a further reference to the gift of S. Martin's Church.

> 'And when Abbot Athelwin, a man very vigorous in the conduct of secular as well as ecclesiastical matters, came to the end of his days, Siward, a monk from the Abbey of Glastonbury, succeeded him. It was due to the kindness which King Cnut knew rightly to prevail with him that the said King gave out of charity the Church of S. Martin in Oxford, together with a messuage (*praediolum*)[3].'

Although the grant is of a certain 'minster' of S. Martin, and therefore, taken literally, might be said to imply that there was a church already in existence, still practically there is no reason to doubt that this charter of King Cnut represents, with the transference of the land to Abingdon Abbey, the foundation of the church.

As already pointed out[4], the grant of a site for a church in the centre of the town points very strongly to there being no parish church here before, and therefore it is a distinct step in advance: as other churches were built and parishes came to be established, they were distributed round the central parish which formed the nucleus, so to speak, of the whole.

But with prosperity to the town generally it seems strange that we hear no more of S. Frideswide's. The three hydes round Oxford, and the two hydes at Cutslow, and the hyde at Whithull, with the ten hydes at Winchendon in Buckinghamshire, seemingly constituted all their possessions from Ethelred's time (1004) onwards, as is shown by

experience, pronounces it in his opinion 'a genuine document.' Vol. ii. p. 523. It is printed in the *Codex Diplomaticus*, No. 746, vol. iv. p. 38. Appendix A, § 60

[1] *Abingdon Abbey Chronicle*, Rolls Series, vol. i. p. 440. In the other MS. the same passage is given in Latin.

[2] The charter is not dated. The signatures seem to give the date as 1032–1034, though the identification of all the bishops is not certain.

[3] *Abingdon Abbey Chronicle*, Rolls Series, vol. i. p. 443.

[4] See *ante*, p. 121.

the survey of 1087[1]. The monastery seems from some cause or another not to have displayed any energy whatever. To have allowed a neighbouring monastery some six miles off, and in another county, to build and hold a church (and this is what the charter practically amounts to) in the very centre of the town, and within two hundred and fifty yards of their very gates, betokens either great apathy, or else they were in so poor a condition that they could not build any churches themselves, or in such poor estimation that they excited no generosity on the part of their friends. Although in the reign of King Henry I. they seem to have made up for lost time, there does not appear, so far as can be gathered by the Domesday Survey, that they had now, nor for the next fifty years, any church in Oxford whatever served from their monastery, except the single church within their own precincts. Were it not for the absence of such errors as usually disfigure forged charters, and the corroboration in Domesday, there would be reason on account of such absolute silence to suspect Ethelred's charter to be a fabrication of the twelfth century[2].

And here perhaps a word should be said respecting a somewhat unsatisfactory paragraph, which in the Cartulary follows on after the charter relating to Ethelred's restoration of S. Frideswide's in 1004; and, as will be observed, it professes to relate to events which happened after that date[3]. It runs as follows:—

> 'Now the aforesaid King Ethelred increased the said church as he had before promised as [is read] in the chronicles.
>
> 'And afterwards before God subjected England to the people of Normandy, this church with its possessions was given by a certain king to a certain abbot of Abingdon: the secular canons are related to have therefore been despoiled of their possessions, and driven from their abode; and the property being transferred to the monks, was at their disposal for some years.
>
> 'Afterwards, as it is the case with the affairs of mortals, by the beneficence of a certain king, their property was, after deliberate counsel, restored to the aforesaid canons. And up to the year of our Lord's incarnation 1122, they ruled over the same church[4].'

It may however be possible that, though the compiler of the Cartulary has placed the above memorandum (for it is not in any

[1] Against the addition of an hyde 'juxta Oxon' is to be set the omission in the Domesday Survey of the one hyde of Whithill.

[2] Kemble, in the *Codex Diplomaticus*, No. 709, vol. iii. p. 327, puts for some reason an asterisk to it, implying that, in his opinion, it was not genuine.

[3] The charter is printed *ante*, p. 142, but see also *ante*, p. 139.

[4] From the larger cartulary of S. Frideswide in the possession of the Dean and

sense a deed) after the charter of King Ethelred, and implied that what is recorded took place between the restoration by that king and the Norman Conquest, he has done so in error; and that the source of his statement, whether tradition or document, has been misunderstood. It has already been pointed out[1], when discussing a similar statement relating to the introduction of secular canons, that the granting of the abbey to a certain abbot of Abingdon was most likely when Abbot Æthelwold was made Bishop of Winchester, and in 964, as is recorded, besought King Eadgar to give him certain monasteries to restore[2]: as the energetic disciple of S. Dunstan, his first care was to turn out secular canons and put regulars in their place; in some cases perhaps there was some injustice, in others perhaps, where reform was absolutely needed, the change was attended with beneficial results. The reference to the king restoring the seculars seems also to point to this view of the origin of the passage, for on the accession of Eadward (the second king of that name, and called the Martyr) in 975, the monks in their turn, as already shown when discussing the question, were driven out and the seculars restored.

There is, however, a singular record, which points to the replacing of monks by canons at a date after Æthelred's charter of 1004, viz. a passage, which Leland in his *Collectanea*[3] gives as *Ex veteri codice Rofensis Monasterii*, and belonging to the year 1049, and which runs as follows[4]:—

Canons of Christchurch, folio 8. Printed very imperfectly in Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 144. Appendix A, § 61.

[1] See *ante*, p. 139.

[2] The entry there adduced in support of this explanation, it should be observed, is from the Bodleian copy of the Chronicle, i. e. Chronicle E, which is supposed to have been compiled at Peterborough, and takes especial notice of events in Mercia. The full wording of the passage is as follows: 'In the year after he was hallowed [i. e. Athelwold, Abbot of Abingdon, who had been hallowed Bishop of Winchester, Nov. 29, 963] he made monasteries, and drove the clerks out of the bishopric because that they would not hold any rule, and set monks there . . . . Then afterwards he came to King Eadgar and besought him that he would give him all the monasteries which heathens before had ruined, because that he would restore them; and the king blithely granted it.'

[3] Leland, *Collectanea*, vol. iii. p. 73. Printed in Hearne's ed., 1774, vol. iv. p. 72.

[4] After some trouble a MS. containing the passage has been found. Possibly it was only an abstract of this which Leland saw. It is a chronicle evidently compiled at Rochester, consisting of 200 large folio leaves with double columns written in one hand down to 1275, with illustrations (some of which are copied apparently from a much earlier MS.), and continued by later hands to 1307. It is preserved in the Cottonian Library (Nero, D. 2) and the passage occurs on folio 98 a. *Eodem etiam anno institutio Canonicorum Sancte Frideswide de Oxonia.* The incidental reference to a neighbouring monastery is not one likely to have been interpolated without some authority.

'1049. King Edward the third, who is called Saint Edward, restored the Monastery of S. Peter at Westminster and extended it, by granting abundant possessions and liberties. The same year was the institution of the canons of S. Frideswide at Oxford.'

Here, since a definite date is given for the change, there is more reason to accept the passage, but still the possibility remains that the chronicler has made a mistake between Eadward the Martyr and Eadward the Confessor, and has transposed a passage belonging to the one to a date which belongs to the other: while another writer has referred to the regulars taking the place of the seculars later still, giving the rather improbable date of 1060[1].

The statement that the monastery was given to 'a certain abbot of Abingdon' has led some to suppose that at one time the independence of S. Frideswide was at an end, and that it became simply a cell to the larger abbey. Although this would account for the circumstance of the central church of the town being in the hands of the neighbouring monastery, on the whole it is not at all probable. The Abingdon Chronicle is so full in recording the events of the period, and the charters so numerous, that it is impossible to conceive any great accession to the power and influence of Abingdon, as this would amount to, without some record showing itself directly or indirectly.

As a matter of fact, throughout the seven hundred and forty printed pages which the Chronicle occupies, S. Frideswide is only mentioned twice; once in connection with some exchange of land in Henry I's reign circa 1120, and once in connection with S. Aldate's church during the rule of abbot Ingulph, which commenced 1130.

Abingdon undoubtedly was very wealthy at this time. This is apparent, not from the fact only that we possess so fine a cartulary preserved amidst the pages of a Chronicle, but from the fact that the Domesday Survey testifies materially to the truth of the acquisition which most of the charters purport to represent. Their property by degrees had come up close to Oxford during the previous century, forming as it were a belt round Oxford on the southern and western side. Charters granted by King Edwy[2] in 955-6 had practically subjected

[1] What could be the origin of this statement given in Sir John Peshall's edition of Antony à Wood's notes on the city of Oxford (London, 1773, p. 121) has not been discovered. It runs as follows: '1060, The secular canons of S. Frid. being expelled from the monastery on account of their having wives, King Edward ordered a set of regulars to succeed them in their office at the instance of Pope Nicholas II.'

[2] *Chron. Mon. Ab.*, Rolls Series, p. 180. While Seacourt only just exists in name on the way to Wytham, the local names of the fields and meadows given in the course of the boundaries have been lost, so that the demarcation cannot be made out; but it is clear a considerable portion of the river Thames—namely from the

twenty hydes, including Hincksey (*Hengestes-ige*), Seacourt (*Seofecan-wyrthe*), and, just beyond it to the north, Wytham (*Wihtham*). Also twenty-five hydes at Bayworth (*Bægenweorthe*)[1], and certain land at Kennington (*Cenigtune*)[2]. Some few years later, i. e. in 985, Ethelred had completed the circuit by a grant of ten hydes at Wootton[3]. That their property came up to the very Thames on the eastern side, even close to Oxford, is illustrated by the dispute, in 945 or thereabouts, concerning Beri meadow, the large piece of meadow land lying in the Thames, over against Iffley, and about which there was some doubt whether it belonged to Oxfordshire or Berkshire. It appears—if we accept the story which the monk tells us—that the abbey gained the victory; but the means were perhaps not those which would be successful in these days[4].

S. Frideswide's monastery, then, if not subjected to Abingdon, was at least thrown into the shade by its wealthier and more energetic neighbour—and yet as Oxford, now under the Danish rule, was seemingly in a prosperous condition, retrieving the devastations of past years, S. Frideswide ought to have exhibited some prosperity also. That we have no charter or reference to any before the time of Ethelred in 1004 is accounted for by the loss by fire. That we have no account of grants of land to the monastery between that date and the time of Henry I, cannot be explained in the same manner.

Great Ford up to 'Eanflæds-gelade'—formed the northern boundary. There is reason to suppose that this was a restoration of property after the Danish incursions, as they seem to have obtained a confirmation charter of all their property on the south side of the Thames in this neighbourhood (including Hincksey, Cumnor, Kennington, &c.) in 825 from Coenulf, King of Mercia, so as to be safe when the land was shifting backwards and forwards from one kingdom to another (*ante*, p. 111). Further (*Chron. Ab.*, p. 126) the chronicler contends that it was all granted originally by King Ceadwalla, as if it had been the original property of Hean.

[1] *Chron. Mon. Ab.*, Rolls Series, p. 219. The name by which the manor of the 25 hydes was known, is only represented now by the farm on the west of Bagley Wood. Very few of the local names of the fields and boundary lines have survived.

[2] *Chron. Mon. Ab.*, p. 216. It evidently lay between the river on the east side and 'Baggan-worth' of the previous charter on the west side, and occupied what is now Bagley Wood. Elsewhere in the general charter relating to the Cumnor district (see ibid. pp. 126 and 176), reference is made to the Bacgan-leah, which name we retain in the well-known Bag-ley Wood.

[3] *Chron. Mon. Ab.*, p. 401. In the boundaries attached to the vill, and practically forming the parish of Wootton, between three and four miles south-west of Oxford, are several names which occur in the other charters, thus uniting the series. There are also one or two survivals in the names, e. g. fox hola cumbe, in Foxcombe hill; cealdan-wylle, probably in Chil'swell farm; blacan grave in Blackgrove farm. In one of the general boundaries (p. 126) we get brom-cumbe, which possibly survives in Browncomb Wood close to Bayworth.

[4] *Chron. Mon. Ab.*, p. 88. See a summary of the case given in Proceedings of the O. A. & H. S., vol. ii. p. 169.

Besides Abingdon, which lay six miles to the south and on the Berkshire side of the river, there was another formidable rival to S. Frideswide's springing up some six miles to the west on the Oxfordshire side, namely at Ensham. At the very beginning of the eleventh century Æthelmar, ealdorman of Devonshire, the same who was one of those to submit to Sweyn, in 1013[1]—had exchanged with his son-in-law Æthelweard certain lands, giving him thirty-six *mansiones*, in different districts, against thirty *mansiunculi*, and had established at Ensham a monastery. The charter of King Ethelred[2], which is dated 1005, must from the signatures have been completed not later than that date, and the greater number are the same as those who sign Ethelred's charter, restoring S. Frideswide's. It must be observed however that these lands, so far as may be judged from the boundaries of the grants made to them at this date, appear to lie for the most part some distance from the abbey; and thirty manses of land which were close to it are on the north-west, and so not calculated to encroach upon the immediate neighbourhood of Oxford. It must also be observed that as regards accession of lands, so far as can be judged from the absence of charters, and the presence of a single entry only in the Domesday Survey, they were not more prosperous than the Oxford house. Although, as has been pointed out, there is not sufficient ground to suppose that S. Frideswide put itself under the protection of Abingdon, there is the clear evidence of a valuable charter, a copy of which is preserved in the Ensham chartulary, that this monastery became practically an adjunct to the minster of S. Mary at Stowe in Lincolnshire, which, in 1040, was founded mainly by the bounty of Leofric and the Lady Godiva. This accounts, partly, for the meagre appearance which the abbey shows in Domesday. On the other hand, by the chance of fortune, at a later period, the Eynsham house became celebrated, and the house of Stowe declined, so that the reverse of what had originally happened took place, and the house at Stowe was merged into that at Ensham. Still it must not be overlooked that in the eleventh century the union of the two monasteries of Stowe and Eynsham created a rival influence which might well have interfered with S. Frideswide's prosperity: and in the Domesday Survey it is found that Ensham had a church in Oxford, namely, S. Ebbe's.

[1] A.-S. Chron. *sub anno* 1013: 'After the Danes had come over Watling Street, and when Oxford submitted, they went afterwards to Bath. And thither came the ealdorman Æthelmar and the western thanes with him, and they all submitted to Svein, and gave hostages.'

[2] Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, No. DCCXIV, vol. iii. p. 339.

At the same time that the Monastery of S. Frideswide seemingly was shedding no lustre over the city of Oxford, as others were over the cities in which they were situated, the place of the Bishop's seat, namely Dorchester, so far as can be ascertained, was not in any way bringing the diocese into prominence on account of the energy or ability of its successive Bishops. Something perhaps may be put down to the account of the diocesan registers having been lost in all probability when the see was removed by Remigius to Lincoln, in 1092; for he may well have been too intent upon his new foundation, to think about taking the proper precautions to preserve the story of the old one. That there had been registers kept here seems certain from such entries as the baptism of the kings Cynegils, Cwichelm, and Cuthred, having found their way into the Chronicles[1]. Yet it would appear that William of Malmesbury, when he wrote his History of the Bishops in 1125—that is, some thirty-five years only after the translation of the bishopric—was unable to obtain any information about the diocese, and apparently had difficulty in making out even a complete list of the bishops. It is quite possible that he made it from the signatures to the few charters to which he had access.

Whether or not in the course of his researches, which distinctly included visits to Glastonbury and Oxford, he went to Dorchester to discover what archives might exist, cannot be determined. He seems however to write as if from his own experience when he commences his account of the diocese with the words *Dorcestra est villa in paga Oxnefordensi exilis et infrequens.* He however goes on to say that the old church with its chapels (of which we have at most but the lower part of one wall remaining, if even that)[2] was remaining in his time in good condition and repair, as he writes, *Majestas tamen ecclesiarum magna, seu veteri opera, seu sedulitate nova.*

As regards the bishops, they seem during this century rather to have had their chief seat here than at Leicester, which was the case in the last century, but what the extent of their diocese was it is impossible to determine. After Eadnoth and Escwi, which brought the list of the

[1] See *ante*, p. 86.

[2] The lower portion of the north wall of the nave shows rather early character outside, against which the cloister of the monastery was erected. When the monastery was founded in Stephen's reign, i. e. 1140, and when, in the following reign, they began building a new and larger church, they may well have made use of some of the walling; but as they would want to keep the old building for the service till the new one was erected, they would most likely build on one side of it, and might therefore have utilised this one piece of wall only. As one cannot point to any masonry in the neighbourhood of Oxford existing, which was standing at this period, it is thought well to note this, though only a possible case.

bishops down to 1002[1], the next four given by William of Malmesbury are, Elfhelm, a second Eadnoth, Etheric, and then a third Eadnoth. The signatures of these range between 1002 and 1046. Of the second of them we read in the Chronicle, under 1012, that Eadnoth of Dorchester was one of the two bishops (Elfhun of London being the other) to receive the body of the murdered Ælfhege when brought into London from Greenwich, and who buried it in 'S. Paul's Church.' Later on, under the year 1016, we find that this Eadnoth was fighting at the battle of Assandun, and was amongst those who were slain, owing mainly, if we can trust the chronicler, to the treachery of Eadric. Of Bishop Etheric we read nothing; but of the third Eadnoth and of his successor we obtain some glimpse in a notice of him, told somewhat differently in different copies of the Chronicle. In Chronicle C, under the year 1049, we find:—

> 'And in this year died Eadnoth, the good Bishop of Oxfordshire; and Oswig, Abbot of Thorney; and Wulfnoth, Abbot of Westminster; and King Eadward gave the bishoprick to Ulf, his priest, and ill bestowed it.'

In Chronicle D the writer places the death of Eadnoth under the year 1050, and varies the latter part.

> 'In this year died [....] of Oxfordshire, Oswig, Abbot of Thorney, and Wulfnoth, Abbot of Westminster; and Ulf, the priest, was placed as pastor to the Bishoprick that Eadnoth had held; but he was afterwards driven away because he performed nothing bishoplike therein, so that it shames us now to tell more[2].'

In Chronicle E the death is placed under 1046 and in F under 1048. It was Eadnoth, as we learn from the Ensham story, who built the church of S. Mary at Stowe in Lincolnshire, to which was affiliated the newly founded abbey of Ensham, but in contrast to this there seems to be no good word for Ulf. This arises from his being one of the foreign chaplains brought over to England, and therefore looked upon as an intruder. But it would appear that elsewhere than in England he was found unfit, for two of the Chronicles describe his visit to Rome.

> 'And afterwards the pope had a synod at Vercelli, and Bishop Ulf came thereto; and they were very near breaking his staff, if he had not given the more money, because he could not do his Rites so well as he should[3].'

It will be observed that in the first extract about Eadnoth it is said

[1] See *ante*, p. 138 [2] A.-S. Chron E, *sub anno* 1046. Appendix A, § 63.
[3] A.-S. Chron. E, *sub anno* 1047, and F, *sub anno* 1049. Appendix A, § 64.

that the good bishop of Oxfordshire died. It might almost seem that Oxfordshire was the recognized name for the diocese, and not Dorchester, though no signature of a bishop of Oxfordshire has been observed.

Curiously enough, William of Malmesbury omits all reference to Ulf, continuing the list with Wluui and then Remigius. He could scarcely have considered Ulf and Wulfwi to be the same, since the entry in one of the Chronicles is so exceedingly distinct as to the two Bishops.

> '1053. . . . And Leofwine [of Lichfield] and Wulfwi went over sea, and there caused themselves to be ordained bishops. Wulfwi succeeded to the bishoprick Ulf had had, he being living and driven away[1].'

Another Chronicle also mentions his death.

> '1067. . . . . And on that day (December 6), Christ Church at Canterbury was burnt; and Bishop Wulfwig died and is buried at his Episcopal see at Dorchester[2].'

The circumstances attending the expulsion of Ulf throw no light upon the diocese of Oxford, but they belong to the story of the reaction against the persistent course followed by Eadward in his appointment of Norman bishops to the English sees. Wulfwi was the last of the English bishops of Dorchester; so that the notice of his Norman successor, Remigius, and the removal of the see to Lincoln belongs to the next chapter.

Politically, the importance of Oxford seems to have been recognized by the circumstance of the great Gemot mentioned in the last chapter, in which, under Cnut, the English law was adopted: and now another great Gemot was held here in 1036 on the death of Cnut to choose his successor. No business of greater importance could well have been transacted than this in the then state of affairs. The supporters of the English policy and those of the Danish policy (for under those two heads probably most of the political differences might be grouped) had by Cnut's good management been kept at peace. There were troubles no doubt, but not such as to affect the unity of the nation. But now there was not only the absence of the ruler to keep the nation together, but the presence of rival claims which must be satisfied. The words of one of the Chronicles are as follows:—

> 'A.D. 1036. In this year died King Cnut at Shaftesbury. . . . And immediately after his decease, there was a great assembly of all the "Witan" at Oxford; and Earl Leofric and almost all the thanes

[1] A.-S. Chron. C, *sub anno*.

[2] A.-S. Chron. D, *sub anno*. Both passages are given under Appendix A, § 65.

north of the Thames, and the "lithsmen" of London, chose Harold to the government of all England, him and his brother Harthacnut, who was in Denmark. And Earl Godwine and all the chief men of Wessex, opposed it as long as they could, but they could not prevail aught against it. And it was then resolved that Ælfgyfu, Harthacnut's mother, should dwell at Winchester with the king her son's "house carls," and hold all Wessex under his authority. And Earl Godwine was their most devoted man[1].'

The writers who follow vary this somewhat, but throw no especial light upon it. Henry of Huntingdon interprets one part by paraphrasing it, 'elected Harold, that he might keep the kingdom for his brother.' The probabilities are that there was a compromise; but at this distance of time it is impossible to discover the exact nature, even supposing that those living then understood perfectly the conditions.

The result, however, turned out according to the broad lines which seem to have been laid down, namely, that Harold Harefoot should reign for a time, and Harthacnut should succeed him on his death. Further, that meanwhile Harthacnut should rule Wessex as an underking. The latter fearing, as well he might, treachery, appointed as his deputy, his mother Emma over the West Saxons, like as the Lady Ethelflæd had been Lady over the Mercians; but the work of ruling was entrusted to Earl Godwine. In all probability Godwine's party were for a more sweeping policy, with a view of restoring the English house, instead of continuing the Danish house on the throne. The choice of Harold cannot be very well accounted for, except on the principle of compromise, since great doubts seem to be thrown by all writers as to his parentage; and his action after his accession to the throne certainly would justify the opinion that he felt he was a pretender, and was not in the right. If we can accept the statements in the Chronicles (and it is difficult, considering the opportunities which the writers must have had of recording independent opinions, to believe that their agreement arises from other causes than the truth), he seems to have feared the return of Harthacnut, and to have vented his animosity against Queen Emma, his reputed father's queen; inviting, too, the sons of Ethelred and Emma, he caused Ælfred to be blinded, and Edward only escaped a similar act of brutality by fleeing into Normandy. On the whole, then, Oxford cannot be said to be honoured by the decision of the Gemot which was held here in 1035, and it is no further honour perhaps

[1] This is taken from Chron. E. Chrons. C and D do not mention the Witenagemot. Chron. F mentions the election of Harold, but omits to mention that the gemot was held at Oxford. Appendix A, § 66.

that Oxford was the scene of Harold's death in 1040, which is thus recorded in one of the Chronicles :—

> 'A.D. 1039. In this year King Harold died at Oxford on the xvith. of the Kal. of April [Mar. 17th], and he was buried at Westminster[1].'

Florence of Worcester, under 1040, writes, 'Harold, King of the English, died at *London*[2].' Henry of Huntingdon follows the Chronicle almost *verbatim*, but he places the event under the year 1040. William of Malmesbury incidentally refers to Harold 'dying at Oxford in the month of *April*,' at the expiration of three years after 1036. Simeon of Durham, and Roger de Hoveden, as usual, copy Florence of Worcester. Incidentally, in a judgment or writ to which at least he put his hand just before his death, we read of Harold lying grievously ill at Oxford. The document is not dated, and therefore does not in any way fix the exact year of his death. The question at issue seems to have been a dispute about some rents at Sandwich between the two rival houses situated close to each other at Canterbury, namely the Christ Church house and the S. Augustine's house: and the plea seems to have been that property belonging to the latter had been alienated unjustly to the former by the king's officers. Whether the words are those dictated by the king or only those of his clerk, they were at least penned at Oxford.

> 'Know then by this writing that Harold king &c. Then Archbishop Eadsige when he knew this, and all the society at Christ Church took counsel between them that Ælfgar monk of Christ Church, should be sent to king Harold : and the king was then in Oxford very ill, so that he lay in despair of his life. There was [present] Lyfing Bishop of Defenascire [i. e. Crediton] with the king, and Thancred the monk with him. Then came the messenger from Christ Church to the Bishop, and he then forth to the king, and Ælfgar the monk with him, and Oswerd of Hergerdesham[3] and Thancred, and they said to the king, &c[4].'

The plea, and the judgment on it, do not concern us, but these few lines seem to bring vividly before us the scene of Harold lying in his sick chamber within the Castle precincts at Oxford, with the bishop and others around him, and the intrusion of the two monks,

[1] Here again Chron. E is the authority, and Chrons. C, D, and F omit all reference to Oxford. MS. F places the death of Harold in 1039, but Chrons. C and D both place it in 1040. Appendix A, § 67.

[2] Florence of Worcester in the same way makes the death of King Edmund to have taken place at London, as already noted.

[3] Probably Hariardesham of Domesday, now Harietsham, Kent.

[4] The original document is preserved in the collection of original charters, Cottonian Library, Aug. II. Printed K. C. D. No. 758, iv. p. 56. Appendix A, § 86.

who had journeyed from Canterbury as a deputation, desiring to obtain his direct authority in their trouble; and, further, the means they adopted of gaining access to him are told so naturally, in the few words quoted from the recital in the charter, that they convey a clearer idea than the ordinary narratives of historians.

Harthacnut, when he succeeded, seems to have been intent on avenging the indignities which had been perpetrated towards his mother by his predecessor, for he had the body of the late king dug up at Westminster and cast into the marshland near, and so out of consecrated ground; and further, in his brief career as king for about two years, he seems only to have succeeded in drawing down the wrath of the chroniclers in consequence of the extraordinary taxation which he sanctioned. In no way does his reign shed any lustre on the kingdom, nor does it bear upon the meeting of Oxford.

On Harthacnut's sudden death, at a marriage feast in June 1042, the English party seem to have had their way clear before them: and so the next year Eadward 'the Confessor,' was hallowed king.

Elected king immediately on the death of Harthacnut, it is most probable that he was in Normandy at the time, and the preparations were such that he was not crowned till Easter in 1043, and then at Winchester. No traces in any charter or in any of the historians occur of his visiting Oxford. Yet one might have expected it, for it is but a few miles across the meadows on the north of Oxford to the place where he was born.

This fact we do not obtain from any chronicler, but from the chance mention of it in a charter respecting a grant of land to his newly-founded, or rather restored, abbey of Westminster. It runs as follows:—

> 'Eadward, king, greets Wlsy[1], Bishop, and Gyrth, Earl, and all my thanes in Oxnefordesyre kindly. And I would have you know that I have given to Christ and to Saint Peter, unto Westminster that "cotlif" in which I was born by name Githslepe and one hide at Mersce scot-free and gafol-free, with all the things therein that thereto belong in wood and in field in meadow and in waters, with church, and with church-jurisdiction as fully and as largely and as free as it stood to myself in my hands: so also as Elgiva Imma my mother at my first birthday gave it to me for a provision[2].'

[1] Wlsy might be Wulfsige, Bishop of Lichfield (1039–1053); but more likely Wulfwig, Bishop of Dorchester (1053–67), since the next four charters (K. C. D. 863–866) have respectively Wulfwi, Wlfsi Wlwi, and Wulfwi, all obviously referring to the same Bishop. Why the writ should be addressed to Gyrth, whose earldom appears to comprise Norfolk and Suffolk, presents a difficulty.

[2] Printed in Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, No. 862, vol. iv. p. 215, from MS. Cott. Faust. A. III, fol. 103. The MS. consists chiefly of a Register of charters belonging to S. Peter's, Westminster. Appendix A, § 69.

We do not know the exact year when King Eadward was born, and consequently have no means of even surmising the circumstance which led Queen Emma Ælfgifu to be at Islip at any particular time. It may be that as the 'cotlif,' or little village, belonged to her, there was something of a palace in it which might at times have provided a residence for herself: traces of this were pointed to on the north side of the church before the late farm improvements, but with very little evidence of their being of an early age; and even the font in which the king was baptized[1] has been described and figured.

And just as we find no trace of Eadward having visited Oxford, so neither does Oxford seem to play any part in the political events of his long reign, till just within a few months of the end. At this time an important 'Gemot' was held here; but the bearing of the same upon the greatest of all events which was at hand, namely, the Norman Conquest, cannot be shown without a brief reference to some of the circumstances which preceded it.

Eadward was Norman on his mother's side, and being educated in Normandy, all his sympathies were Norman and not English; and the English party in choosing him as their king could have little foreseen what influence that choice would have in transferring the government of England to a foreign sovereign. This choice, in effect, helped only to a Danish rule being exchanged for a Norman rule. It need not necessarily have been so, for the primary causes of William's success were the political dissensions of the English leaders of the people: to the same causes, indeed, which had subjected England first to the ravages of the Danish hordes, and afterwards to the rule of a Danish king. By the death of Harthacnut there had seemed some hope of a united country, but that was not the result. The new divisions of the country which were gradually effected during Eadward's reign were the same in principle, though perhaps different in detail from what they had been before: England was still divided into districts, almost amounting to kingdoms, though they were known as earldoms. From Egbert's time the country had never been one kingdom, except in a very limited sense, and we now find in Eadward's reign not only the old state of things existing, but very much the geographical distribution of the old kingdoms of all recognized and restored. The kingdom of

[1] Kennett in his *Parochial Antiquities*, Oxford, 1818, i. p. 69, writes: 'Besides this charter, there is another standing memorial of the birth of King Edward at Islip, the relics of the font wherein he was baptized, lately removed from the ruins of a royal chapel in that town; of which this account is given by an eye-witness of it.' This font, as the architectural details show, was the work of the fourteenth century.

the Northumbrians was under one earl, East Anglia under another, Mercia under a third, and Wessex under a fourth; the last being Earl Godwin, the leader of the English party, and who with Bishop Lyfing may be said to have been chiefly instrumental in setting Eadward on the throne.

At the same time, there seem to have been subdivisions of these earldoms, or, at least, there were several under-earls, though called by the name of earls, just as under-kings were of old often called kings. The territories belonging to these smaller earldoms are not easy to define, as the earls were not set over single shires like the ealdormen had been, but over groups of shires, which seem to have been frequently shifting; and in attempting to assign to them their several shires, according to the addresses and signatures of the charters which are preserved, several anomalies present themselves. It is dangerous of course to depend too much upon such authority; first, because some charters are of doubtful character, and copyists may have inserted the description according to the light of their knowledge; and secondly, there may have been special reasons in some cases for writs being addressed to a particular earl on account of his holding property in another earldom than his own. Still, making this allowance, the divisions and subdivisions were complicated.

Moreover, in addition to the subdivisions on the one hand, there appeared to be, on the other, a tendency of the earldoms to fall into two groups, as the sequel shows,—the south and the north. The south under Earl Godwin, with English interests, the north under Ælfgar, or his successors, with seemingly the desire for independence of English rule, and with a considerable remnant of Danish interests[1].

The part which Oxfordshire played in this it is difficult to determine. Naturally it would be Mercian, and would have passed to Earl Ælfgar who succeeded his father, Earl Leofric, in the earldom in 1057; but if we accept Florence of Worcester's account, it was in 1051, grouped with Gloucestershire and Somerset and Wiltshire in an earldom ruled over by Swegen, one of Godwine's sons[2]; and there seems perhaps in this something of the nature of a survival of the separation of Oxfordshire from the kingdom of Mercia in 912, when Eadward the Elder took it from the rule of the Lady of the Mercians.

[1] The Danish interests seem to have been recognized, e.g. in the charter [K. C. D. 804] of Ealdred, Bishop of Worcester, who calls to witness, together with the earls Leofric and Odda and several others, 'all the oldest thanes in Worcestershire, Danish and English.'

[2] Florence of Worcester, *sub anno* 1051. *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 604.

On the other hand, in the Domesday Survey, Oxford itself is returned as having been held by the Mercian earl Ælfgar in the time of King Eadward, and it is reasonable therefore to suppose the shire also[1]. It seems clear, also, from a charter respecting a grant of land to S. Alban's Abbey, that before Leofric's death Oxfordshire was within his earldom; the first signature being that of Ulf, Bishop [of Dorchester, elected 1050], the next, Earl Leofric, and the third, the Abbot of Abingdon. The last signatures are Godwine, the Reeve (*praepositus*) of the city of Oxford, and Wulfwine, the Reeve of the county of Oxford (that is, the Portreeve and the Sheriff at this time), and all the citizens of Oxford[2].

The Gemot at Oxford, however, is more nearly concerned with the earldom of Northumbria. On the death of Earl Siward in 1055, King Eadward bestowed the earldom on a younger son of Godwine, by name Tostig, towards whom he seems to have evinced great friendship; and this close bonding of the great earldom of the West Saxons with that of the Northumbrians was a bold though perhaps hazardous, stroke of policy in the direction of uniting the whole of England, as it had not yet been united. Whether or not he was a fit man to wield so much power may be doubtful. Certainly, as events proved, his appointment was attended with most untoward circumstances. He seems, however, not to have been wanting in prowess. When Harold went on his expedition in May 1063 against Gruffydd, the Welsh king, Tostig seems to have rendered him valuable assistance, and it may be mentioned in passing, that one of the chroniclers introduces the name of Oxford incidentally in connection with the campaign.

[1] The signatures and addresses of the charters do not help us much. Writs respecting Islip and *Langtune*, i. e. Launton (K. C. D. Nos. 862 and 865), are addressed to Wulwi, Bp. of Dorchester (1053–1067), to Earl Gyrth, and to all the king's thanes in Oxfordshire. But Gyrth was Earl of the East Anglian shires of Suffolk and Norfolk. On the one hand, though some writs relating to property in Suffolk and Norfolk are addressed to Bishop Ægelmar of Elmham (1047–70), and Girth (e.g. K. C. D. Nos. 873, 874, 875, 881), on the other hand most are addressed to Bishop Ægelmar and Earl Ælfgar of Mercia (e.g. K. C. D. 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 882, 883, 884, 905). This is but one illustration of the difficulties referred to.

[2] From MS. Cott. Nero D. I. fol. 150 b. A volume containing documents relating to S. Alban's Abbey transcribed in the thirteenth century. Printed in *Codex Diplomaticus*, No. 950, vol. iv. p. 284, but much more accurately in *Gesta Abbatum, S. Albani*, Rolls Series, 1863, vol. i. p. 39. The name of the place, given in the former as 'Cyrictuna,' is *Cyric-tiwa* (in Domesday *Tewa*, and also *Teova*), now Great Tew, in Oxfordshire. We find amongst the signatures Ægelric of 'Glimtune'; Brihtwin of 'Dædintun,' Leofwine of 'Bartune,' confirming the fact that it was situated to the North of Oxford. It is granted by a certain widow *Tova* to Abbot Leofstan, and all the convent of S. Alban's. The date is restricted to 1050–52, the former the date when Swegen was inlawed, the latter the date when Ulf was outlawed.

The Chronicles refer to the campaign very briefly, while Florence of Worcester names Bristol as the place whence Harold sailed with his fleet; but Geoffrey Gaimar, the French chronicler, who lived very near the time, and so had possibly authority for what he wrote, states:—

> 'Then went there Tosti from the North, Harold from South, from Oxenford[1].'

Harold may well have taken Oxford on his way to Bristol. It may imply more than this, that the campaign was arranged and settled in Oxford, and that at Oxford the northern and southern forces met before they started westward.

Probably the fact of Tostig being the son of Godwine, so closely associated with the West Saxon kingdom, was the main cause of his unpopularity with the Northumbrians, and certain it is that the people of his earldom revolted from him, instigated no doubt by leaders who had nothing to lose, but everything to gain by the revolt. It may well therefore have been more his misfortune than his fault, and the charges against him may have been either fabrications or exaggerations. Still he was not able to quell the revolt, and if it is true that he was hunting with the king in Wiltshire at the time, it looks rather as if he was negligent of the welfare of his earldom; things too, no doubt, were done during his absence in his name, by his subordinates, which he would not have done himself. Moreover there is little doubt but that a neighbouring power had been busy in fomenting if not originating the discord, and this is shown by the fact that the rebels held a gemot at York, on October 3rd (according to Florence of Worcester), that they deposed earl Tostig and declared him an outlaw, and at the same time elected as their earl Morkere, the son of Ælfgar, earl of Mercia. Ælfgar, from what is known of circumstances previously, was not to be depended on; he evidently consulted his own interests before his country's; he had been proved to be to all intents and purposes a traitor, and may therefore before his death, which happened in 1062, have set going the rise of the rebellion, though he left it to his sons to complete the work. The outlawry of one earl and the election of another, without the king's consent, was in itself nothing less than rebellion, and Morkere must well have known it. The object he and his brother Eadwine had in view was evidently to separate the kingdom into two parts, with Mercia and Northumbria as one kingdom, and Wessex and whatever counties might be disposed to join as another. The political action on the part of the men interested was accompanied, as the tendency is of all such movements, by the rioting of a mob and

[1] 'Donc i alat Tosti del north, Harold del suth de Oxenford.' *L'Estorie des Engles*, line 5075. *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 825.

acts of murder, violence, and plunder. Not only they immediately slew all Tostig's faithful servants they could find, and broke open the earl's treasury, but proceeded to march southwards, and this, if we accept the statements of the Chronicles, under the open leadership of Morkere himself; and this brings the story to the passage in the Chronicle which concerns Oxford:—

> 'A.D. 1065. And then, very shortly after, there was a great "gemot" at Northampton; and so at Oxford, on the day of S. Simon and S. Jude (Oct. 28th). And Earl Harold was there, and would work their reconciliation if he could, but he could not[1], for all his earldom unanimously renounced and outlawed him [Tostig] and all who raised up lawlessness with him; because he first robbed God and bereaved all those of life and of land over whom he had power. And they then took to them Morkere for earl, and Tostig went over sea.'

In two other Chronicles, viz. D and E, it is recorded that there was at this time a Gemot at Northampton. The passage runs thus:—

> 'Then came Earl Harold to meet them, and they laid an errand on him to King Eadward, and also sent messengers with him, and prayed that they might have Morkere for their Earl. And the king granted it, and sent Harold again to them at Northampton on the Eve of S. Simon and S. Jude's mass; and he made known the same to them, and gave his hand thereto; and he there renewed Cnut's law[1].'

One version does not discredit the other, for a Gemot may have been held at Oxford as well as at Northampton, and Harold may have been at both; for it will be observed that the one meeting was held the day after the other, and it was quite possible for Harold, even with an absolute adherence to dates, to have gone direct from Northampton to Oxford, in the twenty-four hours, though it would have involved a ride of nearly sixty miles. In the then state of the kingdom, and the important issues at stake, such rapidity was necessary. Florence of Worcester, copied more or less verbally by other writers, mentions the meeting at Oxford as well as that at Northampton:—

> 'Afterwards nearly all those of his followers [*comitatus*] assembled together at Northampton and met Harold Earl of the West Saxons, and the others whom the King, at Tosti's request, had sent to them in order to restore peace. Where first of all, and afterwards at Oxford, on the feast of the apostles SS. Simon and Jude, they all unanimously opposed their assent, when Harold and several of the others tried to reconcile Tosti to them[2].'

[1] The first is from A.-S. Chron. C. Chron. D and E omit the mention of the Gemot at Oxford, and Chron. F has ceased with the year 1058; Chron. D, however, mentions fully, and Chron. E very briefly, the circumstance of Harold being sent to Northampton. Appendix A, §§ 70–71.

[2] Flor. of Worc., *sub anno* 1065. *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 612. Appendix A, § 72.

Henry of Huntingdon has evidently used Chronicles D and E, and only mentions the meeting at Northampton; while William of Malmesbury confines his remarks to an account of the revolt.

The writer of the *Vita Æduuardi Regis*, a work which must have been composed between 1066 and 1074, after speaking of the slaughter at York and Lincoln, states that a vast number of rebels massed together continued their course—'like a whirlwind or storm'—past the middle of England till they reached *Axoneuorde*[1]. There is no doubt that Oxford is meant, although the spelling is singular.

This implies that the rebellious mob were accompanying the leaders. Harold might therefore have made a stand, and attempted to treat at Northampton, but might have been obliged, in consequence of the overwhelming mass of insurgents, to fall back upon Oxford, and continue the Gemot there, since a Gemot held under the former circumstances could not have been attended with any satisfactory results.

The importance of what was done at this Gemot at Oxford cannot be over-estimated. The king, it would appear, was favourable to making at least an attempt to crush the rebellion, which was instigated, there could be but little doubt, by the house of Ælfgar, as they would be the only gainers; but earl Harold was for listening to the demands of the leaders for the sake of peace.

There is no reason to give credence to the speeches which different historians put into the mouths of the respective parties; we have before us certain elements, and we have also before us the results of their combination, and we are able to take perhaps a more unbiassed view than those who lived at the time, and who were in one way or another affected by the revolt. It is clear that Harold anticipated that by sacrificing his brother to the insurgents, he would win the allegiance of the Northumbrians on the one hand, and yet, on the other, not lose the friendship of his brother so completely that any harm would come of it. He made a great mistake in both his anticipations. He gained only the contempt of the lawless bands who had come down from the north ravaging the country wherever they went, by condoning their offences. At the same time he gained only the enmity of the steadier men, whose lands had been then ravaged by those bands. The Chronicle in simple terms speaks of the great harm they did:—

> 'And the Rythrenan did great harm about Northampton while he [Harold] went on their errand, inasmuch as they slew men and burned houses, and corn, and took all the cattle which they could come at,

[1] From the Harleian MS. (No. 526), printed in Lives of Edward the Confessor, Rolls Series, p. 422, *Vita Edwardi*, line 1157. The MS. is of the twelfth century.

> that was many thousand: and many hundred men they took and led north with them; so that the shire and the other shires that were nigh them were for many winters the worse[1].'

Morkere, who led the revolt, would have been the chief gainer by the decision of the Gemot; but there is not the remotest chance of any spark of gratitude having been aroused in his heart by Harold's exhibition of weakness. Lastly, in his treatment of his brother, Harold made not only an enemy, but one whose enmity, as it turned out, was the most formidable of all with which he had to contend, because it was exhibited at the most inopportune moment which could possibly have occurred.

Before turning the leaf which brings us to the end of the story, it may be worth while to notice that, according to Chronicle D, an important clause in the submission agreed to by Harold acting with the king's authority, but as already said on his own judgment and against that of the king, was 'that Cnut's law was renewed.' This is somewhat striking from the fact that it was at Oxford the Gemot of 1018 was held in which occurs the passage 'then the Danes and Angles were unanimous for Eadgar's law[2].' It is impossible that the phrase means only that the kingdom should be under one law, that is, the laws of the land should be obeyed: for when the two passages are put into juxtaposition, there is evidently something more than this implied. It is believed that these are the only two instances which occur in the Chronicles of the agreement as to the law to be observed at any Gemot, and therefore their interpretation must be based upon the several circumstances attending the two occasions on which the words were used. The mention in both instances of the special law implies *a priori* that at least there was another code in existence, and there cannot be much doubt that there were two, namely the Danish code which had been tacitly allowed to make its way in the land occupied by the Danes; and the English code, which was understood by the expression of Eadgar's law. There had been, roughly speaking, a northern kingdom, and a southern kingdom, and a northern law, and a southern law. In 1018 Oxford was the scene of an agreement made by a Witan, presided over by a truly Danish king, that the English law should be the law of England. In 1065 is held another Gemot in the same place, assembled by the English king's orders, and nominally presided over by his representative, acquiescing in the

[1] Anglo-Saxon Chronicles D, E, *sub anno* 1065, and continuation of passage quoted from D, E, *ante*, p. 181. In E the unknown word 'Rythrenan' appears as 'Northernan men': but it is open to question whether it is not a conjectural emendation of the compiler of Chron. E, and that the meaning of the original word had been lost. Appendix A, § 73.

[2] See *ante*, p. 161.

decision that the Danish code should be the code of England. There is strong probability therefore in this distinction recorded by the Chronicles being of set purpose, when we remember that Harold was dealing with a large and powerful body, representing especially the land which was so long under the Dane law, and which was now again separating itself, in fact, though acknowledging a nominal obedience to the government of the rest of England. If this is the case it is very humiliating, and the submission of 1065 must be put in the same category as that of 1013, the result of Ethelred's incompetence, of which William of Malmesbury, paraphrasing the Chronicle, writes: 'Soon coming to the southern districts, Sweyn obliged the men of Oxford and Winchester to obey his laws[1].' If this was but one of the results it is not a Gemot of which Oxford can be proud. But the worst was to come.

King Eadward died on January 5, 1066, and Harold had been duly elected king. The Norman writers, of course, find numerous flaws in the election; but the object is so palpably by way of apology for William's seizure of the English crown that they are not deserving of serious attention. He was elected no doubt by the Witan in London, as representative probably as circumstances would admit.

By May of the same year Tostig, the banished earl, had brought together a fleet with a view of regaining that of which he naturally thought himself wrongly deprived, and was attacking the southern shores of England. At the same time observing the division in the kingdom which Eadwine and Morkere had effected, a Norwegian king, Harold Hardrada, following in the wake of the Danish kings and jarls of old, came to see what he could gain by an incursion upon the unfortunate country. The banished earl threw his lot in with the Norwegian king, and it is suggested that he even prompted him to the act; certain it is that by September, 1066, the two were together in command of a large army, and marching to York. How far Eadwine and Morkere really attempted to defend their own kingdom against the foreign enemy and the former earl, cannot be well ascertained; all that is clear is that they were unsuccessful and appealed to the English king for help. Harold generously, without thinking of his own danger, though he might well have known what was in preparation on the coast of Normandy, and though in ill health, obeyed the summons, and hastened so rapidly to the scene of action, that before September closed he was at Stamford Bridge, and won back, as it appears in the sequel, rather for Eadwine and Morkere than for England, the kingdoms of Northum-

[1] See *ante*, p. 153.

bria and Mercia, which were at the moment at the mercy of Harold Hardrada and Tostig.

Scarcely had the victory been won, when the news of William's landing on the coast of Sussex arrived. King Harold ought, meanwhile, to have been gathering his army in his own kingdom of Wessex; and if this had been the case William would, at his landing, have had far different circumstances to contend with, and the unequal battle near Hastings (to the place of which Orderic Vital alone of all historians has given the name of Senlac[1]) would probably never have been fought. Of course, as the Norman influence had been allowed to grow to a great extent during King Eadward's reign, it is possible that eventually England might have been subjected to the Norman rule; but the decisive victory gained by the Normans on October 14th, 1066, which led to the coronation of Duke William at Westminster on Christmas Day of the same year, was due to the journey to York to resist Tostig. Eadwine and Morkere of course kept their own men back; they were glad enough to cry to Harold for aid in their need, but with gratitude as absent as when Harold confirmed them in their aggression upon the kingdom to the detriment of his own brother's welfare. These two earls had taken the best of West Saxon blood to help them in Mercia, but evidently declined to send a single man to help Harold in Wessex.

It was to be expected. The events, as already said, without the aid of historians to narrate imaginary conversations and suggest possible motives, tell their own tale. The decision of the Gemot at Oxford was at the bottom of the whole matter. At that Gemot, contrary to the king's wish, Harold listened to the pleas of rebels, and trusting Eadwine and Morkere, threw over Tostig; all the rest followed in due course. It was in 1009, at Oxford, that the betrayal of the northern rulers, Sigeferth and Morkere, by the old traitor, Eadric, took place. In 1065 it was no less a betrayal of the patriot Harold, by the no less traitors, in fact, Eadwine and another Morkere. The complement of the one was the subjection of England to Cnut, the Danish king. The direct result of the other was the leaving England open to the easy victory of William, the Norman duke, when he landed in Sussex.

[1] There is no mention of this name in the charters concerning the foundation of Battle Abbey on the spot.

CHAPTER X.

OXFORD DURING THE TWENTY YEARS AFTER THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

AFTER the great battle, Duke William's march to London was comparatively easy. Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and Hampshire had been too severely taxed in supplying men to meet the Conqueror on his landing, to offer any serious resistance. In fact from these counties nearly the whole of the forces employed by Harold must have been procured, for from the north bank of the Thames it would appear that he had obtained hardly any assistance whatever. We know little of what occurred after the battle, for the few lines which comprise all the record left by the two or three historians on which we have to rely, are very imperfect, if not contradictory. But as the neighbourhood of Oxford is by some made the scene of an important event in the Conqueror's march before he was crowned king, and as Oxford itself is made by nearly all historians to have been besieged either immediately before, or soon after his coronation, it is necessary to examine somewhat closely the evidence on which such statements are based.

Two only of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles remain [1] which record the details of the conquest. Of these Chronicle D is the fullest, but in it the whole story of the conquest is summed up in the few lines following :—

> '1066 ... And Count William went afterwards again to Hastings, and there awaited whether the nation would submit to him; but when he perceived that they would not come to him he went up with all his army which was left to him, and what had afterwards come over sea to him, and harried all that part which he passed over until he came to *Beorhhamstede*. And there came to meet him Archbishop Ealdred, and Eadgar child, and Earl Eadwine, and Earl Morkere, and all the best men of London, and these from necessity submitted when the greatest harm had been done; and they gave hostages, and swore oaths to him;

[1] The original Winchester copy A, or rather its continuation, has become so meagre in its notes, with sometimes not a dozen lines to twenty years, that it is quite useless. The Canterbury copy B ceased with the year 975. The Chronicle C, supposed to have been compiled at Abingdon, ceased with the battle at Stamford Bridge in 1066; while Chronicle F ceased with 1056. There remains therefore only Chronicle D, supposed to have been compiled at Worcester, and Chronicle E, supposed to have been compiled at Peterborough, and which is preserved in the Bodleian Library.

and he promised them that he would be a kind lord to them; and yet during this, they harried all that they passed over. Then on Midwinter's day [December 25], Archbishop Ealdred hallowed him king at Westminster; and he pledged him on Christ's book, and also swore, before he would set the crown on his head, that he would govern this nation as well as any king before him had best done, if they would be faithful to him. Nevertheless he laid a very heavy contribution on the people, and then, in Lent, went over sea to Normandy, and took with him Archbishop Stigand, and Ægelnoth, abbot of Glastonbury, and Eadgar child, and Earl Eadwine, and Earl Morkere, and Earl Waltheof, and many other good men of England[1].'

In Chronicle E we find a still shorter summary, as follows:—

'And the while Count William landed at Hastings on S. Michael's mass-day; and Harold came from the north and fought against him before his army had all come, and there he fell, and his two brothers, Gyrth and Leofwine; and William subdued the land, and came to Westminster, and Archbishop Ealdred hallowed him king; and men paid him tribute and gave him hostages, and afterwards bought their land[2].'

Florence of Worcester, writing before 1118, follows Chronicle D, though in other words, and apparently without other material:—

'Meanwhile Duke William ravaged Sussex, Kent, Southamptonshire, Surrey, Middlesex, and Hertford, and ceased not to burn towns and kill men, till he came to the vill which is called *Beorcham*, where Archbishop Aldred, Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, Walter, Bishop of Hereford, Eadgar the Atheling, Earls Eadwin and Morcar, and several nobles from London, with many others came to him, and gave hostages, and made submission to him, and swore fidelity. And with these he made a treaty; nevertheless he allowed his army to burn towns and to plunder. . . . And on Christmas Day he was consecrated with great honour by Aldred, Archbishop of York, at Westminster[3].'

Simeon of Durham (or at least the writer of the Chronicle bearing his name, *circa* 1130), follows the above verbatim[4], as also Roger of Hoveden writing *circa* 1175. William of Malmesbury, writing about 1120, seems not to have come across a Chronicle of the D type, with any mention of Beorhhamstede, and it is probable that he has only extended Chronicle E, adding his own inferences.

'By degrees William marched on with his army (as became a conqueror) not in a hostile but in a royal manner, and went to London,

[1] Anglo-Saxon Chronicle D, *sub anno*. Appendix A, § 74.
[2] Anglo-Saxon Chronicle E, *sub anno*. Appendix A, § 75.
[3] Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon*. Printed in *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 615. Appendix A, § 76.
[4] Simeon of Durham, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*. Printed in Twisden's *Scriptores Decem*, col. 195. Roger of Hoveden. Rolls Series, 1868, vol. i. p. 117.

the chief city of the kingdom; and immediately all the citizens poured forth to meet him on the way with welcome; a crowd rushed forth from all the gates to greet him, the nobles at their head, especially Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Aldred of York; for a few days before Edwin and Morcard, the brothers who had so much expectation, when they heard in London of Harold's death, had entreated the citizens to raise one or other of them on the throne, and when they had found their endeavours vain they had departed to Northumbria, imagining according to their own ideas that William would never come thither. The other nobles would have chosen Edgar had they had the Bishops amongst their supporters.... Then he (William) having been undoubtedly proclaimed king, was crowned on Christmas Day by Archbishop Aldred[1].'

Henry of Huntingdon, writing in 1135, compresses the whole into a couple of lines.

'William having gained so great a victory was received by the people of London peaceably, and was crowned at Westminster by Aldred, Archbishop of York[2].'

William of Poitiers, however, writing perhaps soon after the event itself, seems to have heard a different story altogether. He knows nothing of Beorhhamstede or Beorcham, but he takes William across the Thames to a certain 'Guarengeford,' which has been supposed (and probably rightly) to be meant for Wallingford. After mentioning the capture of Dover and the submission of the men of Canterbury, he refers to Archbishop Stigand and other magnates of the kingdom discussing at London who should succeed Harold, 'while he who was to be their actual king was hastening on his way.' He then writes:—

'The five hundred of the Norman cavalry which had been sent forward by William, put to flight the company of soldiers which had sallied forth against him, and drove them back within the walls of the city. In addition to considerable slaughter, they burnt whatever buildings they found on this side of the river.... The Duke then marching forward in whatever direction he pleased, and crossing the river Thames, both by the ford and by the bridge, reached the town of *Guarengefort*. Stigand, the Metropolitan Archbishop, coming to this very place, delivered himself into his hands..... Thence pro-

[1] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, lib. iii. § 247. Engl. Hist. Soc. ed. 1840, vol. ii. p. 421. Appendix A, § 77.

[2] Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*. Rolls Series, 1879, p. 204. Appendix A, § 78. The very peaceful entry into London, and the welcome given by the citizens, as recorded or imagined by William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, seems to be the view popularly followed by later chroniclers: e. g. Wyke's Chronicle (*Annales Monastici*, Rolls Series. iv. p. 7) has '*assecuto tam felici triumpho, dux cum suis pompatice procedens*, primo civitatem Wyntoniae, deinde civitatem Londoniae brevissimo labore, nullo sibi resistente, *pessundedit*.'

ceeding forward, immediately that London was in sight, there came out to meet him the chief persons of the city, and they delivered up themselves and all the city to be obedient to him, just as the people of Canterbury had already done[1].'

It is later on, and after William's coronation, that he makes Eadwine and Morkere submit; thus:—

'Having departed out of London he spent some days in a neighbouring place, *Bercingis*.... There came to offer obedience to him there Edwine and Morcard; the chief of almost all the English in rank and power, the renowned sons of that Algard; and they seek his pardon[2].'

It will be observed that the more complete continuation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle brings William at once from Sussex to Beorhamstede. There a treaty is made and he proceeds to Westminster to be crowned. The less complete, takes him from Sussex to Westminster without narrating any intervening circumstance except what is contained under the words 'subdued the land[3].' Florence of Worcester, enlarging upon the first of the two, incorporates his inferences into the history. He infers that William would have passed through part of Sussex, Kent, Hampshire, Surrey, Middlesex and Hertfordshire, and therefore he adds that he ravaged those counties. By his introducing Hertfordshire, he may perhaps be said to imply that he understood the 'Beorhamstede' of the Chronicle to mean Berkhamstead, though he writes the name *Beorcham*. All this, however, is ignored by William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, who make Duke William enter London at once, and that peacefully; while it may be said to be contradicted by William of Poitiers. None of the three seem to have heard of Berkhamstead, but the last has either heard or has invented the story that Duke William attempted to enter

[1] William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi Ducis*. Printed in Duchesne's *Historia Normannorum Scriptores*, Paris, 1619, p. 205. We are dependent wholly upon the printed copy. There was only one MS., but as to whether it was the writer's autograph or an imperfect transcript there is difference of opinion. Originally in the Cottonian Library, it was lent to Duchesne to print from. It appears he never returned it, and, if in existence at all, it is probably in some foreign library. It seems William of Poitiers was born at Preaux 1020; he became Chaplain to King William, and finally Archdeacon of Lisieux. Appendix A, § 79. William of Jumièges (who is said to have died 1090, though his history is continued to 1137) has a passage similar in some respects, and probably based upon it, if both are not based on some common original, and the divergences due to the inventive powers of the two historians. Appendix A, § 80.

[2] William of Poitiers, *Ibid.* p. 208. Appendix A, § 81. At the same place and apparently at the same time he recounts that many other nobles made peace.

[3] And yet this being the Chronicle supposed to have been compiled at Peterborough, it was to have been expected that if he went to Berkhamstead, the circumstance would have found some record in it.

London, that the Londoners met him, and that he drove them back; and that he afterwards crossed the Thames partly by bridge and partly by ford to a place on the other side, to which the chronicler has given the name of Garengford. After the coronation he makes the king go to Barking[1], which is unknown to all the others, and which has a dangerous likeness to Berkhamstead, or at least to 'Beorcham.'

The variations, however, which make the stories still more inconsistent are the names of the chief Englishmen who met Duke William at the respective places. In the continuation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle we read of the Archbishop of York, Eadgar Ætheling (the chosen king), Earls Eadwine and Morkere, and all the best men of London, meeting William. Florence of Worcester recites these names and adds (either because he thought they ought to be there, or else because his copy of the Chronicle contained the names), Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, and Walter, Bishop of Hereford, being Bishops from his own part of the country. He alters 'all the best men of London' into 'several nobles from London.' William of Malmesbury makes, besides the Archbishop of York, also the Archbishop of Canterbury come out and meet him; while as to Eadwine and Morkere, he says that they had previously departed for Northumbria. William of Poitiers makes no Archbishop of York meet him; but when he had gained the Mercian side of the Thames, he makes only Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury come to the place of meeting: he makes the chief persons come out to welcome William when he is close to London; while some time after the coronation he makes Eadwin and Morkere submit at Barking.

It is useless to search for facts amongst later writers. Orderic Vital, who was writing this part of his history about the year 1124–1126, does not help us. He quotes by name Florence of Worcester[2], but for the march of Duke William after the battle, he follows only William of Poitiers, whom he evidently looks upon as the chief authority[3]. He

[1] The reference to Barking would have had a greater appearance of probability had it been named in connection with William's fleet, which could scarcely have remained all this while at Pevensey. One would have expected it would have come up the Thames before his coronation rather than after; since a fleet on the river would have been of great assistance towards his taking London. After his coronation, however, he might have visited Barking, if his fleet had been harboured in the 'creek' near this place.

[2] He calls him John of Worcester (bk. iii. cap. 21). And this arises probably from the fact that one of the continuators of Florence's work was named John. The MS. in C.C.C. Library, Oxford, has the name John as one of the writers, and as it was written at Worcester, it is probably the copy Orderic Vital saw.

[3] Orderic Vital, bk. iii. cap. 21 (15), for the meeting at Wallingford; bk. iv,

also refers to the poem by Guy of Amiens, which he had seen[1]. On the whole, however, for the events of the close of 1066, he seems to have had no other material than what we possess ourselves.

This material, as has been seen, is far from satisfactory, and though by leaving out here and there the discrepancies, the residue may be worked up into a consecutive and consistent series of events, such a process amounts to making history, not writing it. Amidst a mass of contradictory evidence it is impossible to arrive at any sure conclusion. We have no means of cross-examining the witnesses, and if we had, we should probably be surprised to find upon what slight evidence they based their assertions. William of Poitiers, where he can be tested, seems to possess little idea of strict chronological sequence of events. That the Conqueror should, after the battle, march for London, is but natural, but whether he was welcomed or not is a question which seems to be made a matter of political opinion rather than a matter of fact. William of Poitiers implies that he was met, at first, with hostility, and that this obliged him to go up the Thames to a ford[2], in order to cross over, and that Stigand met him there. It must be remembered that it is on this fact, and this alone, that all the evidence for William's march to Wallingford is based. It is, however, highly improbable that Stigand should journey all the way to Wallingford to meet the Conqueror; while it is certain that the place being on the Wessex side, William could not have crossed over to the place of meeting. Yet the circumstance of the meeting is less likely to be a fabrication than that the name of the place where they met is an error.

It is, however, comparatively easy to piece together such details as will fit out of the various stories; and more easy still to discover reasons for the results which such mosaic work produces. It is easy, for instance, to make Wallingford, Berkhamstead, Westminster, and Barking the scenes of successive stages in the acknowledgment of William as King of England: at the first the Archbishop of Canter-

cap. 1, for the meeting at Barking. Duchesne's *Historia Normannorum Scriptores*, p. 506.

[1] It has not been thought necessary to quote the poem attributed to Guy of Amiens, *De Bello Hastingensi Carmen*. Though he was attached to the court, as Orderic Vital mentions, bk. iv. cap. 5 (4), he does not in his poem, as regards the events treated of, throw any new light upon them. It will be found printed, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 856.

[2] It is quite possible that in writing of the Conqueror fording the Thames, William of Poitiers added the only name of a ford with which he was acquainted. It may be remembered that it was Wallingford which King Alfred introduced into his edition of Orosius when he referred to Julius Caesar crossing the Thames, simply because this ford was known to him (see *ante*, p. 72, note 1).

bury; at the second the Archbishop of York and certain nobles; at the coronation, the people of London; and lastly at Barking, the Northern Earls, Eadwine and Morkere.

It is also easy to imagine that William, anticipating opposition from Eadwine and Morkere, should, without waiting to subdue London, have marched into Mercian territory to meet them before they could gather their forces together, and from considerations of a military nature he might be thought not to have crossed the Thames until he reached Wallingford; here he would find the Icknield way, which, running beneath the Western slopes of the Chiltern Hills, owed its creation to the Britons, but had been trodden by Roman, Saxon, and Danish invaders alike. Instead, however, of continuing along this ancient track till he reached Dunstable, where it joined the Wætling Street, by which he would have a direct road into London, he might have turned off by Tring, and passing through the opening which occurs here in the line of the Chiltern Hills, and following the course now followed both by a canal and railway, as well as by an important road, he might have passed Berkhamstead on his way[1]; here, on account of the importance of the situation, a mediæval castle was afterwards erected, here he might have halted, and here ambassadors might have been sent to meet him. Still so much of this rests on supposition, or at most on the chance mention of the two names, that it cannot be reasonably regarded as real history. The method by which the results are obtained bears too near a resemblance to that by which some of the myths referred to in the second chapter of this treatise have obtained a definite shape, so as to be looked upon as facts, or by which the

[1] The name of *Beorh-hamstede*, it will be remembered, occurs but in a single MS., and therefore we have no corroborative evidence that it is rightly given or correctly written. The Chronicle too which contains it is that which is supposed to have been compiled at Worcester; that which was compiled at Peterborough knows nothing of it. It may perhaps be only a coincidence, but there is a story told in one of the St. Alban's Chronicles, viz. that of Thomas Walsingham (*Gesta Abbatum*, Rolls Series, vol. i. p. 47), in which King William and the Archbishop of Canterbury on a certain occasion, are present at Berkhamstead, and the King '*pro bono pacis*,' swears upon the relics of St. Alban to obey the laws which King Eadward had appointed. But then Lanfranc is given as the name of the Archbishop, and he did not become so till 1070: still the consideration suggests itself, whether the compiler of Chronicle D, having a note of this, may not have put Berkhamstead as the place of meeting in 1066. On the other hand, there may have been another name in some Chronicle for Florence of Worcester to have copied it Beorcham; at least it does not look as if he used the Worcester Chronicle D, which we now possess. Possibly the compiler of the Chronicle meant it for Berkhamstead in Hertfordshire, though that is spelt Bercha'sted and Bercheh'asted in the two or three entries in the Domesday Survey. The Berkamystede and Berhamstede of the Charters (K.C.D. 39, 1005) are Berstead, near Maidstone in Kent, while Beorganstede (K.C.D. 18, 663) can only be Bersted, near Chichester in Sussex.

legends described in the fifth chapter have come to be accepted as historical narratives. The whole evidence which a witness brings forward must be weighed, not that part only which can be reconciled with that of other witnesses; in this respect it is considered that the evidence for the march round by Wallingford and Berkhamstead fails, and therefore that there are not sufficient grounds for accepting the theory that Duke William, previous to his coronation, marched through the Oxford district; and consequently there is no reason to suppose that at this time Oxford was besieged by him, or in any special manner surrendered to him[1].

In considering the next occasion suggested for the siege of Oxford, and the evidence which we have of the same, there is one important fact to be remembered, on which all historians agree, and which, in a way is connected with Oxford, namely, that Eadwine and Morkere yielded without striking a blow. Harold, at the Gemot of Oxford in 1065, had surrendered to these two earls the whole of the north and centre of England; he had supported them in the condemnation of his own brother as an outlaw, who as Earl of Northumbria would have prevented their supremacy over the north; he had trusted them then as patriots; afterwards he had helped them in their distress when Tostig and the Norwegian invader had appeared within the estuaries and rivers of Mercia and Northumbria; and now these showed themselves once again traitors. This is clear from the results, and results are surer guides than the imaginary motives suggested by historians. However well intentioned Harold may have been, however much he may have been led by popular clamour, or instigated by those who were to gain by it, the mistake was not the less fatal. At the first, as already pointed out, it much accelerated William's progress on his landing, if indeed it may not be said to have been the cause of his being able to effect a landing at all; and now, later on, the two earls seem to have looked on either as cowards or as traitors, while Duke William was on his way to be crowned King of England at Westminster Abbey. If he marched thither direct from Sussex it was bad enough; if there is truth in the Berkhampstead story it was worse. One Chronicler[2] represents their fleeing to the north with the hopes of being able to save a part of

[1] Prof. Freeman writes, *Norman Conquest*, vol. iv. (1871) p. 778: 'The date of the submission of Oxford to William is very doubtful. One would have been inclined to place it in 1066, when William was so near as Wallingford, and the influence of Wigod and his position as sheriff of the shire would also make an early date likely.'

[2] William of Malmesbury. See *ante*, p. 188.

their more northern shires from Duke William's invasion, recking little what became of the rest of their country. This is, however, hardly consistent with what we next hear of them, for their names appear amidst the court retinue visiting Normandy, mixing with the nobles, and in all probability receiving honours and welcome from the Conqueror's countrymen; although they may have been prisoners in the eyes of the shrewd King William, their choice must have had something to do with their accompanying his train in the manner they did. The circumstance of their submission without striking a blow, and their acceptance of the honours and hospitality offered them, are quite consistent with one another, and afford still further evidences, if such were at all needed, that the policy of entrusting the whole of the northern and middle portion of the kingdom to the sons of Ælfgar, which was adopted at the Oxford Gemot of 1065, was the one great mistake which, more than any other, led to the country being subjected to the Norman rule.

Taking the above circumstance into account—namely, that the Earl of Mercia yielded himself to William in such a way as to suggest that he hoped to be allowed to retain his honours and estate—there would be no reason whatever for a siege of Oxford to take place at all. In fact, so far as any argument may be adduced from the silence of the Chronicles, it would appear that this part of the kingdom was absolutely paralysed. After William was crowned, and when the work began of subduing those parts of the country which rose in rebellion, we have no record whatever that Oxfordshire was amongst those which withstood him. Indeed, it may be said that all the details which we gather from the various historians who record in one way or another William's campaign, rather point to the submission of Oxfordshire and Berkshire from the very first, at the same time as the other southern counties of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Hampshire. Whether this arose from Oxfordshire having been exhausted of its fighting men, like the others; or whether from being joined to the kingdom of Wessex, as has already been pointed out as possible, it yielded with the rest of that kingdom when Harold was conquered; or whether, as suggested from one consideration, it was under the rule of Earl Gyrth, who had just been slain in the great battle, fighting by the side of Harold; or lastly, whether, still being in the Mercian kingdom (and this from some circumstances seems perhaps to be the most probable), it came beneath the influence of Eadwine and Morkere—it may certainly be said to have given no sign worthy of any mention of having offered resistance to Duke William before his coronation, or to King William afterwards.

The siege of Oxford, however, finds a place not only in all the histories of Oxford[1], but, even in historical works of such pretensions as Thierry's *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre*, Lappenberg's History, and in many other histories of England[2].

In most cases it is implied that the siege took place at the end of 1067 or early in 1068. On William's return from Normandy[3] it is clear he had at once to hasten to Devonshire and Cornwall to quell the rebellion which had broken out there, but there is no conceivable reason for supposing that he took Oxford on his way. Soon after, and while he was spending the Easter of 1068 at Winchester, he heard that the North was in rebellion. He marched to York. We have several details preserved of the campaign, and the total silence of all the chronicles as to the siege of Oxford renders it highly improbable that such took place.

On the other hand, the origin of the general acceptance of the statement that Oxford was besieged is not far to seek. It is simply an error, caused by a single transcriber, of *Oxonia* for Exonia, which has been multiplied by successive transcribers; and since it is so important

[1] Antony Wood, whom most of the other historians of Oxford have copied, concludes his paragraph on this year by, 'All that I shall add shall be this quære, whether William the Conqueror who is said by several (not ancient) authors (particularly Rich. Grafton) to be so much offended with the Scholars of Oxford that he withdrew their maintenance from them for a time, may not arise from their opposition to him when he besieged it?' Annals, ed. 1792, vol. i. p. 127.

[2] Thierry, in his *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands* (3rd ed., Paris, 1830, vol. ii. p. 65), has the following expansion of the reference to the siege, 'La nouvelle de l'alliance formée entre les Saxons, et le Roi d'Ecosse et des rassemblements hostiles qui se faisaient au nord de l'Angleterre détermina Guillaume à ne pas attendre une attaque, et à prendre vivement l'offensive. Son premier fait d'armes, dans cette nouvelle expédition, fut le siège de la ville d'Oxford.' He then applies the notes which William of Malmesbury has given of the siege of Exeter to the siege of Oxford, and adds, 'Sur sept cent maisons près de quatre cents furent détruites.' He then adds (and the combination affords a good illustration of how, it is much to be feared, many of the older chroniclers on whom we rely so much, compiled their histories), 'Les religieux du Couvent de Sainte Frideswide, suivant l'exemple des moines de Hida et de Winchecombe, prirent les armes pour défendre leur monastère et en furent tous expulsés après la victoire des Normands.' The authority he gives for this is a line in the Chartulary of S. Frideswide's, quoted in Dugdale, '*spoliati bonis suis et sedibus appulsi sunt*,' but separated absolutely from its context, as will be seen. See *ante*, p. 166, and Appendix A, § 61. It will be observed, however, that the event is definitely stated to have happened *before* the Norman Conquest, and further that the monks, instead of being driven out, were introduced in the place of the seculars. Lappenberg, in his *History of England*, ed. 1837, vol. ii. p. 82 (Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten, vol. xiii.), keeps Oxford in his text, though he gives in his note reasons for believing that it is written in error for Exeter.

[3] King William's visit to his dominions in Normandy may be said to have extended from March to December, 1067.

an event, if it did happen, in the history of Oxford, it is thought well to examine closely the authorities in regard to this part of the story.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle D, which provides the basis on which the later historians build up their narrative, runs as follows:—

> '1067. In this year the king came again to England on S. Nicholas' mass-day (Dec. 6th) . . . And in this year the king set a heavy tax on the poor people; and nevertheless caused to be harried all that they passed over. And then he went to Defenascire, and besieged the town of Execeaster for eighteen days, and there many of his own army perished, and he promised them well, and ill-performed . . . At this Easter (March 23rd) the king came to Winchester, . . . and Archbishop Ealdred hallowed [Matilda] queen at Westminster on Whitsunday (May 11th). It was then announced to the king that the people in the north had gathered themselves together and would stand against him if he came. He then went to Nottingham, and there wrought a castle; and so went to York, and there wrought two castles, and in Lincoln and everywhere in that part[1].'

Florence of Worcester, writing before 1118, summarized this, but distinctly says:—

> 'Then having gone with a hostile force into Devonshire (*in Domnoniam*), he besieged and quickly reduced Exeter (*Execestram*), which the citizens and some English Thanes held against him[2].'

He is followed *verbatim* by Simeon of Durham and Roger of Hoveden. But William of Malmesbury makes his own paraphrase, heading the chapter, 'Summary of the Battles of William of England':—

> 'Of all the battles[3] then which he waged this is the summary. He early subdued the city of Exeter (*urbem Exoniam*), which was in rebellion, being supported by Divine aid, because, the outer portion of the wall falling down, it gave an opening for him, and he attacked it all the more fiercely as he declared that men so irreverent would be deprived of God's favour. . . . . He almost devastated York, the only refuge left for the rebels, destroying its citizens by famine and by the sword[4].'

He affords no evidence of having any information of any kind other than that contained in the Chronicle, and it may be assumed he has gratuitously inserted an anecdote in reference to the impudence of the defenders, by way of giving point to his remark. Next he describes

[1] Anglo-Saxon Chronicle D, *sub anno*. Chronicle E is so meagre for this year (only a few lines) that it omits all about Exeter and the journey to York. Appendix A, § 82.

[2] Florence of Worcester *Chronicon: sub anno*. Eng. Hist. Soc. ed. 1849, vol. ii. p. 1. Appendix A, § 83.

[3] Perhaps 'military expeditions' would be the better translation of *bella* here.

[4] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*. Eng. Hist. Soc. 1840, vol. ii. p. 421. Appendix A, § 84.

the siege of York, which took place the following year. It must be here remarked that *all* the known MSS. of William of Malmesbury have *Exoniam* distinctly; yet when Savile printed his edition of William of Malmesbury, he altered it to *Oxoniam*, and hence, only, it has been supposed that there was MS. authority for the reading[1].

Passing over Henry of Huntingdon, who does not mention any siege at all till that of York, we come to Orderic Vital, who gives a much fuller account of the siege of Exeter, and, writing circumstantially, as if he had it from some good source[2], he notes that Exeter was the first to contend for freedom; and, from the context, there cannot be a shadow of foundation for supposing that there is here in the MS. any error for Oxford. His narrative of William's movements is tolerably full, as he makes him then march into Cornwall, and back to Winchester in time for Easter; then follows the account of Eadwine and Morkere's rebellion in the north, and though several places are mentioned, there is an absolute silence as to Oxford. Incidentally, however, it is noted that William gave Warwick to Henry, son of Roger de Beaumont (who was afterwards created Earl of Warwick), and that he built at some time or other the castle there; and that is the nearest place to Oxford mentioned.

We now come to the most important MS. in the course of the

[1] *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam* (Preface signed 'Henricus Savile') Francofurti, 1601, folio 102. 'Urbem Oxoniam rebellantem leviter subegit.' There can, however, be no conceivable reason for assuming that Savile used a MS. which no one else had ever seen. It is true he does not say what MS. he used, but as there is no other important various reading, one must assume he used one of the five or six known MSS., all of which have distinctly *Exoniam*, and altered it on his own responsibility to make it coincide with certain MSS. of Matthew Paris. Besides, it is very clear, from what precedes and what follows, that William of Malmesbury is paraphrasing the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle D, viz. 'he went to Defenascire and besieged the town of Exeter.' And, further, it must be remembered that Savile is the reputed author of the forged passage which Camden made use of in order to enhance the antiquity and historical importance of Oxford. See *ante*, p. 43; also the note, respecting his supposed interpolation of the passage about Oxford in Ingulph's description of Crowland. However, from the fact that no MS. earlier than the close of the sixteenth century is in existence, this gratuitous interpolation cannot be brought home to him.

[2] Orderic Vital, book iv. cap. 4; Duchesne, *Hist. Norm. Script.* p. 510. Orderic Vital was born at Atcham, near to Shrewsbury, in 1075. At five years of age he went to Shrewsbury to school. At ten years old he went over to the monastery of St. Evroult, in Normandy, where he lived the greater part of his life. He certainly on one occasion, and probably on more than one during his sojourn there, visited England. In 1115 he tells us he spent some days at Crowland, in Lincolnshire; but most likely it was on another occasion that he went to Worcester and the neighbourhood of his birth. His father died in 1110. All this shows that he might well have conversed with those who had been present as young men at the siege of Exeter in 1067, and hence his story may be relied upon.

evidence bearing on the subject of Oxford being besieged. This is Roger of Wendover's chronicle. The passage as it appears in the only MS. existing is as follows:—

'*How King William besieged Exeter and took it.*

'At this time King William laid siege to the city of Exeter, which was in rebellion against him. . . . . Wherefore William being roused to anger, with very little effort subdued the City. Thence marching to York he almost destroyed the city[1].'

He is evidently summarizing William of Malmesbury: this is shown not only by his introducing the same anecdote which that writer had done, but also by the general context.

All then, up to this point, is quite clear, and all the chronicles follow on one after the other, naming the two places Exeter and York, and those two only.

Roger of Wendover's chronicle formed the basis of what is known as Matthew Paris' *Chronica Majora*, and there is preserved in the Library of Corpus College, Cambridge[2], a transcript of Roger of Wendover's chronicle with additions throughout the early part down to 1235, and a continuation afterwards. The additions and the continuation, there is every reason to think, are in Matthew Paris' own handwriting. But the transcriber, in copying Roger of Wendover, had written *Oxonia* instead of Exonia, all the rest being accurately followed. The error was not detected, and it was copied off, with Matthew Paris' corrections, into the fine MS. preserved in the Cottonian Library and the less important in the Harleian Collection[3]. And since the more complete copy by Matthew Paris of the St. Alban's Chronicle became the basis of successive chronicles, the correct reading in Roger of Wendover's original copy was entirely overlooked, and the erroneous reading, which passed under Matthew Paris' authority, found its way into all the later chronicles which treat of this period[4].

[1] Roger of Wendover, *Chronica, sive Flores Historiarum*, Eng. Hist. Soc., 1841, vol. ii. p. 4. The MS. of this chronicle is preserved in the Bodleian Library (Douce, MS. CCVII), and is a fine vellum copy, written in the thirteenth century. After the year 1235 occur the words, *Huc usque scripsit cronica dominus Rogerus de Wendover*. This does not prove it to be the original autograph, but if it is not it is certainly a very early transcript. The other MS., which was in the Cottonian Collection (Otho, B.V.), was burnt, and only fragments remain. Roger of Wendover is found to have died 1236. Appendix, § 85.

[2] The MS. is known as C. C. C. C. 26. The continuation of the same as C. C. C. C. 16. Matt. Paris, *Chronica Majora*, Rolls Series, ed. 1872, vol. i. p. 465.

[3] The Cottonian MS. is marked Nero, D.V.; the Harleian MS. is numbered 1620. It is noted however by Sir Frederick Madden (Matt. Paris, *Historia Minor*, Rolls Series, 1866, vol. i. p. 10) that in the Cottonian MS. *Exoniam* is retained in the rubric although *Oxoniam* has been followed in the text.

[4] Matthew Paris, when compiling his *Historia Anglorum* (which, because it is

Having disposed of the only vestiges of evidence of any recorded siege, it remains to say a word or two as to an unrecorded siege. It is of course impossible to prove that such did not occur. But a consideration of the circumstances renders it, *a priori*, highly improbable that Oxford was besieged by William at all. The coronation of William at Westminster, although it virtually made him king over all England, may not certainly have rendered him actually so. There were the outlying districts, no doubt, which were in a state of rebellion, and Devonshire and Cornwall seem to have found leaders to refuse submission to the new king; while Eadwine and Morkere, playing, as they did, fast and loose with William, at one moment his guest in his Normandy progress, and the next in open rebellion against him, seem to have gathered together a force of some kind in Northumbria early in 1068. But the Midland counties had no rulers; as already said, Gyrth was slain, and Leofwine also, who might have done some service in Kent and Essex. There was no one to lead a rebellion, and for a solitary city to stand out would have been useless with the prestige which William had gained by his energy and decision.

It has already been pointed out that no reason can be assigned for his besieging Oxford on his way during his first campaign in Devonshire, when Exeter was besieged, nor in that of the north, which followed sometime after; it may be added, that there is no reason which can be adduced why, in his second campaign into Yorkshire, in 1070, he should stop to besiege a city like Oxford; nor indeed in any of the campaigns previous to 1071, when we find Robert D'Oilgi in quiet possession of the city.

The erroneous reading of Oxford, however, has permeated, as has been said, nearly all histories, and it is necessary here to refer to a remarkable instance in which this erroneous reading is made to support a theory, while the theory is supposed to prove the integrity of the reading.

In the edition of the Domesday Survey, printed by order of the English Government in 1816, the preface by Sir Henry Ellis has the following

an abridgment of the *Chronica Majora* which he had edited, is called for convenience *Historia Minor*), follows the reading of *Oxonia*, not having detected the error of the scribe. *Historia Anglorum*, Rolls Series, 1866, p. 10. Amongst the later editions, so to speak, of the St. Alban's Chronicle, that which was completed at Westminster, and which, because it incorporated Matthew Paris' Chronicle, seems to have been attributed to an imaginary Matthew of Westminster, has been very extensively used by the historians of the fifteenth century; and as that had the erroneous reading, it may be said literally to have found its way into every English history which refers to the siege of a town at this time.

argument on the question of a large number of houses being returned *vastae et destructae*:—

> 'The extraordinary number of houses specified as desolated at Oxford requires explanation. If the passage is correct, Matthew Paris probably gives us the cause of it under the year 1067, when William the Conqueror subdued Oxford *on his way* to York [1].'

It may be asked reasonably, if this is not so, how is so unusual a number of houses wasted and destroyed to be accounted for? In the first place it must be taken into account that the term *vastae* does not necessarily mean destroyed, but simply empty, i.e. untenanted, and therefore not liable to pay tax; and houses in this state may have made up a large proportion of the total number, 478. Many, too, from being uninhabited, would be out of repair also. The word *destructae*, however, is also added by the compiler of the Survey, and therefore we ought to look for some definite act of violence. We have not to look far for this amongst recorded events. The rebel army, headed by Eadwine and Morkere, marching southwards and obliging the Gemot to be transferred from Northampton to Oxford on October 28th, 1065, as already described [2], would account for a destruction such as this. The few words of the Chronicle give an insight into the nature of this so-called army, in reality a rebel mob. They had slain all the household men of Earl Tostig—that is, all men in authority and probably all who had property—and had taken all his weapons which were at York, besides all the treasure they could lay their hands on. They had gathered as they went southward men of Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Lincolnshire, till they came to Northampton. Here Eadwine met them with his men, and many Welshmen, we read, came with him. It will be remembered also that the Chronicle of this year adds that 'the *Rythrenan*,' or the 'northern men,' 'did great harm about Northampton, while Harold went on their errand,

[1] General Introduction to the Domesday Survey, by Sir Henry Ellis: London, 1816, folio, p. lxii.; 8vo, 1833, i. p. 194. The suggestion that Matthew Paris implies that it was on the way to York [in 1068] is distinctly erroneous, as has already been pointed out. Exeter and York are described in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and by the many historians who follow it, including William of Malmesbury, as two places besieged distinctly at different times, the one before Easter, the other after Whitsuntide. As Matthew Paris' Chronicle is really only a transcript of that of Roger of Wendover, which follows William of Malmesbury and has Exeter, it is unreasonable to imply that he omitted all reference to the first campaign, and inserted an account of a siege in the second, which no chronicler had previously ever heard of. Thierry, as already shown, evidently follows the same lines—misled probably by Sir Henry Ellis. In fact when once an error of the kind has been made, all historians seem to follow it.

[2] See *ante*, p. 181.

inasmuch as they slew men, and burned houses and corn, and took all the cattle[1].' When to this is added, from the contemporary life of Edward the Confessor, already noticed, that the mob came past the middle of England as far as Oxford[2], which agrees with the circumstance mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle of the Gemot being finally held at Oxford, there are ample means of accounting for the devastation which took place there. The circumstance, too, of a large number of houses being destroyed does not point so much to the results of a siege in the case of Oxford, where the castle stood at one extremity of the town, as it would in the case of a town where the castle stood in the midst, and where the houses had grown up round it. The earthwork of King Ethelred, which was, perhaps, sufficient to withstand the irregular forces of the Danes, would not have availed long against the well-drilled army and the well-armed archers of the Duke of Normandy; and when it was taken, though the soldiers might, out of wanton mischief, have burned some few houses, it would not have been at all in accordance with Duke William's policy to have allowed them to destroy the town, and therefore it is unreasonable to assume that it was done; especially, too, as this reason is not given in the Domesday Survey, which it probably would have been, judging from other similar incidental notes, had the siege been the cause of the destruction of houses. But the rebel mob of the North, joined as they were by Welshmen, and having cast off all restraint and discipline[3], would, on arriving at a town, be readily prompted to any wanton mischief or atrocity, and be quite capable of destroying two-thirds of the buildings; and though it had happened more than twenty years before the Survey, still, remembering the unsettled state of the kingdom, it is no wonder that the men of Oxford had not repaired the losses. Those who were driven out from their homes could not well have returned while Eadwine was still lord over the shire[4], for many who had houses in Oxford were

[1] Anglo-Saxon Chronicles D, E, *sub anno* 1065. See *ante*, p. 183.

[2] The words describing their course are as follow: 'Nam conglomerati in infinitum numerum more turbinis seu tempestatis hostili expeditione perveniunt ad *Axoneuorde* oppidum, satis scilicet pervagati ultra mediæ Angliæ terminum.' *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, Rolls Series, 1858, p. 422.

[3] 'Ejecto autem eo, ad vomitum reversi sunt veteris malitiæ, *amissoque freno disciplinæ*, furorem adoriuntur majoris insaniæ.' Ibid. p. 422.

[4] In the last chapter it was implied that there was much difficulty in assigning the various counties to the various earldoms. In 1051 it may be taken as certain that both Oxfordshire and Berkshire were included within the earldom of Swegen. (See Florence of Worcester, *sub anno*.) Whether or not for any reason Gyrth or Leofwine had their territories extended, and either of them took in Oxfordshire,

those who possessed land in the immediate neighbourhood; for the houses were not possessed only by the citizens who had no other homes. During the years 1067 to 1071 everything relating to the security of this part of England was uncertain. Then Robert D'Oilgi was made governor of the town, and those who had left, even supposing they might have returned to their lands under new lords, might have not cared to return to their Oxford houses even if they had the money to restore them, which is not at all probable. On the question, however, of the waste mansions more will have to be said in the next chapter under the account of the Domesday Survey of Oxford.

The next great event is the new fortification of Oxford: of this we do not find any notice in the historians on which chief reliance has been hitherto placed. The series of Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, as has been pointed out, are now reduced practically to the single record supposed to have been compiled originally at Peterborough, but whether continued there after the Conquest is not ascertainable. Other chronicles however, preserved and continued in different abbeys, in a measure take their place, and, while giving a general summary of events culled from the writings of whatever historian the chronicler happened to possess, record here and there local events, either derived from actual knowledge or deduced from charters or entries in registers found in the archives of the abbey. Such, as regards Oxford, are the Chronicles of Oseney and the Chronicle of Abingdon. Unfortunately, no chronicle seems ever to have been kept at S. Frideswide's, or the material for the history of Oxford might have been less scarce than it is, nor yet at Ensham, the charters of which abbey, so far as they are preserved, throw hardly any light upon this period.

It is to the first of these that we owe the mention of the building of the Castle. The entry is very brief, as follows:—

> 'MLXXI. The same year was built (*aedificatum est*) the Castle of Oxford, by Robert d'Oili the First [1].'

may be doubtful. It seems certain, however, that the Northumbrian mob with Eadwine at their head overran Oxfordshire in 1065, and annexed it practically to the one great northern kingdom, Harold being driven below Thames, i. e. into the old Wessex. The Northumbrian earls seem to have overrun Mercia just as the Wessex king had overrun Mercia more than three hundred years previously (*ante*, p. 108).

[1] *Annales Monasterii de Oseneia.* Printed in *Annales Monastici*, Rolls Series, 1869, vol. iv. p. 9. The MS. is in the Cottonian Collection, and marked Tiberius A. 9. It is written in the same handwriting down to the year 1233, and then continued by different hands; but although this is the date of the MS., there is no doubt but that, generally speaking, the events have been recorded at an earlier date. In a MS. in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, the building of the castle is put under the year 1072. 'Robertus de Oili struxit castellum Oxonii,' Dugdale,

The abbey in which these annals were kept was not founded till 1129, but then the founder was Robert D'Oilgi, the nephew of the great Robert D'Oilgi, mentioned in the extract. It is natural, therefore, that the deeds of the uncle should be recorded in the annals of the abbey; besides which, the documents which came into their possession are found incidentally to have recited the building of the Castle.

But the question which suggests itself here is the force of the word 'built.' It does not necessarily exclude the fact of a castle existing here before, because we know that there must have been such; nor, on the other hand, does it necessarily imply that he erected a castle such as is usually conceived by the word, namely, a keep[1] with stone walls and stone towers surrounding it: but there is a middle course between the two which may reasonably be taken. We were not indebted to him wholly for the Castle, nor did he make what he found into such a castle, as we can picture, from the details and descriptions which have come down to us, to have existed in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. The great mound was certainly there already; this is not of the character of the work of the Normans at this period; but no doubt he deepened the ditches, and perhaps on the west slightly extended the enceinte, and added, possibly, new palisades, if not walls. But the main work, which struck so much the annalist, and prompted him to use the word 'built,' was the great *tower*, and that *built of stone*, which is now existing, and which, situated upon the line of enceinte, guarded the western approach to the Castle. The means of attack had improved during the past hundred and fifty years, and a lofty tower had great advantages over the mound as a means of defence: it was less easily assailed, the defenders could more safely reach the summit, and when there they had a much better position against the assailants below than from the sloping

Mon. vol. vi. p. 251; and this agrees with a passage which occurs in the Oseney Cartulary, from which, no doubt, it was derived.

[1] It has been thought that Robert D'Oilgi might have erected something of the nature of a stone keep on the top of the mound. If so, however, all traces of it, even down to the foundation, would have been removed in Henry the Third's reign, when the well-room was constructed at the top of the mound. There were a few traces existing some years ago of what appeared to have been the foundation of a tolerably large building, some fifty-eight feet in diameter, and in the form of a decagon surrounding the hexagonal plan of the well-room, and probably of the same date; they are laid down on the plan given in King's *Vestiges of Oxford Castle*, London, 1796. The probabilities are that the builders of Robert D'Oilgi's castle would not have ventured to erect one of the great solid structures common in the eleventh and twelfth centuries on the top of an artificial mound of earth; they would have known that the foundations must soon have given way.

sides of a mound. It is impossible to conceive that the two were the work of the same age, or part of the same system of fortification; and if so, there is no doubt the mound was the earlier. But just as there are grounds, which have already been given[1], for believing that this mound was of the early part of the tenth century, from its similarity to those of Warwick, Tamworth, &c., which were part of one system of fortification then adopted, so the masonry and such architectural details as exist in the present tower leave little or no doubt but that what we still see is the work of Robert D'Oilgi, referred to in the Oseney Annals as having been completed in 1071.

The building of the Castle was necessitated now, not by fear of foreign invasions, nor, indeed, of the attacks of one kingdom or earldom by another, but by the danger of revolt. King William knew full well that there was still an English spirit slumbering, and that any day circumstances might arise or leaders be found by which it might be awakened and cause him much trouble and expense to suppress it. Numerous instances of the disturbed state of the country may be found; and William, besides requiring safe retreats for his garrisons, required also prisons for those who were suspected of treason[2]. His plan seems to have been to erect castles, and confide them to friends or followers whom he could trust. Referring to what was done in this district the Abingdon Chronicler writes:—

> 'Then castles were built for the preservation of the kingdom, at Wallingford (*Walingaforde*), and at Oxford (*Oxeneforde*), and at Windsor (*Wildesore*), and at other places[3].'

These three were especially selected to guard the passage of the Thames. We have no record of the exact date of the building of Wallingford Castle[4], and it must be remembered that the Abingdon

[1] See *ante*, p. 117.

[2] The Abingdon Chronicler supplies one or two illustrations: e. g. he dilates upon the unfortunate state of England, and first records the capture of Bishop Ægelwin of Durham [Bp. 1056–71], who, having been found in arms, was sent as a prisoner to be kept at Abingdon Abbey: while on the other hand Ealdred, abbot of Abingdon, who was suspected, was sent to be kept as a prisoner in Wallingford Castle [1070–71] till he was handed over to the care of Walchelin, Bishop of Winchester [Bp. 1070–98], (vol. i. p. 486). Also, when Abbot Adelelm first came to the abbey [c. 1071], he never went about unless accompanied by armed men (vol. ii. p. 3).

[3] *Chron. Monast. de Abingdon*, Rolls Series, 1858, vol. ii. p. 3.

[4] It may be safely assumed that the castle built by the Conqueror at Wallingford was situated near the river at the northern extremity of the town, where there exists an artificial mound of the same character as that at Oxford, Warwick, Tamworth, &c.; this mound was probably erected at about the same time, and for the same purpose, as the others, though the erection is not recorded, and the remains are not sufficient to show what William added. In after years the

chronicler is rather summarizing events than recording them, since there is no reason to suppose his Chronicle to be much earlier than the two MS. transcripts we possess of it, namely, of the thirteenth century.

As regards Windsor, too, it is not at all clear when the Conqueror commenced erecting the castle, upon the lofty outlier of chalk which, surmounted as it is by the modernized medieval buildings, forms so conspicuous an object in this part of the Thames valley. Henry of Huntingdon records that the first time the king's court was held on this hill was by Henry I. in 1110, implying that Henry and not William erected the same, and that all events previously chronicled as taking place at Windsor were at Old Windsor in the parish of Clewer[1].

It is singular, perhaps, that neither Orderic Vital, nor yet other historians of the twelfth century make any mention of the erection of a castle at Oxford, though they record the building of castles at several other places; so that were it not for the local information derived

medieval castle which took the place of William's work played an important part at several periods of our history, notably in King Stephen's reign, in King John's reign, and in that of Edward II. It was of considerable extent; Leland, describing it in Henry the Eighth's time, writes: 'The castelle yoinith to the North Gate of the Toune, and hath 3 Dikis, large and deap, and welle waterid. About ech of the 2 first Dikis as apon the crestes of the creastes of the Ground cast out of rennith an embatelid Waulle now fore yn ruine, and for the most part defaced. Al the goodly Building with the Tourres and Dungeon 3 be within the 3 Dike.' Leland's Itinerary, Hearne's ed. vol. ii. p. 13. Camden, writing in Elizabeth's reign, also describes it: 'Its size and magnificence used to strike me with astonishment, when I came thither a lad from Oxford, it being a retreat for the students of Christ Church. It is environed with a double wall and a double ditch, and in the middle on a high artificial hill stands the citadel, in the ascent to which by steps I have seen a well of immense depth.' (Camden's *Britannia*, Gough's ed., 1789, vol. i. p. 148.) The castle again played a part in the history of the civil war in the time of Charles I, and eventually, by an order in Council dated November 18, 1652, it was demolished; some of the ditches, however, are in places to be traced, here and there portions of the old masonry crop up above the soil, and the mound still remains. The grounds are now laid out as a private garden attached to the house belonging to Mr. Hedges of Wallingford, who has written an account of the castle (*The History of Wallingford*, by John Kirby Hedges, J.P. 2 vols. London, 1881). Mr. Hedges (p. 196) thinks the language employed in the Survey respecting the eight *hagae* being destroyed, 'implies that a new castle was built and not in substitution of one existing'; but surely the case is similar to that at Oxford. See p. 203. The castle is mentioned in the Domesday Survey (fol. 56 a), only in consequence of eight out of fourteen *hagae* having been destroyed to make room for its extension. As to the general fortification of the whole town, so Roman-like in the plan, and of which the vallum remains so perfect at the south-western extremity, there are many difficulties in assigning to it a date.

[1] See Proceedings of Oxford Arch. and Historical Society, New Series, Nov. 1881, vol. iv. p. 30. In the Domesday Survey, under Clewer, there is the entry of five hydes, of which four and a half hydes pay tax, the castle being in the remaining half hyde. This of course refers to the old castle. The new one on the hill above Windsor is not mentioned in Domesday at all.

from the Oseney Cronicle and Chartulary, confirmed as it is by the Abingdon Chronicle, we should have been left in ignorance as to the time when Oxford Castle was erected.

It will also be observed that it is not mentioned in Domesday, though the mansions set apart for the repair of the wall are alluded to; the reason, however, of this is probably that here there was little or no encroachment on the town, as was the case with Wallingford, Lincoln, and some other towns where the castle is mentioned in consequence of houses being destroyed; here it would seem that the new castle followed the line of the existing entrenchments; if not those of the time of Edward the Elder, when the castle enceinte was first set out, at least, those more extended, perhaps, of the time of Edward the Confessor. Of course being royal property and kept in the king's hands, the castles would not of themselves be entered in the Survey, since they were not liable to pay any tax to the crown.

It was perhaps due to the piety of Robert D'Oilgi that a chapel with a provision for attendant priests or canons was founded in the Castle some two or three years after he had erected the tower.

In the Oseney Annals, already referred to, we find under the year 1074, the following:—

> 'MLXXIV. The Church of S. George was founded in Oxford Castle (*in Castello Oxenfordensi*) by Robert d'Oili the First and Roger de Ivry[1].'

It should be mentioned here that there are two Chronicles of Oseney, one of which may be said generally to be a copy of the other, though in parts different. The second one was the work of a certain Thomas Wykes, an inmate of the abbey, but as far as this passage is concerned, it is simply an abridgment by Wykes of the original of the Abbey Chronicle.

> 'MLXXIV. The Church of S. George was founded in the Castle of Oxford (*in Castro Oxoniae*)[2].'

But we have, besides the Annals of Oseney, another source of information, namely copies of charters in the Oseney Cartulary.

Since the property was afterwards granted to Oseney, the compiler of the Oseney Cartulary, having the original charters before him, drew up a summary of the facts to be gleaned from them, and prefixed it to the copies of the charters which he transcribed.

[1] *Annales Monastici*, Rolls Series, vol. iv. p. 10.

[2] Printed in *Annales Monastici*, Rolls Series, 1869, vol. iv. p. 10, from the Wykes' Chronicle (Cottonian MS. Titus A. 14.) Wykes probably began compiling his Chronicle about 1270, making use of the copy of the Oseney Annals, which we possess only in part.

Unfortunately this Cartulary, as before explained[1], suffered much in the fire of 1731. We are therefore dependant principally upon transcripts made before the fire. It so happens that of the greater part of the Cartulary, or of one very similar to it, an English version was made some time before the Dissolution, and this has been preserved in the Public Record Office. Judging from the handwriting, this version was made in Henry the Sixth's or Henry the Seventh's reign, and the translation, so far as opportunity has been afforded of comparison, is found to be very close to the original. The general history of the foundation runs as follows:—

Of the Fundation of the Chapell of Seynte George.

It is to be myndyd that Robert Doyly and Roger of Ivory, sworne brethren and iconfederyd or ibownde everich to other by feythe and sacrament come to the conquest of Inglonde with Kyng William bastarde.

This Kyng gafe to the said Robte Iveyrie baronyes of Doylybys and of Saynte Walerye.

In the yere fro the Incarnation of our Lorde A. M.lxxij, was ibelde the castell of Oxonforde in the tyme of Kyng William aforsaide. This Robt. Doylly gafe to his sworn brother Roger aforsaide a baronye the which is nowe icallid of Seynte Walerye.

In the yere off our Lorde A. M.thre score and xiiij [1074] was ifounded the church of Saynte George in the castell of Oxonforde of Robt Doylly the firste, and of Roger of Ivory, in the tyme of Kyng William bastarde, the which sett in the seyde church seculer chanons, and certeyne rentes of the tweyne baronyes afore saide to the seyde chanons asseyned of churchis, londis, tithis, and possessions, and other thyngs.

Then follows the charter of Robert D'Oilgy. It is probably called rightly that of the first Robert, but since he died early in William Rufus's reign the reference to King Henry must be an interpolation from a confirmation charter.

A Charter of Robert Doylly the First of the Fundacion of the Church of Seynte George, igefe to the Seculere Chanons; the which undurfoloweth.

Be hit iknowe to the feythfull men of holy Church both present and to be tht I Robert Doylly, willyng and grauntyng Aldithe my wiffe and my brethren Nigelle and Gilberte, gafe and graunted and with this presente charter confirmed into pure and perpetualle almes to God, and to the church of Seynte George in the castell of Oxonforde; and to the chanons in hit servyng God, and to ther successoures, the church, the which for the helth of Kyng Henry and the welfare of all the reame; Also and for myne helth and of my wiffe, and brethen, fadurs and modurs, and of our frendes, all thyngs, tenements, tithis, and possessions undurwrite; that is to say, the church of Seynte Marye Mawdelyn, the which is isett in the subbarbis of Oxonforde, with thre

[1] See *ante*, p. 9.

hides of londe in Walton, and medys and tithis to the same church perteyning, as hit is conteyned withinne, 'How the Church of Seynte George come, &c.'[1]

Since the name of Roger of Ivry was so closely connected with the gift, it seems necessary, in order to complete the account, that the copy of his grant should be also given. It is much in the same terms as the previous charter, but there are slight variations, and these raise questions as to how far the lands in Walton granted by him are the same as those granted by Robert D'Oilgi, and consequently what was the nature of that curious partnership which seems to have existed between Robert D'Oilgi and Roger of Ivry, which the author of the English version has translated 'sworne brethren iconfederyd and ibownde everich to other' (*fratres jurati, et per fidem, et sacramentum confederati*). It runs as follows:—

A Confirmacion of Roger of Ivorye of ye gifte of ye saide Robert.

Knowe they that be present and to be that I Roger of Ivorye for the helth of our lorde Kynge and of all the reame and also for the helth of my lorde Robert Doylly and Aldithe his wiffe and the helth of myne, have I graunted and with my present charter confermed to God, and to the church of Seynte George the which is isett in the castle of Oxonforde all landes and tenements, tithis, rentis, and possessions, the which the saide Robert D'oylly of his baronyis gafe and graunted, and assyned to God and to the church of Seynte George afore saide and to the chanons there servyng God, that is to say the church of Seynte Marye Mawdeleyne, the which is isett in the subarbis of Oxonforde and with thre hides in Walton and ye londe of twenty acre, &c. as they been conteyned withinne in the title 'Howe the church was igefe of seynte george to the chanons of Oseneye, &c.'

Then follow two charters directly connected with the foundation, and the lands therein named duly appear later on as amongst the gifts confirmed by Robert D'Oilgi's nephew, Robert D'Oilgi the younger. The first is by a Thomas Deen (called in the confirmation charter Thomas le Den) of his croft called '*Deny's Croft*,' and elsewhere '*Denes Croft*,' described as in the suburbs of Oxford. The second is a charter by a certain Brunman of Walton, 'granting all his londe with medys and other pertinences' the which he held of

[1] From an English version of the Cartulary of Oseney, written partly on paper, partly on parchment, preserved in the Public Record Office, Miscellaneous Books, vol. xxvi. Oseney, fol. 1. Copies of the original charters, &c., here given, so far as they can be obtained, will be printed in the Appendix, but it would seem the leaves on which they were written in the Cottonian MS., and which probably came at the commencement of the volume, are irretrievably lost. The words with which the charter ends refer to the title of a charter summary given later on folio 5. Appendix A, § 86.

[2] Ibid. fol. 1. Appendix A, § 87.

Robert D'Oilgi in 'Walton and Twenty acre.' These fields to the north of Oxford cannot be perhaps identified[1], but we find Roger of Ivry in the Domesday Survey holding the manor of Walton.

The chief point of interest is the naming of S. Mary Magdalen Church in connection with the grant. It was the usual practice that an open space should be left outside the chief gates of a town; for many reasons such an arrangement was found to be convenient. Further, too, in the suburbs of towns, outside the gates, just as is still seen in towns in France, which have kept up longer mediæval customs than in this country, houses are erected outside the line of the 'Octroi,' which in many cases is identical with the line of the old fortification. Whether then for strangers who, from one cause or another, could not at once enter the city, or to supply the wants of the group of houses which had sprung up there, a church had been provided.

Such churches were more frequently dedicated to S. Giles, whence this saint had come to be considered the patron of beggars; but in this case the church just without the North gate was dedicated for some reason to S. Mary Magdalen, and it was not till long after that the houses had stretched sufficiently far along the Northern road to warrant another church, which was then dedicated to S. Giles.

No record exists telling us distinctly that the church was of Robert D'Oilgi's foundation; but taking into account the circumstances attending the history of the town, it is most probable that such a church was not erected till Robert D'Oilgi assumed the governorship and when there was some chance of peace and of prosperity returning to the town, and when it was his duty, in carrying out the policy of his king, to further all such improvements.

There is nothing to show of what character the church was, but there is every reason to believe it occupied the identical spot which the church of S. Mary Magdalen now occupies. The peculiarity of the position will be observed, namely, that it is, and always has been, in the middle of the open space above referred to; and, since a portion of the road passed along both the eastern and western end of the church, the only means of extension has been on the north and south, so that the breadth of the church is as great as its length. No trace of

[1] In a later charter temp. Henry I. the description runs as follows:—'Ecclesiam S. Mariae Magdalenae quae est in vico extra portam de Nort, et terram ex utraque parte viae per quam itur de Waltona ad castellum' (Dug. vi. 253). Taking the charters as a whole the evidence points to the land in Walton not being directly given to S. George's, but having been given to S. Mary Magdalen by the under-tenants Dene and Brunman with the consent of their Lord, Robert D'Oilgi; and when the church was given to S. George's of course the land went with it.

any early work now remains; judging from views some fifty years ago there was a Norman chancel arch, apparently of King Stephen's or Henry the Second's reign, and a doorway of still earlier date in the wall of the northern aisle; but all was done away with in the great rage for church restoration which marked the early years of the reign of Queen Victoria and with it any vestiges that might have existed of the early work[1].

And as to S. George's Church, when it is asked what remains, the answer must be an unsatisfactory one. The tall Tower in this case seems wholly to have served for the fortification. Unlike S. Michael's, with its tower windows and their midwall shafts, it does not seem to have been intended to hold church bells. While the arch openings, at the top, and practically in the parapet itself, seem to have been intended for access to the wooden galleries, which in times of danger were customarily erected round the outside of towers or any other structures intended for defensive purposes, and which bore the name of *hourdes*[2]. The lower chamber of the great tower was approached from an eastern archway. The first floor chamber and all above were approached by the doorway, some twelve feet or more from the ground, to which access was obtained probably from the level of the vallum or wall.

Of the church itself, the crypt, together with a portion of the walls of the chambers which had been erected between the church and the great Tower, were remaining perfect up to the year 1805. In consequence of plans having been drawn for the erection of prison buildings, in utter disregard of these ancient relics, everything was swept away, and the new work to be erected on the site of the chapel requiring deep foundations, even the masonry of the original crypt was dug out. The stones, however, were preserved and re-erected near their original site, and on the same plan; according to Mr. King each pillar being set within eighteen inches of the original position; but the result is, that the remains are deprived of all historical value. Before they were disturbed a plan seems to have been made, and is engraved, with apparent pretensions to accuracy, in the *Vestiges of*

[1] During recent restorations in the nave no trace of any ancient crypt was found. The only signs of a crypt are in the south aisle, but so far as can be seen all traces of original work, if any existed, were entirely effaced in the fourteenth century when the south aisle was built.

[2] The best summary perhaps of the use of the Hourdes and their variety, and the traces which exist in the stonework by which their previous existence can be determined, will be found in Viollet le Duc's *Architecture of the Middle Ages*, English edition, Oxford, 1860. See index to same under 'Hourde.'

Oxford Castle[1]. Unfortunately, the descriptive letterpress is of a most unsatisfactory character, Mr. King being incompetent to deal with the architectural details, and his view that the church adjoined the tower, while the crypt was some distance off, is of course untenable. The plan shows that some forty feet or more existed between the western end of the crypt and the Castle tower, and though the church probably extended westward somewhat beyond the back of the crypt, it is highly improbable that it extended the whole distance, while the angle of the walls adjoining the tower shows that they were additions of much later design. A view engraved at a somewhat earlier date[2] than Mr. King's plan, shows a little apsidal chapel standing, absolutely separated from the tower, and apparently over the very spot which, according to that plan, was occupied by the crypt.

The crypt as it existed before its destruction was about twenty-five feet across in the interior and a little more from east to west, measuring from the far extremity of the apse. The general character of the work which remains is that of Henry the First's reign; but taking into account the history, there is much reason to suppose it to be the original work of Robert D'Oilgi. The foundation of Oseney Abbey took place in 1129, though the church and college were not incorporated with it until Stephen's reign, i.e. in 1149; but there is little reason for supposing that at either of those dates the Oseney community would have rebuilt a church in that position: the consideration of the later history of S. George's Church however belongs to the next century[3].

[1] *Vestiges of Oxford Castle*, by Edward King, fol. 1795. The book contains some interesting views and details, and a conjectural plan of the general line of the Castle ditch and the bridges across it.

[2] An engraving of Oxford Castle, dated March 1785, given in Grose's *Antiquities of England and Wales*, vol. iv. p. 182. At the same time both this view and that given by Hearne in his edition of *Guilielmi Neubrigensis Historia*, 1719, and engraved by Berghers, which also represents a similar apsidal chapel, may be open to question as to accuracy. Mr. King says the little chapel above the crypt was erected in comparatively modern times; this statement however is based possibly on the fact that it is not shown in Loggan's view, or in that of Agas; still this circumstance is of little force compared with the improbability of an apsidal chapel being erected there in the eighteenth century absolutely *de novo*.

[3] The charter, containing a confirmation of the grants, and further grants made by Robert D'Oilgi the younger, nephew of Robert the elder, is given by Dugdale, vol. viii. p. 1462, as from a copy preserved in the Treasury of S. John's College. The date, from the signatures, must be after 1119, about which time the nephew succeeded to his uncle's property. Also charters appear in the Oseney Register above referred to, confirming the gift, one of which is printed by Dugdale, vol. vi. p. 251. And the confirmation charter of Henry I. is found in an 'Inspeximus' in the Charter Rolls, 13 Edw. II. No. 10, and printed in Dugdale (Ibid. p. 253).

In 1147 there was a lawsuit terminated respecting a claim which S. Frideswide's

In the Abingdon Abbey Chronicle, to which reference has already been made, we find Robert D'Oilgi several times mentioned, and, as what is there told bears upon the work which he did towards the strengthening and improvement of Oxford, a few words of extract will not be out of place. It seems that at first he bore a bad character in the eyes of the annalist, but afterwards a good one. Here is an extract:—

> 'In his time (i. e. of Abbot Ethelhelm[1]) and in the time of the two kings, that is to say of William who had conquered the English, and of his son William, there was a certain 'Constabularius[2]' of Oxford called Robert 'de Oili,' in whose charge at that time was placed that district, both as regards the orders to be given, and the acts done, as if they were ordered by the king himself. Now he was very wealthy, and spared neither rich nor poor in exacting money from them, to increase his own treasure. As is said of such in the short verse,—
>
> As grows of wealth the store, so grows desire for more.
>
> Everywhere he molested the churches, in his desire for gaining money, chiefly the Abbey of Abingdon, such as taking away their possessions and continually annoying them with law-suits, and sometimes putting them at the King's mercy. Amongst other wicked things he took away from the Monastery, by the King's consent, a certain meadow situated *outside the Walls of Oxford*, and appropriated it for the use of the soldiers of the Castle. At which loss the Abingdon brotherhood were very sad, more than for any other ills. Then they all came together before S. Mary's altar, which had been dedicated by S. Dunstan the Archbishop, and S. Athelwald Bishop, and while prostrating themselves before it prayed heaven to avenge them on Robert de Oili, the plunderer of the Monastery, or to lead him to make satisfaction. Meanwhile, whilst they were supplicating the Blessed Virgin day and night, Robert fell into a grievous sickness, under which he, being impenitent, suffered for many days[3].'

In the passage quoted it will be observed that reference is made to a certain meadow outside the walls of Oxford. This no doubt is the

monastery had laid to S. Mary Magdalen church; it was then adjudged to belong to S. George in the Castle. (*Oseney Chron. Annales Mon.*, Rolls Series, iv. p. 25.) This shows the activity of S. Frideswide in the twelfth century, in contrast to the lethargy which, so far as we can judge, was exhibited in the eleventh. Although several of the later charters and documents connected with Oseney refer back to and throw light upon this early foundation of S. George in the Castle, and accompanying grants, it is thought well to reserve them to some future occasion, when they can be taken in connection with other documents of the twelfth century.

[1] He was appointed abbot in 1071, and held his position till the time of his sudden death in 1084 (*Chron. Mon. Ab.* ii. p. 284). His name is spelt Ethellelmus and Adelelmus. He came from Jumièges (Ibid. p. 283).

[2] He is first mentioned as *praedives Castelli urbis Oxenefordensis Oppidanus*, (Ibid. vol. ii. p. 7).

[3] *Chron. Monast. de Abingdon*, Rolls Series, vol. ii. p. 12. Appendix A, § 88.

meadow bearing the name of 'King's Mead' to the present day[1]. The chronicler puts the circumstance in a somewhat matter-of-fact way, but the probabilities are that it was a question of law; and though, as has already been pointed out, the land under the jurisdiction of Abingdon Abbey, and paying tithes to it, included Hincksey, and came up to the borders of Oxford, there was probably much question as to the boundaries. Oxford, and all on the Oxford side of the Thames, was held by Ælfgar, and what was held by Ælfgar was so held by King William, or his representative whom he had placed here; but the question would arise as to which of the many streams represented the Thames. It is very possible that Abingdon Abbey had gradually encroached upon the Oxfordshire side of the river[2], by obtaining grants of tithes from the occupants of the Hincksey and Botley meadows for perhaps two or three generations, which would, with a favourable court, give them *prima facie* jurisdiction. Robert D'Oilgi, however, was no doubt jealous of his master's rights as well as his own, and would not allow a single acre to go undisputed; moreover, the courts would now be less likely to be favourable, and the monks of Abingdon probably lost their suit; but the chronicler would look upon Robert D'Oilgi as the despoiler of the abbey property[3].

While he was ill, according to the chronicler, he dreamt a dream; he saw a Lady sitting on a throne, and was accused by her of robbing the monastery of the meadow, into which he was ordered to be led; here very naughty boys brought hay and lighted it and nearly suffocated him and set fire to his beard; so that he cried out in his agony, '*Sancta Maria!* have mercy on me, or I shall die.' His wife, who was lying near him, woke him, and on his narrating to her his

[1] King's Mead is marked on some maps as lying to the west of Great Sconce Mead, and to the south of Oseney mead. It possibly had its name from the circumstance that it was adjudged at this time to belong to the king. Amongst the bad deeds of Abbot Ethelelm, above referred to, the compiler of the treatise *De Abbatibus Abbendonia* records that he sent to Normandy for his relations, and conferred on them property belonging to the Church, amongst which was 'pratum juxta Oxoniam' (*Chron. Mon. Ab.* ii. p. 284). The meadow has however an after-history as regards Abingdon, but it belongs to the next century.

[2] The case of Bere Meadow, between two streams of the Thames, a little to the south of Oxford, already referred to (*ante*, p. 169), was probably similar in character; the chief point in the contention on that occasion being the boundary of the county which determined the jurisdiction of the Abbey at this point.

[3] It is very probable that the determination of the shire boundary took place at this time and that the westermost of all the streams was made the shire ditch, so that all the meadows between the shire ditch on the west and the Castle Mill stream on the east were adjudged to be on the Oxfordshire side and to belong to the crown.

dream, she urged him to go to Abingdon and restore the meadow. To Abingdon, therefore, the chronicler says, he caused his men to row him (*ad Abbendoniam eum navigare fecit*), and there before the altar he made satisfaction. It is only an incidental note introduced, but it is valuable as an illustration of the custom so generally prevalent of using the rivers for locomotion rather than the roads. Many circumstances point to this frequent use, and, amongst others, the references in the Abingdon Chronicle to the revenue which the monks obtained from tolls taken on the river [1].

At the same time, the frequent use of the river way must not be taken to exclude the existence of roads. It has already been pointed out that there was a ford across the main stream of the River Thames, and probably a causeway across the meadows leading from the south gate of Oxford, by which means Abingdon could be reached, following the right bank of the river, through Kennington, and beneath Bagley [2]. But there was probably also in these times something of a causeway across the meadows, and fords across the streams leading out towards the west of Oxford beyond the Castle. The road no doubt passed by Botley, where there was a mill, in the same place as there is now [3], as is proved by the double streams, and from Botley the old road no doubt passed over the hill in a line to the south of the present road (which dates only from the present century), close beneath

[1] In the time of Abbot Ordric (c. 1060) the more direct stream of the Thames, either by negligence or of set purpose, was allowed to become blocked up. The loop which winds round to the west of the large meadow was kept clear, and the consequence was that the Oxford boatmen, *nam illorum navigium saepius transitum illic habebat*, in order to avoid the delay and toil of getting through the weeds and mud, and when the water was low to prevent direct stoppage, agreed to pay one hundred herrings per boat by way of toll (*Chron. Mon. Ab.* vol. i. p. 481). In the year 1111 the right to this toll was disputed, but it was settled in favour of the abbey; *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 119.

[2] See *ante*, p. 121. There is some reason for supposing that by this time a bridge of some kind may have been erected across the main stream. See *post* cap. xi in reference to the Bridges.

[3] There was a law-suit with the men of 'Seacourt' (or Seckworth as it is sometimes written, see *ante*, p. 69), about this mill in 1089. The chronicler introduces it curiously by saying that it happened the year that Rochester was besieged by Odo, Bishop of Bayeux. It would appear that the men of 'Sevecurda' unlawfully 'broke the water course which they commonly call *lacche*' (whence no doubt our word lasher, e.g. lacher). It was settled by 10*s.* being paid to the Abbot of Abingdon, and two ora to be paid each year to the miller. It is an early instance of suits respecting the right of keeping up water for mills, etc., though possibly the water was causing damage to the houses and gardens of Seacourt, which bordered on what is known as the Shire ditch; the occupants must have let the water flow off into the ditches and meadows lying on the north of the Seven-bridge road. *Chron. Mon. Ab.* vol. ii. p. 17.

Chorley Hurst[1]. Thence access would be afforded to Bayworth or Wootton[2], and so render Abingdon more accessible, perhaps, by this route from the Castle at the extreme western end of Oxford than by the southern road.

The policy of the Conqueror was to support the Church, and though there was a roughness about the way in which he did so, and perhaps not much real piety, no doubt many of his followers were religious men and gave of their substance out of real religious motives to the provision and support of churches, and of monasteries to supply the churches with clergy. The annalist in the Abingdon Chronicle, after recounting that on his arrival at Abingdon, whither he went in consequence of his dream, he made satisfaction before the altar, and gave, besides certain rents, one hundred pounds towards the rebuilding of the monastery, proceeds:—

> 'But not only did he do so much towards the building of the Church of S. Mary at Abingdon, but he also repaired at his own cost other Parish Churches which were in a ruinous state (*alias parochianas ecclesias dirutas*) that is to say, both within the walls of Oxford and without.
>
> 'For, whereas before his dream he was the plunderer of Churches, and of the poor, so afterwards he became the restorer of Churches, and a benefactor to the poor, and the doer of many good deeds. Amongst other things the great bridge on the northern side (*ad septentrionalem plagam*[3]) of Oxford was built by him. He died in the month of September[4], and was honourably buried within the presbytery[5] at Abingdon, on the north side. The body of his wife lies buried on his left side[6].'

In respect of Robert D'Oilgi being a builder of churches, it has already been noticed that he built S. George's within the Castle, and S. Mary Magdalen without the North-gate, and it will be shown later on, in dealing with certain entries in the Domesday Survey, that he probably also built S. Michael's Church at the North-gate of

[1] The old line of road to within the last few years was very easily traceable, though for some distance enclosed. In walking along it, it was difficult to realize that it was at the beginning of the century the main coach road to the west from Oxford, just as it is difficult to realize that the narrow and steep road over Shotover Hill was once the main coach road to the east from Oxford.

[2] These places, since they gave their names to the manors, were probably less isolated from the roads of the district than they are now.

[3] The word *plaga* is perhaps used from the circumstance that Oxford on its three sides was surrounded by water, which was its chief protection.

[4] The year is not given, but it must have been about 1090.

[5] *In Capitulo Abendonensi*: this is commonly translated Chapter House; but it is more probably meant for *in capitio*, i.e. the *caput ecclesiae*, or the place where the Altar stands, and it is therefore here so translated.

[6] *Chron. Mon. Ab.* vol. ii. p. 14. Appendix A, § 89.

Oxford, and S. Peter's Church some little way within the East-gate. Before the advent of Robert D'Oilgi, there is the definite record only of the existence of one parish church in Oxford, namely, S. Martin's, belonging to Abingdon, and therefore it is not certain what is meant by repairing at his own cost 'parish churches which were in a ruinous state, both within and without the town': still the Domesday book shows that at the time the Survey was taken, besides S. Michael's and S. Peter's, S. Mary's Church was in existence, and also a church belonging to Ensham (i.e. S. Ebbe's). These two latter may possibly have been built in Eadward the Confessor's time, and so, with S. Martin's, suffered, when the mob from the north devastated Oxford; or, after all, it may perhaps only be a loose way of writing to enhance the merits of the converted robber of the land which had belonged to the abbey, and which now he had restored.

While detailing the benefits apparently accruing to the ecclesiastical status of Oxford from the appointment of Robert D'Oilgi, it must be added in passing, that the seat of the Bishop of the diocese, which had hitherto been at Dorchester, and therefore in the neighbourhood of Oxford, was now removed to Lincoln. It is not easy altogether to assign the motives of the change. Personally, Remigius, with his Norman notions, may not have cared for the low-lying district on the north bank of the Thames, and he could not well, perhaps, have built his palace and cathedral on Sinodun Hill, on the bank opposite, since this was in the diocese of Salisbury. But more probably his position of Bishop was looked upon from a political point of view; and so the city of Lincoln, which had been an important centre of the old Dane law, and which was in the midst of a district still rebel in its disposition, would be an important post, as much for a Bishop's palace as for a castle. Remigius was evidently much trusted by the Conqueror, and his presence in the north would be a great safeguard to begin with, and his power would be all the greater if he could wield the ecclesiastical arm as well as the civil[1]. The date of the translation need not create the difficulty which it is supposed to do from various

[1] There is probably but very little reason for the scandal that Remigius bought the bishoprick, or, as William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Pontificum*, Rolls Series, p. 312) puts the matter, that he came to England to help William on the condition that, if successful, the Duke should reward him with a bishoprick; no doubt the monk of Fecamp was warm in the Duke's cause, and his name appears in the somewhat doubtful list of gifts to Duke William, as the donor of one ship. (*De navibus per Magnates Normanniae provisis pro passagio.* MS. Bodl. e Mus. 93.) It is, however, probable that William promoted him, quite as much with a view to the services which he anticipated that his new position would enable Remigius to render in future, as with that of recompensing him for his services in the past.

historians assigning different dates. Such a matter is not done in a day; there are various stages, and historians date from one or other of these stages according to their judgment. The earliest document is a charter of William the Conqueror, beginning as follows:

> 'William, King of the English to T.[1] sheriff, and all the sheriffs of the episcopate of Bishop Remigius, greeting, know that I have translated the see of the Bishopric of Dorchester to the city of Lincoln, by the authority and with the counsel of Pope Alexander [i. e. Alexander II. 1061–1073] and of his legates; also of Archbishop L[anfranc], and of other Bishops of my kingdom; and that I have given sufficient land there, free and quit of all customary payments, for building therein a mother church of the whole diocese, with residences, etc., adjoining[2].'

Remigius had succeeded to Dorchester in 1067, but it was not till after 1070[3], at least, that the removal was set about. It perhaps could scarcely be said to be completed till the consecration of the new Cathedral, which took place a few days after the death of Remigius, in May 1092. It has not been observed that Remigius signed any charters as Bishop of Lincoln, but the Domesday Survey recognises Lincoln as the seat of the bishopric, and not Dorchester[4]. The translation of the see, however, would perhaps have affected the town of Oxford but little.

As already pointed out, though the Canons of S. Frideswide occur in the Survey as possessing property, they seem to show no sign of activity at all. It can scarcely be altogether due to their work not being recorded.

One incidental detail may perhaps be briefly alluded to in connection with the religious aspect of the place at this time. It seems

[1] Probably Turchil, who in the Domesday Survey is styled Vice-comes. He was sheriff of Warwickshire.

[2] The charter is preserved as an 'inspeximus' amongst the Patent Rolls 8th Hen. VI. Part II. memb. 10. Other copies are preserved in other charters, and it is printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, ed. 1846, vol. viii. p. 1269. There are only two signatures of witnesses, viz. L. Archbishop and E. Sheriff. The first must be Archbishop Lanfranc, the second may be Eadward the sheriff (?) of Oxfordshire. The date of this charter may be said to be limited between Aug. 29, 1070, when Lanfranc was appointed and (probably) April 21, 1073, when Pope Alexander died. Appendix A, § 90.

[3] William of Malmesbury gives what purports to be an official document containing the list of the Bishops present at the consecration of Archbishop Lanfranc, Aug 29, 1070; in it occurs, '*Remigius Dorcensis sive Lincolniensis.*' *Gesta Pontificum*, Rolls Series, 1870, p. 39.

[4] 'Residuam dimidiam carucatae terrae habuit et habet Sancta Maria de Lincolia in qua nunc est episcopatus.' Domesday Survey, fol. 336a, col. 1. Remigius too is always cited as Bishop of Lincoln, e.g. Episcopus Lincolniensis tenet Dorchecestre (fol. 155 a, col. 2).

that two monks had gone forth from the Monastery at Evesham to beg for money for restoring their church, and Oxford, then, perhaps, as it is now, was thought to be a likely place in which to obtain subscriptions; and it seems, in order to evoke the piety of subscribers, they carried with them the relics of S. Egwin. The chronicler writes:—

> 'When the aforesaid brothers, being sustained by the relics of S. Egwin, had with rejoicing reached Oxford, and were preaching the word; and while the people were looking on, a certain man of great faith, as it afterwards appeared, humbly approached the shrine of S. Egwin amongst the others, and most devoutly said three prayers in presence of the people, and at each prayer putting his hand into his pouch, and taking thence a treble offering, he made the same to God's Saint[1].'

It would appear a thief was present, and through the intervention of the Saint he was detected in robbing the good man who was intent in his prayers. It seems also, by the good offices of the Saint, the thief, who was condemned to die in consequence of the discovery, was pardoned. The little story is graphically told, and as the date is fixed to the time of Abbot Agelwin of Evesham, who died in 1086, under whose direction the two monks went forth, with the relics, it affords just a glimmer of the religious life of the period, though it does not add much to our information; nothing is told us as to where the two monks resided when they honoured Oxford with the exhibition of S. Egwin's relics.

Lastly, it will be observed that Robert D'Oilgi is recorded to have built a bridge in Oxford. Among works of piety this has always ranked very high with the monastic writers, and hence it is that D'Oilgi's building of a bridge follows on after his restoring of churches, and benefactions to the poor. It was a monk of Abingdon, some three hundred and fifty years afterwards, who, when in the early part of Henry VI's reign a Guild of Abingdon had erected the bridge over the stream, hitherto only forded, and subject to all the dangers of fords, wrote:—

> 'Of alle Werkys in this Worlde that ever were wrought
> Holy Chirche is chefe. . . .
> Another blissed besines is brigges to make,
> There that the pepul may not passe after greet showres,
> Dole it is to draw a deed body oute of a lake
> That was fulled in a fount stoon, and a Felow of oures[2].'

[1] *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham*, Rolls Series, 1863, p. 55. Appendix A, § 91.

[2] The autograph of the poem, consisting of a hundred lines, is preserved framed in the Hall of Christ's Hospital, Abingdon. The lines are now difficult to decipher, having been written, as the colophon states, in the 36th Henry VI. 1448. The

There can be no doubt but that the bridge which is still called High or Hythe[1] Bridge is the one meant in the record. There is no work of R. D'Oilgi's time visible, but the same site must have been preserved during the successive rebuildings. By this means the road along the north of Oxford was connected with the west, and indeed it was, probably, the only outlet in this direction[2]. The peculiar position of the Castle at Oxford must be taken into account in judging of the roads and streets. In most towns the Castle occupies, if not a central, at least the highest position; here it occupies almost the lowest. The ascent of Queen Street to the high level at Carfax must have been dangerous to the successful defence of the Castle, and therefore, lest the town were taken by the enemy, no regular communication would in an ordinary way be provided from the town into the Castle. That there was a bridge across the deep ditches of the Castle, leading from the town, somewhere about Castle Street, may be surmised, as there appear traces of it on the later maps, but such a bridge would be a small one of wood, and easily destroyed during times of siege, if necessary. The site had been chosen when the Danish incursions were mainly effected by means of the rivers, and therefore a spot had to be chosen which would command the streams. When D'Oilgi came, it must have been somewhat against his will that he found himself obliged to accept the position. It would have cost too much to have erected a new castle at Carfax, and it would have caused much dissatisfaction to the citizens and owners, in consequence of the destruction of houses which it would have entailed. On the whole, then, it must be assumed that he made the old Castle, of the tenth century, as secure as he could, modifying it to suit the requirements of the time rather than build another, and still keeping it to guard the course of the Thames, but leaving no entrance into the town of Oxford from this side. All persons coming across the meadows from the west, and all the goods disembarked at the 'Hythe' from the barges and boats, would have to be taken in at the north gate of the town, the road passing along the north bank of the city ditch, and following, probably, exactly the same course as that followed by George Street at the present day.

last two lines of the extract may be interpreted: 'Sad it is to drag out of a pool of water a dead body which had been once dipped in the Font, and one of our community,' referring evidently to what sometimes happened in flood times.

[1] Saxon *Hyth*; a small port or haven at which boats could land; in this case it would have more the signification of a wharf.

[2] West gate was a small gate at the western end of the street running along the inside of the southern wall of the city: it probably led to the Castle Mill and the meadows beyond and was more of a postern than a city gate.

There would have been naturally an entrance into the Castle on the west. It is impossible, however, to determine exactly the site of the bridge and gates. We have no remains, and the little evidence which we possess in the accounts of the works done at the Castle, in the thirteenth and fourteenth century, proves nothing respecting the arrangement in the eleventh; while the earliest plans we possess date only back to the sixteenth century, and these from their perspective drawing are not to be depended on for laying down the lines very accurately upon a modern map[1].

[1] A striking plan is contained in Agas' map of Oxford, dated 1578; and a plan of the castle precincts is in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church. This is also of the time of Queen Elizabeth, and is engraved in Skelton's *Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*, 1843, Pl. 127. In the new Ordnance Survey of ten feet to the mile, dotted lines representing the supposed line of the Castle ditch are inserted. As also the supposed sites of the western and eastern bridge. They appear however to be based upon the conjectural plan given in King's *Vestiges of Oxford Castle.*

CHAPTER XI.

THE DESCRIPTION OF OXFORD IN 1086, AS GIVEN IN THE DOMESDAY SURVEY.

TOWARDS the close of the eleventh century a document far more full and complete as to details than any previous document which has been yet noted, crowns the collections of the materials on which the early history of the city of Oxford rests. It is called—for what reason has not been satisfactorily ascertained—'The Domesday Survey.' There is no other document to be compared with it, which, being of such an early date, gives so close an insight into the status of the kingdom, or is so valuable from the historical point of view. While, however, on the one hand it gives so much information, it creates on the other so great a desire for more, that it may be said in some respects to be disappointing; for there are so many points on which a very few additional words or facts would have given a much greater importance and value to the rest. If, for instance, it had told us the exact population of Oxford, giving some summary of the occupations, or even stating the number of actual burgesses, it would have cleared up many doubts. In the thousands of manors, representing our country villages, we have minute descriptions of how many *servi*, how many *villani*, how many *bordarii*, and how many ploughs they each had; but in the towns, where similar information would be more interesting, there it is absolutely wanting. So again the number of churches even is left very doubtful, and only to be approximately arrived at by incidental allusions; nor is there a single reference to a public building of any kind in this city, not even to the Castle. The work is compiled in so perfunctory a manner, that it amounts only to a schedule of the sources of taxation, yet at the same time the data actually given afford material from which much may be deduced, throwing light upon the extent and state of Oxford at this period.

The Domesday Survey has been the subject of much criticism, but beyond the internal evidence which the work itself affords of its origin and purpose, the only direct and authoritative account we have is contained in an addition to the one Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which was continued to this period, namely, that which, as to its earlier portion,

was probably compiled within the monastery of Peterborough. It runs:—

> 'After this the king had a great council, and very deep speech with his 'witan' about this land, how it was peopled, or by what men; then sent his men over all England, into every shire, and caused to be ascertained how many hundred hides were in the shire, or what land the king himself had, and cattle within the land, or what dues he ought to have, in twelve months, from the shire. Also he caused to be written how much land his archbishops had, and his suffragan bishops, and his abbots, and his earls; and—though I may narrate somewhat prolixly—what or how much each man had who was a holder of land in England, in land, or in cattle, and how much money it might be worth. So very narrowly he caused it to be traced out, that there was not one single hide, nor one yard of land, nor even—it is shame to tell, though it seemed to him no shame to do—an ox, nor a cow, nor a swine, was left, that was not set down in his writ. And all the writings were brought to him afterwards[1].'

On these few words later writers have built theories, and in expanding the statements there have arisen, naturally, many discrepancies as to the date which may be ascribed to the compilation. The passage above quoted appears under the year 1085, and there can be little doubt that at this time the commission was issued. The colophon at the end of the second volume of the Domesday Survey corroborates the date, by giving that of the completion:—

> 'In the year 1086 from our Lord's Incarnation, and in the twentieth year of William's reign, this description was made, not only of those three countries (i.e. Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk), but also of the others[2].'

And as regards the part containing Oxfordshire, this date is practically corroborated inasmuch as under the land of Robert d'Oilgi a certain hide and a half in 'Ludewelle' (i.e. Ledwell, a hamlet of Sandford in North Oxfordshire), is recorded to have been given by the king to him at the siege of S. Suzanne, in Maine[3]. This siege was commenced in 1083, and was not concluded till 1085[4]. With respect to the survey of the oxen, cows, and swine, referred to by the chronicler (if it

[1] Anglo-Saxon Chronicle E, *sub anno*, 1085. Appendix A, § 92. There is an incidental reference in the same Chronicle to the Survey under the year 1087; in summing up the events of William's life the chronicler says 'He reigned over England, and by his sagacity so thoroughly surveyed it that there was not a hide of land within England, that he knew not who had it, or what it was worth, and afterwards set it in his writ.'

[2] Domesday Survey, 1816, vol. ii. p. 450. The words are 'Anno millesimo octogesimo sexto ab incarnatione Domini, vigesimo vero regni Willelmi facta est ista descriptio, non solum per hos tres comitatus sed etiam per alios.'

[3] Domesday Survey, folio 185 b.

[4] Orderic Vital, Bk. VII. cap. 8 (10). Orderic, however, implies that the siege was protracted to four years.

was carried out in Oxfordshire), no copy has, unfortunately, been handed down, and we are therefore dependant on the abstract in the Liber de Wintonia, or the Exchequer Domesday as it is commonly called[1].

The first page relating to Oxfordshire (that is, the *recto* of folio 154 of the first volume) is given in the present work in facsimile, and therefore needs no description; further, a transcript of the same (in extended Latin) will be found in the Appendix; it only remains therefore here to give the whole in English, and for the sake of convenience this is given in a tabular form, but the wording of the original is preserved as closely as the tabulation will allow.

IN THE TIME OF King Edward Oxford paid TO THE KING for toll and gable and all other customs yearly £20
and six sextaries of honey.

But to Earl ALGAR £10
in addition to the Mill which he had within the city.

When the King went on expedition 20 burgesses went with him for all others, or they gave £20 to the King that all might be free.

NOW Oxford pays by tale of twenty [pence] in the *ora* £60

In the town, as well within the wall as without, there are 243 houses paying geld, and besides these there are 478[2] so waste and destroyed that they cannot pay the geld.

				s.	*d.*	
THE KING has	20	mural mansions	paying	13	10.[3]	Which were Earl Algar's, then and now in Time of K. Edwd.
and he has	1	mansion	„	0	6.	Belonging to Shipton
and another	1	„	„	0	4.	Belonging to Bloxham
and a third	1	„	„	2	6.	Belonging to Risborough
and	2	others	„	0	4.	Belonging to Tuiford[4] (one of these is waste).

Wherefore they are called mural mansions, because if there shall be need, and the King command it, they shall repair the walls.

To the lands which Earl Alberic held belong		1 Church and 3 mansions:				
of these	2	mansions	paying	2	4	lie to the Ch. of S. Mary
„	1	„	„	5	0	lies to Bureford
To the lands which Earl W. held, belong	9	mansions	paying	7	0.	Three are waste
Abp. of Canterbury has	7	„	„	3	2.	Four are waste
Bp. of Winchester has	9	„	„	5	2.	Three are waste
Bp. of Bayeux has	18	„	„	13	4.	Four are waste

[1] For some of the western counties, however, it seems the first copy has been preserved in the Exon Domesday belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral (Domesday ed. 1816, vol. iv. p. 1) and for portions of Eastern counties in the Inquisitio Eliensis (*Ibid.* p. 495).

[2] In the original, 'Five hundred houses, save twenty-two.'

[3] In the original 'Fourteen shillings save twopence.'

[4] In the original 'Buckinghamshire' is added.

				s.	d.	
Bp. of Lincoln has	30	mansions	paying	18	6.	Sixteen are waste
Bp. of Coutances has	2	„	„	1	2	
Bp. of Hereford has	3	„	„	1	1.	One is waste
Abbey of S. Edmund's has	1	„	„	0	6.	Belonging to Tainton
Abbey of Abingdon has	14	„	„	7	3.	Eight are waste
Abbey of Eglesham has and 1 church	13	„	„	9	0.	Seven are waste
Earl of Moreton has	10	„	„	3	0.	Nine are waste
Earl Hugh has	7	„	„	5	8.	Four are waste
Earl of Evreux has	1	„	„	0	0.	One is waste
Henry of Ferieres has	2	„	„	5	0	
William Pevrel has	4	„	„	1	5.	Two are waste
Edward the Sheriff	2	„	„	5	0	
Ernulf of Hesding	3	„	„	1	6.	One is waste
Berengar of Todeni	1	„	„	0	6	
Milo Crespin	2	„	„	1	0	
Richard de Curci	2	„	„	1	7	
Robert D'Oilgi	12	„	„	5	4.	Four are waste
Roger of Ivri	15	„	„	20	4.	Six are waste
Rannulf Flammard	1	„	„	0	0	
Wido of Reinbodcurth	2	„	„	1	8	
Walter Gifard	17	„	„	22	0.	Seven are waste

The predecessor of Walter had one of these, of the gift of K. Edward, of 8 virgates which paid customary dues in Time of K. Edward.

Jernio has	1	mansion	paying	0	6	belonging to Hamtone
The son of Manasses	1	„	„	0	4	„ to Blecesdone

All these afore written hold the aforenamed mansions free because they repair the wall. All the mansions which are called mural were in Time of King Edward free from all customary payment except for expedition and repairing the wall.

The Priests of S. Michael's	2	mansions	paying	4	4	
The Canons of S. Frideswide	15	„	„	11	0.	Eight are waste
Coleman had while he lived	3	„	„	3	8	
William has	1	„	„	1	8	
Spracheling	1	„	„	0	0	
Wluui the Fisherman	1	„	„	2	8	
Alwin has	5	„	„	3	1.	Three are waste
Edric	1	„	„	0	0	
Harding and Leveva	9	„	„	12	0.	Four are waste
Ailric has	1	„	„	0	0	
Dereman	1	„	„	1	0	
Segrim	1	„	„	1	4	
Another Segrim	1	„	„	2	0	
Smewin	1	„	„	0	0	
Goldwin	1	„	„	0	0	
Eddid	1	„	„	0	0	
Swetman	1	„	„	0	8	
Sewi	1	„	„	0	0	

				s.	*d.*	
Leveva	1	mansion	paying	0	0.	Waste. Paid T.K.E. 10*d.*
Alveva	1	„	„	0	10	
Alward	1	„	„	0	10	
Alwin	1	„	„	0	0.	Waste
Brictred and Derman	1	„	„	1	4	
Alwi	1	„	„	0	0	
Derewen	1	„	„	0	6	
Alwin the Priest	1	house	„	0	0.	Waste
Levric	1	„	„	0	0	Likewise.
Wluric	1	mansion	„	0	0.	Waste, and yet if there be need he shall repair the wall.
Swetman the Moneyer	1	house	free	3	4	
Godwin	1	mansion	paying	0	0	These five pay nothing.
Ulmar	1	„	„	0	0	
Goderun	1	„	„	0	0	
Godric	1	„	„	0	0	
Alwi	1	„	„	0	0	
Swetman	2	mural mnsns.	„	3	0	
Another Swetman	1	free mansion	„	0	9	for the same service.
Sawold has	9	mansions	„	13	0.	Six are waste.
Lodowin	1	house	„	0	0.	In which he resides free, on account [of repairing] the wall.
Segrim	3	houses free	„	5	4.	One is waste.
Alwin	1	house free	„	2	8.	For repairing the wall,

and if when there is need, the wall is not repaired by him who ought to do it, he shall either forfeit forty shillings to the King or lose his house.

All Burgesses of Oxford have common of pasture without the wall, which pays 6*s.* 8*d.*[1]

After this follows the list of the 'holders of Land in Oxfordshire.' There are, however, later on, under the Survey of Oxfordshire, two other passages relating to Oxford, which it will be convenient to give here, under the heading 'No. XXVIII, the land of Robert de Oilgi,' and they run as follows:—

'The same Robert has in Oxford, forty-two houses let to tenants (*domos hospitatas*) as well within as without the wall. Of these

16 . . . . pay geld and gable,

the rest pay neither, on account of poverty they cannot;

and he has 8 mansions waste

and thirty acres of meadow near the wall, and a mill of 10*s.*

The whole is worth £3.

And for one manor he holds with the benefice of S. Peter . . . . [2]

'The Church of S. Peter of Oxeneford holds of Robert 2 hydes in Holywell (*Haliwelle*). Land one carucate. There is one plough and a half

[1] Domesday Survey, folio 154 a, cols. 1 and 2. See Frontispiece. Also Appendix A, § 93.

[2] The sentence is incomplete, a blank space being left vacant in the MS. for another line to be filled in, which was not done.

there, and twenty-three men having gardens (*bortulos*). There are 40 acres meadow there. It was worth 20*s*., it is now [worth] 40*s*. This land has not paid tax or rendered any dues[1].'

It is not to be ascertained for certain whether the references to the status and value of property, or customary payments, in the Time of King Eadward, are derived from oral testimony given by jurors who were cited to give evidence, or from written testimony, that is from some previous 'Domesday' already in existence, or from different geld-rolls. The question is one of some interest; for, if there was a definite record before them, the references would probably belong to some one ascertainable date; if from oral evidence, they would vary according to the ages or extent of the memories of the jurors, or other incidental circumstances, which might cause the state of things as they existed in the early years of Eadward's reign, to be recorded in one instance, and that as they existed at the close of his long reign of twenty-three years in another. The probabilities are, that in some cases the evidence was taken in one way, in others another way, but the results entered upon the record without any distinction. It may be taken as tolerably certain that, taken as a whole, T. R. E. does not represent the state of things at King Eadward's death, in January 1066. The opening paragraph, for instance, in reference to Oxford, refers to the state of things somewhere between 1057 and 1062, since Earl Ælfgar is named as the earl to whom the dues were paid, and we are, in consequence, left much in the dark as to whether Earl Eadwin succeeded him. Undoubtedly, on the next page of the Survey we read that 'from the lands of Earl Eadwin in Oxfordshire, and in Warwickshire, the king has one hundred pounds and one hundred shillings[2],' but this perhaps is not absolute proof that Eadwin was recognized Earl over this district. We find that nearly the whole of the property of Earl Ælfgar throughout the country, and it was very large, is confiscated to the king's use, and in Oxford the customs due both to the King and Earl are merged into one. So far as direct annual money payment went the amount assessed appears here to have been doubled by William, that is, sixty instead of thirty pounds was to be paid annually[3].

[1] Domesday Survey, folio 158 a and 158 b, Appendix A, § 94.

[2] Under the conjoined manors of Bloxham and Adderbury we find 'Soca duorum hundredorum pertinet huic manerio; Edwinus comes tenuit hoc manerium' and a few paragraphs later, 'De terra Edwini Comitis in Oxeneford [scire] et in Warwiccire, habet rex c libras et c solidos.' Domesday, fol. 154 b, col. 2.

[3] The Abingdon Chronicle helps us to the value of the ora. In giving an account of the foundation of the chapel of Kingston Bagpuiz in the reign of William Rufus, the chronicler refers to a payment of '*duas oras*, i.e. XXXII dena-

At the same time the sixty sextaries[1] of honey appear to have been foregone as a customary payment; as to the provision for twenty burgesses to go on 'expedition' for all the rest nothing is said, possibly all were now held liable. The Mill which Earl Ælfgar held is described as '*infra civitatem*,' but it was probably the Castle Mill, and so went to the crown, though it is not mentioned; it is not likely to have been left in the hands of the town, nor is there any reference to it being given to S. George's or any other religious foundation.

The next entry is an important statistical item, namely, the number of houses. The word *domus* is used, but throughout the detailed account of the possessors the word *mansio* is used. For all statistical purposes, as will be shown presently, the words here mean practically the same thing. The total number then is 243, and though the details of the Survey will not show how the whole number is made up, all but eleven are accounted for. It will be observed by the tabulated list of the mansions, that they are thus distributed:—

			Vastae.
The King has	25	of which	1
Earls Alberic and W. had	12	„ „	3
The Archbishop and five Bishops	69	„ „	28
Three Abbeys	28	„ „	15
Seventeen (supposed) followers of the Conqueror, &c.	83	„ „	34
Priests and Canons in Oxford	18	„ „	9
Thirty-seven (supposed) citizens of Oxford	62	„ „	17
	297		107

Deducting the *vastae* from the others, we have remaining 190, under the survey of Oxford. Besides these Robert D'Oilgi is returned as responsible for 42 houses[2] in addition to the eight he holds, returned as *vastae*, and this brings the total to 232; leaving eleven to be accounted for to

rios (*Chron. Mon. Ab.* ii. p. 30, 121). Sixteen pennies therefore was the normal value; but the payment from Oxford was to be made in the full value, i.e. of 20 pennies in the ora. As the ora was the twelfth part of the pound, the result would be the payment of 240 pence, the standard which we still retain.

[1] The Sextary seems to have varied in capacity, and was applied to wine, oil, honey, and even dry products: it is often qualified, e.g. in Gloucester 'XII Sextaria mellis ad mensuram ejusdem Burgi' (Domesday, fol. 162 a). In another place in the same country it is 'ad mensuram regis.' (*Ibid.* fol. 166 a). Kelham quotes Selden as computing the measure in respect of honey to be about one quart and weighing four pounds. But authors differ, the result varying from a pint to a gallon.

[2] Although several of Robert D'Oilgi's houses are returned as not being able to pay, still they are not returned as *vastae*, and would therefore be reckoned as liable. It is quite possible he held additional houses in the manor of Holywell, i.e. 'the manor held with S. Peter's,' but the line, as pointed out, is wanting; and these houses might be included in the 243 although without the wall.

bring the total up to 243[1]. Of the remaining 371 returned as *vastae* we have no information at all given us as to whom they belonged.

The summary of the houses, as already said, would have been much more valuable if the number of the population had been added, and in all probability it was ascertained, or at least readily ascertainable. As it is, we are left to base the population of Oxford on a guess of the average number of occupants of each house compared with what now exists; and to do this so many considerations have to be taken into account that it is very difficult to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion. From the sixteenth century onwards, there has been a tendency to increase not only the area but the height of our town houses, that is, there would be room for a larger number of occupants in each house; concurrently, however, with this increase of space there has been a demand for greater accommodation for each occupant, so that the extended space of each house has been thereby more than counterbalanced by the extended demand of the occupants. This has not been the case so much with the densely packed districts in the low lying suburbs of our larger towns, for there the occupants per house

[1] From the very short and obscure manner in which the entries under Oxford are made (and this has already been alluded to), it is perhaps impossible, even with help of corroborative *data* derived from entries under the several manors to discover the exact method on which the numbers were computed. Under two manors in Berkshire, there are references to houses in Oxford (the terms *hagae* being used), and it is quite possible that they are not included at all in the computation of the 243 under Oxfordshire. First under *Estralei* (i. e. Streatley) Geoffrey of Mandeville (whose name does not occur in the Oxford list at all) is returned as holding '1 haga of 10*d*. in Oxineford.' (Folio 62 a, col. 1.) Next under *Stivetune* (i.e. Steventon) which was held by the king we find 'Ad hoc manerium pertinuerunt in Oxeneford XIII hagae reddentes XII solidos et VI denarios et unum pratum de XX solidis. Modo homines de Hundredo dant quod Robertus de Oilgi istud tenuit suspicanter; [nil] aliud sciunt eo quod est in alia scira (col. 2) Domesday 57 b.' If all of these thirteen were to be included in the list the total would be brought up to 245.

Moreover there is a puzzling entry under Wallingford as follows: *Rainaldus habet unam acram in qua sunt* XI *mansurae de* XXVI *denarios, et pertinent in Eldeberie* (i.e. Albury) *quae est in Oxeneford.* Domesday, folio 56 a, col. 2. Possibly the last word is meant for Oxfordshire, but it follows on after a direct reference to *Oxenefordscire*, and is distinctly written *Oxeneford* as if it was meant for the town; *mansurae* too are seldom found except in towns; at least it would be strange that so small a manor as Aldbury seems to have been, should have had 11 *mansurae* recorded; and under Oxfordshire itself the only reference to Aldeberie is at folio 161 where the same Rainbald is returned as holding five hides there. But if the *hagae* are at Wallingford and belonging to Oxford, we have in this the converse of the circumstance recorded concerning those at Steventon. Also it may be added that under the Survey of Wallingford (folio 56 a, col. 2) it is noted that Saulf of Oxford holds one *haga* free, and that the abbot of Abingdon has 'two acres on which there are 7 *hagae* of four shillings and they belong to Oxford.'

seem to have increased; on the other hand, in the central parts of towns the relative population to the houses has considerably decreased in consequence of buildings for commercial purposes being much extended and swallowing up small inhabited tenements; and yet in these larger buildings there are few, if any, residents.

But, as regards Oxford, it is very important to bear in mind, not only the rapid growth which the present century has seen, but also the character of that growth. With regard to the first point a table showing the number of houses and the population at the several times when the census was taken during this century, will convey in the clearest way the state of the case. The average of occupants per house is added in another column, and this shows the fluctuation of the population in respect of the houses, the ratio varying in consequence of the circumstances already detailed. It has been thought well also to prefix the numbers, though not very reliable, given on Faden's map, which carry back the statistics some twelve years earlier [1]—

Date.	*Houses.*	*Population.*	*p. H.*	*Date.*	*Houses.*	*Population.*	*p. H.*
1789	1816	8392	4·6	1841	4335	23,974	5·5
1801	1878	10,936	5·8	1851	4736	25,727	5·4
1811	2081	12,404	6·0	1861	5147	26,407	5·1
1821 [2]	2551	15,761	6·1	1871	5844	29,677	5·1
1831 [2]	3402	19,015	5·6	1881	6588	34,144	5·2

But the next point to observe is that the increase is due entirely to the growth on the outside of the old city wall. The returns of Faden's map being according to streets, they are not so available for comparison

[1] Printed on William Faden's map of Oxford, which bears date Sept. 1, 1789. This plan was first published by Isaac Taylor in 1750, but the copper-plates were purchased and various improvements made in them by Faden, bringing the information down to his time. It is perhaps doubtful if Faden's statistics can be relied upon, for it has not been ascertained whence he obtained them. As his total of houses is within twelve of the Government census taken twelve years later, it may be considered to cover the same area. Yet while the houses have only been increased by twelve, it would appear the population had increased by upwards of 2000, if his information be correct. This discrepancy, however, it should be added, is in no way due to the University returns, for it is clear Faden has not included them, and they have been omitted in returns extracted from the Census also of 1801. Hence also, for the sake of uniformity, and to avoid the anomalies arising from the census being sometimes taken in term time, at others not, the occupants of the Colleges have been deducted from the population throughout the table as well as the Colleges themselves from the number of houses.

[2] In the returns of 1821 and 1831 for some reason they have included the houses and population of Grandpont, on the Berkshire side of the river, though still in the Parish of St. Aldate's, but they have not done so in any other of the returns. About 70 houses and about 350 population should therefore be deducted from the total of those years to make the returns uniformly accurate.

as those of the census, and therefore in the following tables the year 1801 is compared with the year 1881, thus showing a period of eighty years' increase.

	Houses.	*Population.*	*per House.*
Within the City Wall, 1801—			
Parishes entirely within the city wall, i. e. of All Saints, S. John, S. Martin, S. Mary the Virgin; *according to the Census* . . .	242	1483	6·1
The portions of bordering Parishes of S. Aldate, S. Ebbe, S. Michael, S. Peter in the East, and S. Peter le Bailey, within the walls; *computed at*	495	2913	5·9
Total	737	4396	6·0
Without the City Wall, 1801—			
Parishes entirely without the city wall, i. e. of Holywell, S. Mary Magdalen, S. Giles, S. Thomas, and S. Clement[1]; *according to the Census*	846	4852	5·7
Remaining portions of Parishes of S. Aldate, S. Ebbe, S. Michael, S. Peter in the East, and S. Peter le Bailey; *computed at* . .	295	1688	5·7
Total	1141	6540	5·7
Within the City Wall, 1881—			
Parishes entirely within the city wall, i. e. of All Saints, S. John, S. Martin, and S. Mary the Virgin; *according to the Census* . .	199	1076	5·4
Portions of Parishes of S. Aldate, S. Ebbe, S. Michael, S. Peter in the East, and S. Peter le Bailey, within the wall; *computed at* .	507	2476	4·9
Total	706	3552	5·0
Without the City Wall, 1881—			
Parishes entirely without the city wall, i. e. Holywell, S. Mary Magdalen, S. Giles, S. Thomas, and S. Clement; *according to the Census*	4608	24,391	5·3
Remaining portions of Parishes of S. Aldate, S. Ebbe, S. Michael, S. Peter in the East, and S. Peter le Bailey; *computed at* . .	1274	6201	5·0
Total[2]	5882	30,592	5·2

[1] S. Clement's parish, in the census of 1801, is given separately under the hundred of Bullingdon, but has been added here for the sake of uniformity.

[2] To these totals have to be added 42 Colleges and University buildings, of which, in 1801, 24 are reckoned, situate some within the walls and some without, with a population of 1,171; in 1881, 42 buildings are thus returned, with

The results shown by this table are striking, and will illustrate what has been said about the difficulties which arise in attempting to obtain an average of occupants to a house. Within the wall, the separate tenements seem during the eighty years to have been actually reduced in number, that is, for every new house erected one at least had been destroyed, or for every garden or open space covered with a new building at least two buildings had been merged into one; and if the computation be correct, the population meanwhile within the line of the old city wall had decreased by over 800[1]. While, on the other hand, the portions outside the line of the city wall had gradually increased till the 1000 houses of 1801 had become nearly 6000 in 1881, and the population of 6000 had become 30,000[2].

a population of 428, bringing up the total population of the parishes (but excluding the part of S. Aldate's on the Berkshire side of the river) to 34,572, resident in 6630 houses (i. e. 5.5). But the *municipal limits* of Oxford, which while they omit a portion of S. Giles' and S. Clement's on the one hand, and include an additional portion of S. Aldate's, and parts of Cowley, Headington, Marston, North Hincksey, and Wolvercote on the other, bring the total up to 35,264, resident in 6788 houses (i. e. 5.3). The Parliamentary limits include the above, with the remainder of S. Giles' and S. Clement's, the whole of S. Aldate's, large portions of Cowley and Headington, besides portions of Iffley and South Hincksey, and make a total of 40,837 persons, resident in 7840 houses (5·2).

[1] The separation of the total number of houses given in a border parish into those which may be fairly reckoned within the line of the wall, and those which must be considered without, has been attempted by computing the apparently separate tenements drawn on the maps. The statistics of 1801 being compared with Faden's map of 1789, and those of 1881 with the new Ordnance Survey. Of course in such matters absolute accuracy is impossible, since in Faden's maps the houses are drawn in blocks, and even in the new Ordnance Survey it is impossible to be sure of what constitutes a house. In respect to the partitioning out of the population, that has been based on the houses, the ratio in the two divisions being kept similar to that of the general ratio in the whole parish.

[2] Bearing in mind the difficulty which has been pointed out in the previous note, as to differentiating in border parishes between those houses which should be reckoned within the walls and those which lie without, it may be useful, in order to show the fluctuation which has taken place, to give one or two examples from parishes wholly within the wall. In All Saints' parish the 88 tenements of 1801 had, in 1851, fallen to 84, in 1861 they rose to 91, in 1871 they fell to 69, and in 1881 decreased to 65. S. Martin's parish shows a tolerably steady decrease in the houses during the nine decades, according to the census, at the following rate, 76, 67, 76, 62, 66, 68, 60, 52, and 47 at which they stood in 1881. S. Mary's has remained, on the whole, tolerably stationary, the 57 houses of 1801 being represented by 53 in 1881. The parish of S. John, with 21 houses in 1801, was practically stationary to 1861, when there were 22 houses, but in 1871 there were 31, and in 1881, 34 houses. All the parishes wholly without the wall show in the same series a considerable increase, and, with scarcely an exception, the increase has been uniformly gradual and at an increasing rate. Notably S. Giles', the increase of which is shown by the following series, beginning in 1801, i. e. 184, 256, 294, 509, 620, 860, 964, 1147, and 1602 in 1881.

It is, however, the area comprised within the old *enceinte* of the city with which we have to deal. The area of the city in 1086 could not have been more extensive than that within the line of the city wall of the middle ages, and of this the remains are easily to be traced; for all practical purposes it may be considered to be identical with it[1].

In the middle of the eleventh century, when Oxford had probably arrived at the zenith of its early prosperity, and before the disastrous incursion of 1065, we find there was a total of 721 houses, and though the expression is used, *tam intra murum quam extra*, there is no reason to suppose that many of the houses were then outside; a few perhaps clustered round the north and east gates, and several perhaps lay between the south gate and the river in S. Aldate's parish, and there were some perhaps in the Manor of Holywell. If we allow that 71 of these were outside, we have, in comparing 1065 with 1881, area for area, only to compare 650 then with the 700 now; but we must take into account that there was a great difference in their character. Most buildings, no doubt, were but of four low walls and a roof; the better sort of but one storey, i.e. they consisted of the 'celar' and the 'solar,' for such is the ordinary description throughout all the documents relating to leases which we possess of the following century. But although the customs of the time with regard to the privacy, and even existence of sleeping apartments were different from those of our own, and even in well-to-do families the domestic arrangements would have astonished even our artizans at the present day, it is impossible to assign more than four persons on the average to houses such as these. But then, as the record tells us, 478 of them were *vastae*, and in all probability amongst these there were many which could scarcely be estimated more than as huts and hovels, and for these the figure four would be much over the mark.

It is a misfortune that we have but little corroborative evidence of the number of houses and the population at different periods. The Hundred Rolls ought to help us, but they, like the Domesday Survey, are made with a purpose, and though probably a fair estimate of the population and the number of tenants were before the commissioners, they have not recorded it. Faden's map in 1789 represents the houses in blocks, and it is impossible to count the several tenements, but on comparing with this map that of Loggan, made a little more than a century previously (1673), we find to all appearance the number of houses still

[1] See the map. Also see *post*, p. 237, as to the relation of the line of 1087 with that of the mediaeval wall.

less. It is not easy to count them, nor perhaps could the accuracy of the map be depended upon sufficiently in this respect; but on the whole, a comparison points to about 700 at this date being the number of houses within the city walls. If, however, we go back to Agas' map of 1578, we shall find it difficult to count more than 450 houses within the city wall. The small number however shown on this map is due no doubt in part to artistic considerations; for as Agas has omitted all the houses on the south side of Broad Street, in order to bring into prominence the line of the city wall which existed behind them, so we may venture to think he has omitted several within the line of the city boundary whenever they interfered with the view. Probably also many small tenements may have been omitted by accident, as again several which appear as if they were single houses may have consisted of two or more beneath a single line of roof. Still, allowing for all this, there is reason to think that the houses within the area had probably reached their minimum early in Elizabeth's reign, since many colleges had been erected during the three previous centuries, and we know that throughout the middle ages every college that was founded swallowed up very many separate tenements.

On the whole, then, if we assign a thousand occupants to the 243 houses paying tax at the time of the Survey—that is, a rate of full four persons per house, we are probably overstating rather than understating the number; of these most were residents within the city fortifications, and some few were occupying tenements outside. This number of course would be exclusive of the garrison, who would be housed wholly within the Castle precincts.

That, besides the 245 houses, there were 478 empty or destroyed, is certainly a very striking fact, and even allowing for certain deductions, it brings vividly before us a picture of the devastation which the country had undergone. The circumstances attending this misfortune have already been referred to[1], but as Oxford does not stand alone it may be worth while to consider those attending some other towns, where many of the houses are returned in Domesday as *vastae*.

York, which played a more prominent part in the disturbances which preceded the Conquest, was in a far worse state even than Oxford. The record in Domesday runs—

> 'Of all the above-named mansions there are only 391 in the hands of the King, which are let to tenants and paying customary dues, and 400 which are not let and which pay the better ones a penny,

[1] See *ante*, p. 200.

others less, and 540 mansions so void (*vacuae*) that they pay nothing at all, and 145 mansions are held by Frenchmen (*francigenae*)[1].

But then York suffered the brunt of the insurrection when Tostig was expelled, besides the siege of William in 1068.

Northampton does not seem to have suffered like Oxford. Possibly the town was better protected, and the mob was not allowed to pass within the gates; possibly also there may have been other causes which prompted them suddenly to rush on to Oxford instead of stopping to devastate Northampton. Out of 292 houses, which are entered much after the same manner as those in the Oxford Survey, only thirty-six are void. Again, Exeter, which stood a siege, duly recorded[2], seems to have suffered very slightly, for out of 285 there are only forty-eight returned as 'devastated, after the king came into England[3].'

In several boroughs, however, a large proportion of the houses are returned as *vastae* and the like; e. g. at Dorchester, out of a total of 188, there were 100 *penitus destructae*; at Bridport, out of 120, there were 20 *ita destitutae* that they cannot pay. At Wareham, out of 285, there were 150 *vastae*; and at Shaftesbury, out of a total of 257, there were 80 *vastae*. All these are in Dorset[4]. They do not quite reach the Oxford proportion, which is 66 per cent.; but Dorchester and Wareham come very near to it, each with over 52 per cent.

Various causes however are assigned for the description of *vastae* in the pages of Domesday. There were many so returned, for instance, at Lincoln at the time of the Survey, and in this case the commissioners explain the cause thus:—

> 'Of the aforesaid mansions which were *hospitatae* there are now ... 240 *vastae*. ... Of the aforesaid mansions which are *vastae*, 166 were destroyed on account of [building] the castle. The remaining 74, rendered *vastae*, are without the bounds of the castle, and are so, not because of the oppression of the King's Sheriffs and Servants, but because of misfortune and poverty, and ravage by fire (*propter infortunium paupertatem et ignis exustionem*)[5].'

[1] Domesday, fol. 298 a, col. 1. Here *vacuae* is evidently used as synonymous with *vastae*. Of the total 1331 it would seem that only 391 were in good condition. On what grounds the 145 additional houses which were held by Frenchmen were excused from paying any tax, cannot be well explained.

[2] See *ante*, pp. 196–8.

[3] Domesday Survey, fol. 100 a, col. 2. The mode of reference to the siege is certainly ingenious; while the two circumstances, namely the slight effect of an important siege, recorded by all the historians, and the fact that the result is duly entered in the Survey, tell against the theory that the *mansiones vastae* in Oxford are attributable to William besieging the town.

[4] Domesday, fol. 75 a, col. 1.

[5] This extract shows clearly that *vastae* does not mean necessarily that all the

In Gloucester 16 houses are recorded to have stood where the Castle stands, and 14 to be *vastae*, but the total of the houses is not given. At Huntingdon 21 appear to have been returned as *vastae* because they 'occupied the place where the Castle stood, and besides these there were 112 *vastae* for which the reasons are not given; neither is it possible to calculate the total number paying geld.' At Cambridge the numbers, when added together in the ten different wards, amount to a total of 371, of which 55 are returned as *vastae*, and apparently 27 had been destroyed for the Castle, besides several others which appear from various causes not to have paid rent.

In Wallingford again, where the term *haga* is used instead of *mansio*, it seems that in the time of King Edward there were 276 *hagae*, but at the time of the Survey there were 13 less; that is, 8 were destroyed for the Castle, and the remaining 7, it seems, had been appropriated rent and tax free, i. e. one for the Moneyer 'as long as he coins money,' and 'Saulf of Oxford' had one, but we are not told why. They are not actually returned as *vastae*, but it will be observed those which were freed from customary dues are put in the same category as those which were destroyed to make way for the extension of the castle, and those so destroyed are at Lincoln returned as *vastae*. Such illustrations go far to show that we must take *vastae* in a very wide sense; yet though we do so, we must not overlook that in the case of Oxford the numbers are very great and that the term *destructae* is used as well.

Although in the summary the word *domus* is used for the house, throughout the detailed list it will be observed the word *mansio* is used, with only four exceptions. It would appear, from comparing the entries in other parts of the Survey, that the use of these special terms is purely arbitrary, and that practically the same thing is meant. It is possible that the 'mansio' in the view of the compiler had a slightly different signification from that of the *domus*[1], just as the word mansion has at the present time, and that most of the *mansiones* stood detached

houses so returned were standing in ruins, but that besides several being void of tenants, the houses had decreased by so many since the return in King Edward's Time; the site of 166 houses returned as *vastae* had been occupied by the castle, and the word therefore could not mean ruinous buildings, unless indeed, just when the Survey was being taken these houses were one and all in the process of demolition, which is, on many grounds, improbable; in other words, it may be said that the houses in ruins, etc., and those which had disappeared altogether, were classed in one category.

[1] Kelham, in his *Domesday Illustrated*, p. 267, says that '*mansio* and *domus* seem to be distinguished, but wherein the difference consisted is not easy to say. Ellis observes, that 'in a few entries of the Survey *mansiones* seem to imply houses simply,' and quotes from Bracton on the distinction of the *mansio* from the

and in their own plot of ground, whereas *domi* might be joined together and possibly in rare exceptions without any garden or private land attached; still the difference does not appear to be of any importance in estimating the number or general character of the tenements.

It will be observed also that certain mansions which are called 'mural' are exempted from payment, 'on account of their being compelled to repair the walls[1].' At first sight, it would seem therefore that Oxford was surrounded by a 'wall,' but there are reasons on the other hand to suppose that the fortifications were in a considerable part of earth rather than of continuous stone work, which the word 'wall[2],' in its ordinary acceptance, implies. Along the northern side of the city, which was most open to attack, from being unprotected by any river, and from the chief road entering Oxford on this side, there was no doubt a formidable line of defence; this probably consisted of a vallum faced with stone work on the outer side, beneath which a deep ditch had been excavated. The masonry was probably carried to the top of the vallum, and along it the soldiers could easily pass from one part to another during a time of siege[3]. There was of course a parapet, but this may have been as likely of wood as of stone. The chief defences, as regarded the greater part of the city,

villa and that from the *manerium* (lib. v. cap. 28) in the following words—'Mansio *autem esse poterit constructa* ex pluribus domibus '*vel una quae erit habitatio una et sola sine vicino*.' Ellis' Introduction to Domesday, 1885, vol. i. p. 243.

Under Norwich, in the Survey, vol. ii. fol. 117a, will be found perhaps the best example where the distinction appears to be recognized; but in the Oxford statistics there is no reason to suppose that the '*mansiones*' were detailed *in addition* to the 243 *domi* paying geld; this would lead to a considerable over-estimate of the population of Oxford at the time.

[1] The repair of the town wall was provided for by the English laws; e.g. in those of Athelstan the following occurs: 'And we ordain that every burh be repaired fourteen days after Rogation Day.' Thorpe's Laws and Institutes, 8vo, 1840; p. 247.

[2] The word *murus* no doubt, as a rule, in mediaeval writings, signified a stone wall, and the fortifications of the Roman towns, to which it was originally applied, were nearly always of stone or similar material. But as appears by representations, e.g. on Trajan's column, the Romans adopted wooden brattishes and palisading in addition to the stone fortifications, and this practice continued throughout the Middle Ages; so that the word *murus*, adopted from the Romans, may well have included the fortifications as a whole, and been applied when the palisades were the chief means of defence. Varro, it may be noted, has this passage in his treatise *De Re Rustica* (lib. i. c. 14), '*Ad Viam Salariam, in agro Crustumino, videre licet locis aliquot conjunctos aggeres cum fossis, ne flumen agris noceant* aggeres *qui faciunt* (sic) *sine fossâ, eos quidem vocant* muros, *ut in agro Reatino*.' This of course only relates to the 'dykes,' as we term them, such as we see in fen districts, but it shows that the word did not, even with the Romans, necessarily imply the existence of stone. In the Bayeux tapestry, one or two representations of the siege of fortified towns show the wooden palisading and the mode of attack by fire.

[3] This probably accounts for the doorways in the towers of the Castle and of S. Michael's. See *ante*, p. 210, and *post*, p. 260.

were the ditches and the streams, and no doubt a continuous vallum of earth, which in time of danger was surmounted by woodwork of various kinds to protect the soldiers from the arrows. So far as can be judged it was the usual method, and the walling was exceptional.

It must be remembered also that Robert D'Oilgi, on his appointment to the governorship, is not recorded to have fortified the town, and though in all probability he put the existing fortification in order, throughout the line of *enceinte*, and by building S. Michael's tower over against the North gate he added much to the strength of this part of the fortification, he could not well have built a wall round the town, since it is not probable that in Henry the Third's time the whole work would have had to be done over again; and yet the money expended then, implies fortifications in progress on a very extended scale. Besides which, it is implied by the account of the siege in Stephen's reign, that ditches and water were the chief means of defence, and fire the chief mode of attack.

The 'mural' houses were therefore those which had to keep the fortifications generally in an efficient state; and this consisted mostly of repairing and clearing the vallum and trench, especially the latter, when it was a ditch into which the water flowed; and as the position of Oxford was admirably situated in respect of water, few if any of the ditches were likely to be dry[1]. They had also to repair the wooden *brattishes* and palisades with which the vallum was surmounted.

Here, however, arises the question, What was the extent of this line of *enceinte*? in other words, did the mediaeval wall, of which we possess sufficient remains to be certain as to its course on the three sides of the town (the Castle occupying the narrowed western side), follow the original line? The answer is, that in the absence of any traces of another line of fortifications, and from the natural course of things, it did so; and that to all intents and purposes the area enclosed in Henry the Third's reign was the same as that which was enclosed in William the Conqueror's reign. That the later wall was built absolutely on the site of the old vallum throughout, is perhaps saying too much; indeed

[1] Even the ditch above referred to along the outside of the northern wall must have had some water in it; this was apparent when the new drainage works in 1880, which involved digging down a considerable depth in the streets, exposed a portion of the ditch with the black accumulation of the mud at the bottom. It was admirably exhibited in section at the end of Turl Street, the gravel bank sloping up from it and then forming a kind of terrace beneath the city wall, the foundation of which here proved to be nine feet thick, completing the section. The fosse obtained the name of the Can-ditch in the middle ages (probably the 'Canal' ditch or sewer), and gave its name to the street formed by the row of houses built between the road and the fosse, and which afterwards came to be Broad Street.

it would be improbable that it should be so; as they would scarcely destroy in all cases the old fortifications till the new ones were nearly ready, and so they may have built the wall just within or just without the older line, if circumstances required it, and in one or two cases along the line, traces of a deep ditch have been found on the inside of the later line of the mediaeval wall. In Exeter College, for example, when they dug the foundations for the Rector's house some few years ago, the remains of what appeared to be an ancient ditch were reached *just within the line of the city wall*, which is here visible from the court at the back of the Ashmolean Museum, although the wall has been refaced with modern ashlar. The peculiarity especially noted was that considerable remains of wood, especially osiers, were found in the black mud at the bottom, such as might well have been thrown in when the ditch was filled up and the vallum destroyed, the new wall having been erected on the outside of the old ditch[1].

In considering the list of the tenants holding property in Oxford there are several points deserving attention. Twenty of the mansions seem to be directly in the kings' hands, but they had been in Earl Ælfgar's up to 1062, and must have passed from his successor's hands, whoever that was, into those of the king. Most of the houses in the county towns held by the *tenentes in capite* seem to be connected more or less with manors in that of the neighbouring counties; probably all were originally so, but in some cases the county property was sold without the town house representing it, and sometimes the contrary may have taken place. For the purpose of attending the courts, which were held in the towns—which happened very frequently—in days before hotels existed (and when, as appears to have been the case here at this time, the abbey accommodation was very slight in comparison with what S. Frideswide, Oseney, and Rewley would have afforded a century or so later), it was necessary to have residences set apart for the lords of the manors, and also in many cases for the under-tenants also, when they came here on business; and there can be little doubt many of these houses were specially entered upon the geld-rolls, as appropriated to certain manors[2].

[1] The line of the wall appears to have been altered more than once on the north side of S. Michael's church; the last time, perhaps, when the north transept was thrown out in the fourteenth century. The remains of an old deep ditch were found when digging on the site of the Ship Inn in 1883 at some sixty feet *within* the so-called Cranmer's Bastion, reckoning from the centre of the ditch to the present outer wall. This thirteenth century line of wall probably ran between the two, while the first vallum or wall must naturally have been on the south side of the ditch.

[2] The expression so frequently found of *jacet* or *jacuit* implies this.

The five mansions next mentioned as belonging to Shipton, Bloxham and Risborough[1] illustrate this; they had naturally passed to the king, since we find that the chief manors at these three places had themselves done so. As to Twyford (which like Risborough is in the adjoining county of Buckinghamshire) it does not seem to have had a distinct manor belonging to it, at least it does not occur in the Survey in the part relating to that county.

Of Earl Alberic we glean but little knowledge from the historians. He was raised to the earldom of Northumberland soon after the murder of Walcher, Bishop of Durham, in 1080, but his possessions lay chiefly in Wiltshire and in a few midland counties. Amongst the latter is found Oxfordshire, in which he held Iffley (which Azor had held in the time of King Eadward) and Minster [Lovell]. It is to be noticed that the surveyors always use the word *tenuit* and not *tenet* in regard to Alberic, so that the earl must have been dead at the time of the Survey; and as the phrase occurs more than once *Modo sunt in manu Regis*, it may be presumed he had only recently died, and that the lands had as yet not passed to a successor. In what way Burford was connected with Earl Alberic does not appear; as it is divided into three manors, held respectively by the Bishop of Bayeux, by the Abbey of Abingdon, and by a certain Ilbod, and as the manors are underlet and no references given to previous holders it is perhaps hopeless to discover the connection. Neither is there any document forthcoming which connects Earl Alberic with S. Mary's Church in Oxford[2]. We have simply the entry as it stands, but it certainly would look much as if the Earl had built the church and alienated two of his houses to the use of the priest of the church[3].

[1] Under Riseberge, in the Buckinghamshire division of the Survey, fol. 143 b, col. 1, there is the following note under *Terra Regis*, '*Riseberge fuit villa Heraldi. . . . In hoc manerio jacet et jacuit quidam burgensis de Oxenford; reddit* 11 *solidos.* It is difficult, however, to explain the exact bearing of this statement upon the mention of the house in the Oxford list.

[2] The words in the Survey do not directly state that he had even held S. Mary's Church, but there can be little doubt that this is the meaning. It will be observed that two of the mansions belonged to the church in Oxford, and one to the manor of Burford.

[3] A note in Domesday, under the lands of the Church of Coventry, may be taken as an illustration of the change of lands at this time, and shows also Earl Alberic somewhat in the light of Robert D'Oilgi: '*Huic Ecclesiae* [*i. e. Conventriensi*] *dedit Alwinus vicecomes Cliptone concessu regis Edwardi et filiorum suorum pro anima sua et testimonio comitatus. Comes Albericus hanc injuste invasit et ecclesiae abstulit*' (Domesday, folio 238 b, col. 2). Under the lands of Earl Alberic, Clipton is named with five other manors: '*Ipse comes tenuit Cliptone Alwinus vice comes tenuit T. R. E.*' At the end appears '*Hae terrae Alberici comitis sunt in manu Regis*,' but this is marked through, and instead is written, *Goisfridus de Wirce*

Earl W. is no doubt intended for Earl William. Amongst the lands in Oxfordshire the last entry stands, 'LIX. *Hae infra scriptae terrae sunt de feudo Willelmi Comitis*[1].' They are some thirty in number, chiefly small portions of land, many of a single hyde and sometimes less. This is sufficient to account for the nine mansions held in Oxford. The person referred to must be William Fitz Osbern, who played an important part in the history of the Norman Conquest. One of the first earldoms to which King William appointed was that of Hereford, and though William Fitz Osbern held it till the time of his death in 1071, there does not seem to be a trace of his name in the pages of Domesday among any of the returns belonging to that district. In fact the only county where his name appears as holding any extensive property is Oxfordshire, and that, as already pointed out, is in detached portions, scattered throughout the district.

Next in order follow the Bishops' mansions. A good deal of the episcopal land, so far as can be judged, changed hands during the first twenty years after the Conquest, although on the whole the English bishops held perhaps as much at the time of the Survey as before; this, however, was due more to the fact that William's favourites were appointed to episcopal emoluments than that many of the lands *qua* church lands had not been confiscated. Practically the number of manors in the county in the bishops' hands which ought to bear some relation to the mansions in the town do not do so. First of all we find Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, whose manors in Oxfordshire are represented by the solitary Newington[2], yet possessed of seven mansions in Oxford. Walchelin, Bishop of Winchester, with only the two manors of Witney and Adderbury, which originally belonged to the bishopric, yet holds nine mansions in Oxford. When, however, we come to the lands of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, we find nearly fifty manors or parts of manors in the county, held by him, which bear a proper relationship to the eighteen mansions which he held in Oxford. But this arises probably from the circumstance that there was here wholesale confiscation. The Domesday record to the first

eas custodit' (Ibid. fol. 239 b, col. 1). This again points to the recent death of Earl Alberic, his lands being still in custody. It will also illustrate what has been said of the mansions in towns, to quote from the Survey of the borough of Warwick: '*Albericus comes habuit IV mansuras quae pertinent ad terram quam tenuit.*' Ibid. fol. 238 a, col. 1.

[1] Domesday, folio 161 a, col. 1 and 2.

[2] A copy of the original gift of this manor by Aelgifu, the mother of Edward the Confessor, is preserved '*Ic Ælgifu seo hlæfdige Eadweardes cyninges modor*,' &c. See K. C. D. No. 965, vol. iv. 298, and Dugdale, ed. 1817, vol. i. p. 100.

of the manors held by him adds the note, 'Alwine and Aelfgar held them freely;' and though in the case of two manors a certain Alnoth is recorded to have held them, we may perhaps be justified in supposing that all the rest, to the number of some forty-eight or thereabouts, which have no notes, followed the first; and that in the change from Alwine and Aelfgar to their successors, and then to the Bishop of Bayeux, the houses in Oxford were not separated from the manors belonging to them. In the hands of the Bishop of Lincoln (whose title of Bishop of Dorchester it will be observed is here, as well as elsewhere, already suppressed) there are some ten or a dozen manors, and some of them very extensive throughout the county, but not sufficient to warrant the very large number of thirty mansions in Oxford. He was, however, more unfortunate than the Bishop of Bayeux, for while of those belonging to the latter less than one-fourth were *vastae*, of those belonging to the English bishop more than one-half were so.

But perhaps it is a more remarkable circumstance that neither the Bishop of Coutances, nor the Bishop of Hereford, have any manors in the county, and yet have respectively two and three houses in Oxford; while on the other hand the Bishops of Salisbury and Exeter have each a manor, and the Bishop of Lisieux has four in the county, and yet neither have houses in Oxford.

If we consider the abbeys in the same way, we are met with difficulties and some inconsistencies. The abbey of S. Edmund, though it had property in Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire, had none in Oxfordshire; nor does there seem to be any trace of the connection of this abbey with Teynton, which, according to the Survey, belonged to the abbey of S. Denys, near Paris, and which had been given to it by Eadward the Confessor. There was good reason, however, for the Abbey of Abingdon having the fourteen mansions, for though it could not count more than eight or nine manors in the county, it had so large a number in Berkshire, and consequently so much business to transact at the courts which were held in Oxford, that this large number may well have been needed.

In the case of Ensham, however, the matter is different, and we must look rather to the thirteen houses being somewhat of the nature of an endowment of their church here; for the words of the Survey run 'has one church and xiii mansions.' The connection between Ensham Abbey and Stowe in Lincolnshire has already been pointed out[1], and Ensham itself is entered amongst the lands of the Bishop of Lincoln[2].

[1] See *ante*, p. 170.

[2] The record puts the matter very clearly:—'The Bishop of Lincoln holds

Fortunately a Register and Cartulary of Ensham have been preserved[1], and thus we have a complete list of the property not only corroborating but fully explaining and illustrating the passages in Domesday. Transcripts of two charters of King William should perhaps be noticed here, since the abbey of Ensham, as will be seen, was closely connected with Oxford. The first runs:—

> 'William King of the English to his Bishops and all his faithful people in England greeting. Know that I have confirmed the gift which Earl Leofric and Godiva his wife made to the church of S. Mary, of Stowe.... Further, I grant to the said church, on the advice of Bishop Remigius, the church of Egnesham, with all the lands which it now possesses, on this condition, that the Abbot there shall be ruled by my counsel, whenever he deliberates upon matters connected with these churches..... And this I do by the counsel and testimony of L[anfranc] the archbishop: Witnesses, E[dward], Sheriff and Robert de Oili[2].'

The next runs:—

> 'I, William King of England, to the men of the Abbey of Stowe (*La Stowe*) greeting: I command you that you be obedient to your Lord, the Abbot Columbanus, as you were to Remigius the Bishop in all things. Witnesses: Richard de Curci[3].'

But the long charter of Bishop Remigius, granted in 1091, i.e. some five years after the Survey, contains a complete summary of all the property at that time in their possession. The following passage more especially concerns Oxford, the thirteen mansions being probably included under '*reculis*':—

> 'I add also, besides, to the same church of the most glorious mother of God (i. e. S. Mary's, Stowe), and to the monks living there, a certain important increase, namely, Egnesham, together with the same *pagus* in which it was of old erected, and with all the other members belonging to it, that is to say, 'Sciffort' and Rollendricht, also Aerdinton and Micleton and with the little church (*ecclesiola*) of S. Aebba situate in the city of Oxford, together with the lesser revenues (*reculis*)

Eglesham, and the Monk Columbanus of him; there are 15½ hydes there belonging to the Church: the same Columbanus holds of the Bishop Scipford; there are three hydes; the same Columbanus holds of the Bishop 5 hydes in Parvi Rollandri.' Domesday, folio 155 a, col. 2. Later on also it is noted that Roger of Iveri 'holds of the Bishop, Hardintone; this is of the Church of Eglesham.' Both Shifford (which lies about six miles south-west of Ensham) and Ardington (? Yarnton) are named in the original charter of Ethelred of 1005, and both were held by the Abbey at the dissolution, the latter being spelt in the ministers' accounts 'Erdyngton.' Little Rollright is about two miles north-west of Chipping Norton.

[1] They are in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church.

[2] Printed in Dugdale' *Monasticon*, ed. 1846, vol. iii. p. 14. Appendix A, § 95.

[3] Ibid. p. 14. From incidental evidence from other sources these two charters may be dated perhaps about 1075. Appendix A, § 96.

presented to it by the piety of the faithful, and also the two mills on the stream of water adjoining the said city already erected, together with all the appurtenances belonging to them, by any right whatever[1].'

A somewhat later charter of confirmation, namely, in Henry the First's reign, i.e. 1109, refers to certain houses in Oxford:—

'And in Oxford the church of S. Aebba and all that belongs to it; and two mills near Oxford and the meadows, and Aerdinton and whatever the Bishop gave in the exchange of Newerch and Stowe.... William Fitz Nigel gave one house at Oxford. Harding of Oxford, who went to Jerusalem and died there, gave two houses in Oxford, one within and one without the borough. Gillebert de Damari gave one house without the borough, except the customary payment to the King[2].'

It is, perhaps, beyond hope to identify the position of any of these four houses, nor is it clear whether they were given in addition to the thirteen mansions named already in the Domesday Survey.

These three abbeys are the only religious houses except S. Frideswide (which will be found mentioned later) described as holding property in Oxford itself. Other religious foundations, however, held property in the county. The newly founded Abbey of Battle, called in Domesday *Ecclesia De La Batailge*[3], had had Earl Harold's manor of Crowmarsh[4], on the other side of the river from Wallingford, already bestowed upon it. The ancient Abbey of Winchcombe in Gloucestershire, founded by King Cynewulf in 798, had had amongst its earliest grants, Enstone, which was retained still. The Abbey of Preaux in Normandy, in the diocese of Lisieux, founded about 1040, had had Watlington[5] given to it; and the Abbey of S. Denys, near Paris, had had, according to the charter we possess of Edward the Confessor,

[1] From the Ensham Register. In the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church. Charter No. 8. Printed in Dugdale, vol. iii. p. 15. Appendix A, § 97.

[2] From the Ensham Register, No. 10, Dugdale, ibid. p. 16. There are one or two later charters respecting houses in Oxford belonging to the abbey, and though they throw some light upon the property described in the Survey, they would be more properly considered in treating of the following century. Appendix A, § 98.

At the Dissolution, according to the *Computus Ministrorum Domini Regis* Hen. VIII. (A.D. 1539), Ensham was still receiving from '*Tenementa in Oxon. Villa*,' the sum of £1 6*s.* 8*d.* Dugdale, ibid. p. 32.

[3] '*Et quia in hoc loco, ubi sic constructa est ecclesia, Deus mihi victoriam praebuit in bello, ob victoriae memoriam, ipsum locum* Bellum *appellari volui.*' From the original, which is preserved amongst the Harleian Charters, No. 83. Printed in Dugdale, ed. 1846, vol. iii. p. 244.

[4] '*Abbatia de Labatailge tenet de rege Craumares . . . Heraldus comes tenuit.*' Domesday, folio 157 a, col. 1.

[5] '*Abbatia Prattellensis tenet de rege v hidas in Watelinton . . . Ælfelmus liber homo tenuit T. R. E.*' Ibid. folio 157 a, col. 1.

the vill of Taynton[1], in Oxfordshire, given to it. Yet none of these four are returned as holding any of the houses in Oxford in their possession. It will, however, be noticed as a very singular coincidence that a house in Oxford does belong to Taynton, and that it is entered as if it was belonging to S. Edmunds. There certainly seems to be strong negative evidence in the Cartulary of St. Edmund's Abbey against the manor ever having been transferred to that abbey, and it must therefore be suspected that we have here an error on the part of the compiler of the Survey, who has entered the wrong abbey in Domesday.

We next find a long list of Norman earls and barons, who had come over with the Conqueror, holding in the same way mansions in Oxford, apparently representing manors in Oxfordshire or the neighbouring counties, but which, as had been the case with the episcopal estates, had sometimes become separated. These earls and barons take their places in the Domesday Survey as *tenentes in capite*, or tenants in chief, that is, they hold their land direct from the crown[2].

It is very difficult to understand the circumstances which ruled the distribution of the lands to the Norman nobles on the accession of William. Some of the more favoured seem to have held manors in half the counties of England. If we take the first on the list, the Earl of Moretain, William's half-brother, we find that he has some eight hundred manors, distributed throughout twenty counties, ranging from Yorkshire to Sussex, and from Cornwall (nearly the whole of which he possessed) to Norfolk. This is of course exceptional, and perhaps he ranks the highest amongst the most favoured of the Norman barons in this respect. But Hugh, Earl of Chester, seems to have held nearly a hundred and fifty manors, distributed also over twenty counties; while Henry of Ferrars more than a hundred, distributed over fourteen counties; and Milo Crispin has over ninety, but confined to seven counties, the greater part being in Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire.

The proportion of the Oxford mansions to the manors held in the county by these Norman nobles is, as already said, often unequal. The Earl of Mortain, though he has ten mansions, holds only two manors in Oxfordshire, viz. ten hydes in *Hornelie* (possibly Horley, three miles north-west of Banbury), which had been held by a certain Tochi, and one hyde which the monks of St. Peter's, Westminster, held of him, but of which the locality is not given[3].

[1] '*Ecclesia S. Dionysii Parisii tenet de rege Teigtone.*' Ibid. folio 157 a, col. 1.

[2] See the list of those in Oxfordshire given on the facsimile page of the Domesday Survey in this volume.

[3] Domesday, folio 157 a, col. 2.

Earl Hugh, however, has somewhat better reason for his seven mansions, as he holds five manors in the county. Hugh *de Abrincis*, i.e. of Avranches, had the earldom of Chester given to him by the Conqueror in the year 1070, and though nearly forty manors had been granted to him in the county of Chester (which he held *in dominio*, and not *de rege*), we find him as tenant in chief of several manors in various other districts. In Berkshire two, in Buckinghamshire three, and in Oxfordshire five. In the last county he had obtained *Peritone* (i.e. Pirton, north of Watlington), which had belonged to Archbishop Stigand, of Canterbury; *Westone* (which must be Weston, the adjoining parish; *Tachelie* (i.e. Tackley, to the north of Woodstock), which Hugo, King Eadward's chamberlain, had held; *Cercelle* (which is most likely Churchill, near Chipping Norton), and this Earl Harold had held; and land in *Ardulveslie* (now Ardley, north-west of Bicester)[1].

William, Earl of Evreux, had succeeded to his earldom in 1067, and is recorded, together with his father, to have fought in the great battle near Hastings. His rewards were not seemingly so great as those of others, who perhaps had done less for William, as he was only possessed of some seventeen manors, nine of which lay in Berkshire and the remaining eight in Oxfordshire[2]. The lands he acquired in the few cases where the previous holders' names are given seem not to have belonged to persons known to history. One mansion at Oxford it will be seen represents the whole.

Henry of Ferrieres[3] was either a richer man, and could purchase more, or he was a greater favourite, and his manors, of which there are over a hundred[4], are so distributed that thirty-three are in Leicestershire, twenty-two in Berkshire[5], and seven in Oxfordshire[6], and yet his manors are represented by two houses only in Oxford.

[1] Domesday, folio 157 a, col. 2.

[2] Ibid.

[3] In most documents the name is written *de Ferrariis*. There are one or two villages in Normandy named Ferrieres; probably he derived his title from that near Bernai.

[4] Domesday, folio 157 b, col. 2.

[5] Of the acquisition of two of his Berkshire manors (fol. 60 b, col. 1), *Fivehide* (Fyfield) and *Chingestune* (Kingston Bagpuiz), we have a very interesting account preserved by the compiler of the Abingdon Chronicle (Rolls, ed. vol. i. pp. 484 and 491). There had evidently been law proceedings respecting them between him and Abingdon Abbey. On the ground that Godric sheriff of Berkshire holding Fyfield, under Abingdon, and Turchill in the same way holding Kingston, had both fallen while fighting in the great battle, the court held that the manors were rightly confiscated, and Henry of Ferrieres gained the suit.

[6] The following note occurs in one of the manors, namely that of '*Dene* and *Celford* (i.e. Dean in Spelsbury Parish and Salford near Chipping Norton):

William Peverel also (who was an illegitimate son of the Conqueror) seems to have been well favoured; when, in 1068, William erected Nottingham Castle, he gave it into the charge of William Peverel. He possessed nearly a hundred manors[1], but not very widely distributed, nearly eighty of them being situated in Nottinghamshire and Northamptonshire, and the remainder in Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Beds, Berks, Bucks, and Oxon. In Buckinghamshire he held ten manors; in Oxfordshire two, and in Berkshire one. His two Oxfordshire manors were *Clawelle* and *Amintone* (Crowell and Emmington), both in the hundred of Lewknor, and not far from Thame. His four mansions are therefore somewhat disproportionate, unless they represent manors in Buckinghamshire as well.

Edward the Sheriff is named next as holding two mansions; a signature has already been noted[2] which might be thought to imply that he was sheriff of Oxford, yet it is possibly the same as the Edward who is elsewhere referred to in Domesday as Edward of Salisbury[3], and this Edward was sheriff of Wilts. Under this latter title[4] he appears to have possessed two manors in Oxfordshire out of the fifty-seven he possessed in all. Forty of them were in Wiltshire, the remainder being in Dorset, Somerset, Hants, Surrey, Middlesex, and Hertfordshire[5]. We know something of his history, and he must have been rather a young man at this time, if it is the same who in the twentieth year of Henry the First's reign (1120) served as standard-bearer at the battle of Brémule.

Ernulph, of Hesding (named possibly from Hesdin in Picardy, but as no trace is found amongst the signatures of charters there, probably

'Hujus terrae v hidas tenet H[enricus] de rege et iij hidas emit ab Eduino Vicecomite,' Domesday, folio 157 b, col. 2. It opens up a curious enquiry how Eadwine the sheriff was in a position to sell a part of the manor. Also what Eadwine is meant. In 1050 Wulfwine was sheriff of Oxfordshire (see *ante*, p. 179), and an Edward, according to the next entry but one on the Oxford list, seems to be sheriff at the time of the Survey.

[1] Domesday, folio 157 b, col. 2.

[2] As a signature to the charter respecting Ensham, see *ante*, p. 242. The signature however does not mention the name of the county of which he was sheriff.

[3] Edward of Salisbury was sheriff of Wiltshire, for in the Domesday Survey (folio 69 a, col. 1) there is an entry of his profits as sheriff as follows:—'Edwardus vicecomes habet per annum de denariis quae pertinent ad vicecomitatum, 120 porcos et 32 bacones; Frumenti 12 modios, et 8 sextarios, et tantundem brasii: Avenae 5 modios et 4 sextarios: Mellis 16 sextarios vel pro melle 16 solidos (this gives us the price of honey then); Gallinas 480; Ova 1600; Caseos 100; Agnos 52; Vellera ovium 240; Bledi annonae 162 acras.'

[4] Domesday, folio 160 a, col. 1.

[5] Under Hertfordshire (folio 139 a, col. 2) the heading is 'Terra Edwardi Vicecomitis'; but amongst the entries the form 'Edwardus Sarisberiensis occurs.'

from some place in Normandy the name of which is lost), was well favoured, as nearly fifty manors were held by him, mostly in Wiltshire. In Oxfordshire he held three manors [1], viz. *Bortone* (but which of the three Bourtons has not been ascertained), *Ludewelle* (Ledwell in Sandford St. Martin's parish), and *Nortone* (probably Chipping Norton); and just as he held three manors in the shire, so also he held three mansions in Oxford.

Berenger of Todeni [2] had but nine manors [3], but strangely distributed: two in Yorkshire, one in Lincolnshire, three in Nottinghamshire, and three in Oxfordshire; the latter being *Brohtune* (Broughton), a part of *Hornelie* (i.e. Horley, already referred to as being held also in part by the Earl of Mortain), and *Bodicote*, all three lying in the immediate neighbourhood of Banbury, and represented by one mansion.

Milo Crispin [4], as has been noticed, had several manors, and mostly in Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire, holding, as he did, over thirty in each of those counties. He married Maud the daughter of Robert D'Oilgi, who had married the daughter of Wigod of Wallingford, but as the marriage must have taken place after the date of the Survey, he could not have obtained any of his manors through his wife. He possessed *Gadintone* (probably Goddintone) and *Cestretone* (Chesterton), both of which had belonged to Wigod of Wallingford; *Haselic* which had belonged to Queen Edith, and *Witecerce* (Whitchurch) which had belonged to Leuric and Alwin: of his other manors nothing is noted as to who held them in the time of King Eadward [5]. Amongst his Buckingham manors also appear one or two which had belonged to Wigod of Wallingford [6]. His two mansions in Oxford are scarcely representative of his property in the county.

Richard of Curci (who takes his name from Courcy sur Dive) [7] was

[1] Domesday, folio 160 a, col. 1.

[2] He seems to have come from Toeni, or, as it is now spelt, Tosny, near the bank of the Seine, and in his domain or adjoining to it there arose in after years, to the delight of Richard the First, one of the finest fortresses along the whole course of that river, and which was hence known as the Chateau Gaillard. Orderic Vital mentions Ralph de Toeni who was standard-bearer to William, and was at the battle near Hastings. Later on his son Ralph played a part in history. There were also three of the family named Roger of Toeni, the first of whom died before William came over. Berenger of Toeni is not mentioned by Orderic Vital at all.

[3] Domesday, folio 159 a, col. 2.

[4] In 1084 he is referred to by the Abingdon chronicler as follows: 'Cum Miloni de Walingaford cognomento Crispin.' *Chron. Mon. Ab.* ii. p. 12.

[5] Domesday, folio 159 a, col. 2. [6] Domesday, folio 150 a. col. 1.

[7] In the Department of Calvados, about ten miles N.E. of Falaise. Richard of

possessed of three manors only[1], and those three in Oxfordshire, viz. *Neuham* (probably Nuneham near Oxford) *Secendene* (i. e. Checkendon beneath the Chilterns), and a hyde in Foxcote (a hamlet of Idbury near Burford); and these are fairly represented by three mansions.

When we come to Robert D'Oilgi (named probably from Ouilly le Vicomte[2]) it will be observed that twelve mansions are entered under his name as held by him in Oxford[3], and another forty-two houses are entered elsewhere, where his name occurs amongst the tenants in chief. There can be little question that the latter are wholly in addition to the mansions enumerated in the Oxford list. As has already been pointed out, besides being castellan or governor of Oxford, he had married the daughter of Wigod of Wallingford, and had no doubt acquired some of his father-in-law's manors as a dowry, and more still at his death, since it would appear that they had not been confiscated by the Conqueror. At the same time, but few evidences occur of this in the Survey. For instance, amongst D'Oilgi's manors in Berkshire only one seems to have been derived from his father-in-law.

He was possessed in all of some fifty manors, of which the greater part were in Oxfordshire, the remainder being in the neighbourhood; that is, three in Northamptonshire, one in Warwickshire, two in Hertfordshire, one in Bedfordshire, six in Buckinghamshire, six in Berkshire, and three in Gloucestershire.

There are twenty-nine entries of his manors[4] distributed throughout Oxfordshire, and to some of these manors, directly or indirectly, it is probable that the twelve mansions named in the Survey belonged.

It is different perhaps as regards the 'forty-two houses, as well within as without the wall[5].' These belonged wholly to the Holywell manor, which must be considered to be both adjacent to, as well as

Courci, who held the Oxford mansions, assisted William Rufus against Robert de Belesme, who in 1091 in return besieged his castle at Courci. Orderic Vital (Lib. viii. 16) describes him as then grey-headed. He signs the charter quoted *ante*, p. 242.

[1] Domesday Survey, folio 159 a, col. 1.

[2] There are four places in Calvados of the name of Ouilly, viz. Ouilly-le-vicomte, and Ouilly-du-Houlley, both near to Lisieux, and Ouilly-le-Basset, and Ouilly-le-Tesson, both near to Falaise. At the first of these, which lies three miles to the north of Lisieux, there still exists a most curious little church of a date anterior to the twelfth century, built up of Roman materials (*Statistique Monumentale du Calvados*, 1867, v. p. 4). It is just possible it was due to the piety of Robert; and if so we have there the forerunner of the churches of St. George, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Michael, and St. Peter at Oxford.

[3] Domesday, folio 158 a, col. 1.

[4] Domesday, folio 158, col. 1.

[5] Domesday Survey under No. xxviii. folio 158 a, cols. 1, 2, and 158 b, col. 1. See *ante*, p. 224.

partially within Oxford. It is true the description is obscure, and the passage referring to his holding one manor, with the benefice of S. Peter, seems to have been left imperfect in the process of transcription. The mention of the mill, which is no doubt that still bearing the name of Holywell Mill, and St. Peter's church, which, in much later documents, is shown to be closely connected with Holywell[1], seem to point distinctly to there being one manor of Holywell to which both the paragraphs above quoted from Domesday refer, though in the original they are separated by intervening paragraphs. The explanation is that first the manors are described which Robert D'Oilgi held in demesne, and next the series of manors or portions which were leased to under-tenants.

It will be observed that in reference to these tenements in Oxford, the term '*domos*' is used instead of *mansiones*; but as already pointed out, there is no practical difference in the terms: further, the word *hospitatas*[2] is added, which, in this instance, can mean nothing more than that the houses were let to tenants. It is not, however, without interest to note that twenty-three men on the manor have gardens. These '*hortuli*' may reasonably be taken in the sense of market gardens, and it is an exceptional instance of the reference to an industry in Oxford at this time[3].

[1] In the Hundred Rolls (vol. ii. p. 805). In the inquisition taken temp. Edw. I. we find 'Dominus Bogo de Clare, rector ecclesiae Beati Petri orientalis Oxon . . . tenet manerium de Halywelle ratione ecclesiae suae praedictae, de novo a burgo Oxoniensi subtractum.' The advowsons of both St. Peter's and Holywell church belong to Merton College at the present time.

[2] The expression '*mansiones hospitatae*,' as has been shown in a previous page (p. 234), occurs in the entry respecting Lincoln, where it appears to be applied to the houses generally. The burgesses of Lewes are returned as having 39 *mansurae hospitatae et* 20 *inhospitatae* (fol. 26 a, col. 1). The term is not confined to the meaning of 'inhabited,' which is the obvious rendering, for the word is used in a charter *temp.* Hen. III., in respect to a meadow, e.g. 'Ex dono Gilberti filii Nigeli, totum *pratum tam hospitatum* quam non hospitatum, quod est sub habitaculo earundem monialium.' (See Prior. S. Clementis juxta Eboracum, Dugdale, vol. iv. 325.) (See Ducange also, sub voce '*hospes*.') The false argument, however, adopted from the incidental use of this word in the Survey of Oxford, to support the theory of the existence of a University here at this time should not be quite passed over without notice. Antony à Wood writes 'What those houses stiled "domos hospitatas" should signify but *hospitia*, i.e. Inns or Receptacles for Scholars (for so *hospitia*, according to commentators, is expounded), let those that are critics judge.' (*History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, ed. 1792, vol. i. p. 133.) Wood, before giving to the words this sense, should have observed that while Oxford only possessed 42, the city of Lincoln possessed 912 so described.

[3] The other exceptions are Wulwi the fisherman and Swetman the moneyer: the latter however, would perhaps be looked upon as a government official rather than a tradesman. Of course there are the mills, each of which implies a miller.

Robert D'Oilgi has already been noticed somewhat fully in the historical narrative given in the last chapter, as the founder of S. George's in the Castle, and, by implication, of S. Mary Magdalen; and here we find another church connected with his name, namely, S. Peter's in the East, and it is not unreasonable to suppose him to have been the founder of this also [1].

It is very difficult to assign a definite position to this monument amongst the historical monuments of Oxford. In the first place, the church has been made to play a prominent part in the mythical story of King Alfred's foundation, and the crypt called in, so to speak, as a witness to the truth of the story of Grymbald having built himself a tomb in which he had intended 'his bones should be laid [2];' and this has tended to deter sober investigation into its real history. Though the story of Grymbald having built the crypt be an invention, the monument may be said to retain evidences, which seem to point to the plan being of a period before D'Oilgi's time, and yet other evidence seems to point to the structure being after his time; and hence there is some difficulty.

The plan of this crypt, as now visible, represents nothing very extraordinary, and, by a casual visitor, it would be at once ascribed to Henry the First's reign, but be admitted to be of a type of crypt which was continued later; and as there appears to be no break between the wall of the crypt and the wall of the chancel above, which wall contains both structural and ornamental evidences of being of the time of Stephen (if not of Henry the Second), the conclusion would naturally be drawn that the crypt was probably of the latter date. At the same time, the small doorways on either side and at the western end would suggest that work of an earlier date had been made use of. But the plan of the crypt as a whole, which was discovered by the excavations made under the auspices of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society in 1863, is of a type which is usually supposed to have ceased in the eleventh century in this country, or at latest in Henry the First's reign.

The essential features of this type were, first, that the vault of the crypt was raised some three or four feet above the level of the floor of

[1] It will be noticed that the church holds two hydes of him; and this looks rather like an endowment on his part. Had the church already held the land the entry would probably have been different. Of course it does not exclude the hypothesis that there was a church already, that it had lost its original endowments, and that D'Oilgi gave to it others; but in the absence of any rebutting evidence the first is by far the most reasonable hypothesis.

[2] See *ante*, p. 47.

the nave; next, that there were descending steps from the nave both on the north and south side into the crypt. In some cases moreover the space now occupied in our cathedrals, and in the few parish churches in which the choir is thus raised, by central steps leading up into the choir, was left open, or at most covered by a grill or something of the kind, through which a tomb or important shrine could be seen; this was an imitation, or rather a survival of, the early arrangement in the Roman churches, in which this plan of a raised crypt had for some rather obscure reason come to be called a 'Confessio.' There are very few parish churches where any traces of this latter arrangement are at all visible. At Wing, in Buckinghamshire, the very rude crypt beneath the chancel, constructed of concrete rather than masonry, exhibits traces of an opening of this kind; by the alteration, however, of level, coupled with either wanton destruction or decay, the exact plan of the Confessio has been obscured. At Repton, in Derbyshire, while the ninth century crypt shows a fine example of masonry, the vaulted roof being supported upon twisted columns, the western arrangement has been much obliterated; but sufficient remains to show there had been a central communication with the church above, by some sort of opening, for the faithful to see into the crypt without necessarily descending the steps which led down into it. In this church also the three arches at the western end remain, two of which, one on either side, present the original arrangement of the steps leading down into the crypt from the nave.

At S. Peter's Church there are the three western arches, two of which are doorways, but now blocked up; but behind each of them a passage, some ten feet in length, exists leading to some steps of which on either side some five or six remain, or have left traces in the undisturbed gravel to show whence they had been removed. It must have required some ten steps to reach to the level of the nave. These doorways, with the remains of the bolt-holes for the bolts with which the doors were provided, evidently belong to the original structure. The central archway at the western end, now open, leads into a small, low, rudely vaulted chamber, but it is doubtful if it presents anything of the original character; and whether or not it provided in its first construction an opening to the nave, or whether central steps were part of the original design, cannot now be ascertained[1].

[1] See Oxford Architectural and Historical Society's Report, May, 1863, vol. i. p. 223. A good view of the crypt is given in Skelton's *Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*, 1843, pl. 703, where it is represented flooded with water, which was frequently the case.

With those data it is necessary to proceed somewhat cautiously; but, taking into account various considerations, the following explanations are suggested. The endowment of the church being held from Robert D'Oylly's manor, as has been said, seems to point to the building of the church being due to his bounty, or at least to his permission, if not assistance as governor of Oxford, and therefore to be associated with his name. The fact of an ancient arrangement being adopted, is not of itself sufficient evidence to conclude that a church already existed on the spot. No doubt at Canterbury, the leading example for architectural history, Lanfranc, who succeeded to his archbishopric in 1070, and who began his work soon after, followed the old plan, though he appears to have built *de novo*[1].

His work was going on at Canterbury at the same time that Robert D'Oilgi's work was going on in Oxford, and therefore it is not surprising if the same plan in this respect was followed here. Something of the same arrangement must have been followed at Rochester and several other cathedrals rebuilding at the same time, but in all these

[1] Since the arrangement which S. Peter's church offers (though no advantage was taken of this recent restoration to render this arrangement visible) is so rare and interesting, and since it affords so important a piece of evidence in the argument for this portion at least of the structure being of the time of Robert D'Oilgi, it will be satisfactory perhaps here to introduce a short extract from the description given by Gervase (printed in Twisden's *Decem Scriptores*, col. 1291, &c. and ed. Rolls Series, 1879, vol. i. p. 8.) It must be premised however that Gervase, who wrote circa 1200, did not see the arrangement which he describes, but copies that of Eadmer, the singer, who introduces incidentally a note upon the arrangement of Canterbury in his *Vita Audoeni*. 'This was the very church which had been built by the Romans as Bede bears witness in his history, and which was duly arranged in some parts in imitation of the church of the blessed Prince of the Apostle Peter [at Rome] in which his holy relics are exalted by the veneration of the whole world . . . [He then gives an account of the altars in the church of Canterbury.] To reach these altars a certain crypt which the Romans call a "confessionary" had to be ascended from the "choir of the singers" by several steps. This crypt was constructed underneath, after the likeness of the confessionary of S. Peter, the vault of which was raised so high, that it could only be reached by many steps . . . and when Lanfranc came to Canterbury [1070] he found the church which he had undertaken to rule was reduced to ashes . . . As for the church he set about to destroy it utterly and erect a more noble one . . . but before the work began he commanded that the bodies of the Saints which were buried in the eastern part of the church, should be removed to the western part . . . to which I Eadmer can bear witness for I was then a boy at school.' More cannot be quoted without raising questions as to the details of the arrangement, and the object of this note is only to show that the 'confessio' was the primitive arrangement; that Lanfranc in his work, which was going on from 1070–77, followed it, as existing remains testify, and therefore that it is not unlikely that Robert D'Oilgi (who founded St. George in the Castle in 1074) followed such an arrangement. The church which, after the great pattern church of Rome, was dedicated to St. Peter, would be more likely to follow something of the same type, though on a very small scale.

cases, immediately the century turned, the old work seems to have been thought unworthy, and was destroyed, or partially so, to make way for new work of a better description, or on a more extensive scale. Anselm, for instance, at Canterbury, so altered and changed the work of Lanfranc, some forty years afterwards, that very little of the old structure is now visible. The western wall of the crypt remains as it was left by Lanfranc, and the doorways, with the steps leading down from the aisles; but the vaulting was raised by Anselm, and though in all probability much of the old material was used up again, the crypt must be said to belong to Anselm's date.

Here in S. Peter's Church probably D'Oilgi's crypt was kept, and whether the steps were still retained in use or not, the three western arches were retained. The masonry of two more doorways, situated in the northern and southern walls of the crypt respectively, and which communicated by a newel staircase with the choir above, were probably made use of again, but the walls, so far as can be ascertained, were nevertheless wholly rebuilt. Even the doorways at the top of the newel staircases seem to have been retained and rebuilt again into the new wall, since they are similar in character to those below; while some of the pillars, bases, and capitals were very probably used up again, or others made, for the sake of uniformity, to be like them. Work of this kind may be so carefully performed as to leave no trace behind it by which to distinguish between the old and the new, and so it is here. The masonry such as would be used in a crypt built in the reign of Henry I. or of Stephen might be of exactly the same character as the original masonry of the time of the Conqueror or of even earlier date, since the distinction observable between the wide-jointed and fine-jointed masonry is, as a rule, confined to work intended for a more prominent position.

It may be asked, Why was the crypt rebuilt within fifty years or so of its first erection? The answer is probably the same as must be given to the question of Anselm rebuilding Lanfranc's work, of which we have such full and clear record. In his new work at Canterbury, the crypt was certainly elevated by some two or three feet higher than before, the line being plainly visible on its western wall. There is little doubt also that the crypt was extended eastward, though in this case, as in the case of Rochester and other cathedrals, the crypt has in the thirteenth century been extended again further eastward, so that the line of the eastward termination, as it was in the twelfth century, is wholly obliterated.

Now in S. Peter's the probabilities are that D'Oilgi's crypt was

not extended so far to the east as it is now, and also that it had an apsidal termination, such as that which is shown on the plan of the original crypt of S. George's in the Castle, erected, probably, only a short time previously to S. Peter's. It is true that isolated instances of rectangular terminations of crypt and chancel occur before the twelfth century; also, on the other hand, isolated instances of apsidal terminations occur in this country, erected after the close of the eleventh century, and are common enough on the continent; but the rule is so general of apsidal terminations in the eleventh, and rectangular terminations in the twelfth, as to warrant the supposition that the alterations were undertaken partly with the object of changing the small apse into a tolerably capacious choir with the flat east end, such as it has now according to the fashion of the time, and that the alteration, and almost entire rebuilding of the crypt, with the exception of the western wall, took place some fifty years or more after the original building by Robert D'Oilgi, but with the plan and some of the original details retained. This, on the whole, appears to be the best explanation by which the several circumstances can be accounted for; so that the visitor, when standing in S. Peter's crypt and looking westward, may be said to gaze upon a monument which carries him back to the time of Robert D'Oilgi, as much as the tower of St. Michael's Church, or that which rises from the Castle.

Another view would be that the crypt is entirely as Robert D'Oilgi left it. It is, as regards masonry, an advance on the tower of the Castle and St. Michael's, but the concrete vault (with the marks of the boards remaining) is exactly what might have been expected at that time; while the ashlar work and the well-set arches, the capitals, the columns, and the bases, would only go to show that a skilful master of the works was employed, and skilful workmen under him, one who had travelled and understood the style which was then coming in over the whole of western Europe. And if the crypt be compared with others erected during the last twenty years of the eleventh century, and of which the date may be reasonably assigned, e.g. the original part of Wulfstan's crypt at Worcester, or of Gundulf's at Rochester, the argument from analogy would leave much to be said for the theory. And so far as any absence of line of demarcation is concerned, such though not visible on the outside, might be visible on the interior, were it not obscured by the plaster with which the walls are covered. Still, taken all into account, the hypothesis that some alteration took place in Henry the First's reign is the one which would probably be most generally accepted.

Of Roger of Ivry, so named from a town on the river Eure[1], mention has already been made in connection with Robert D'Oilgi in the foundation of S. George's in the Castle[2]. It would appear they were sworn companions, other instances of the kind being recorded. Roger of Ivry was well favoured; he had been *Pincerna* to the Duke of Normandy, and seems to have held the same office here under the King of England; he possessed some forty manors which, like those belonging to Robert D'Oilgi, were chiefly in Oxfordshire and the immediate neighbourhood. Besides twenty-three in the county[3], he held one in Warwickshire, one in Huntingdonshire, seven in Buckinghamshire, four in Berkshire, and five in Gloucestershire. It would almost seem as if they had been partners in their successes and in their purchases. Like Robert D'Oilgi, his Oxfordshire manors, it will be seen, were well represented by mansions in Oxford. Amongst the manors under his name it will be observed he held of the king four hydes in Walton (probably the whole manor) in the north of Oxford, which reached down to the river, since it included a fishery of the value of 16*d.* and 6 acres of meadow, and this manor he is returned as holding in demesne. He also held the neighbouring manor of *Ulfgarcote* (Wolvercote), consisting of 5 hydes; and this he had leased to a certain 'Godefridus[4].' In only one solitary case throughout all his manors is there the slightest reference as to who held them in King Eadward's time, which is unfortunate, as it would have been interesting to know to whom the land adjoining Oxford on the North had belonged.

Whether the Rannulf Flammard or Flambard was the same who under William Rufus was made Bishop of Durham (1099), and whose infamous career is described by historians, may be open to question. That he appears in Oxfordshire under the heading of *Terra Canonicorum de Oxeneford et Aliorum Clericorum*[5] implies perhaps that he was in orders; we find one with such a name also as a tenant in chief of some three or four manors in Hampshire[6]. That the solitary mansion in

[1] In the department of Eure, marked on the map as Ivry-la-Bataille, some sixteen miles S.E. of Evreux. Here Roger founded an abbey in 1071, portions of which still exist.

[2] See *ante*, p. 208.

[3] Domesday, fol. 158 b, col. 1.

[4] Ibid. fol. 159 a, col. 1.

[5] Domesday, fol. 157 a, col. 1. The word *Flanbard* is interlineated above 'Rannulf.' Elsewhere, under LVIII. '*Terra Ministrorum Regis*' (fol. 160 b, col. 1), a Rannulf occurs as holding land at *Ludewelle*, but it would be rash to identify the two.

[6] Domesday, fol. 49 a, col. 2. Here he is entered as Rannulfus, with the name *Flame* interlineated, and he holds *Funtelei*, which had been held by a certain Turi of Earl Godwine. Under the lands in the New Forest (folio 51 a, col. 2) a Rannulf Flanbart holds a hide in two manors and four acres in a third, the rest being '*in foresta.*'

Oxford belonged to one or other of these manors is not improbable, nor is it impossible that the owner was the same as the one of this name who afterwards became Bishop. On the other hand it is difficult to reconcile the data with the biographical notice of his life given in Orderic Vital[1].

Wido of Reinbodcurth[2] seems to have had only one manor in Oxfordshire, namely *Werochestan*[3] (i. e. Wroxton near Banbury), but he had ten in Northamptonshire, and some sixteen distributed in Cambridgeshire, Leicestershire, and Lincolnshire. Though with only one manor in the county he yet had two mansions in Oxford.

Walter Gifard, lord of Longueville, afterwards Earl of Buckingham, was one of the more fortunate of holders of manors, his total reaching to nearly a hundred, of which he held ten in Oxfordshire[4] and nearly fifty in Buckinghamshire. These are sufficient to account for his having so many as seventeen mansions in Oxford. It is added that the predecessor of Walter had one, of the gift of King Eadward *ex VIII to virg' quae consuetudinariae erant T R E.* There is nothing amongst the entries of the lands of Walter which in any way connects any of his manors with Oxford; at the same time the eight *virgae* being named, if the interpretation be correct[5], affords an example of the amount of ground belonging to a single house, i. e. the extent of the plot of ground in which the house stood.

[1] He died 1128. See a summary of the evidence given in Professor E. A. Freeman's *Reign of William Rufus*, 1882, vol. ii. p. 551.

[2] The name is found spelt in the following ways in the course of the Domesday Survey: Rainbuedcurt, Reinbuedcurt, Reinbuedcurth, Reinbodcurth, Reinbecurt, and Renbudcurt. No such place has been observed in Normandy. There is a Rembodcourt in the Department of the Meuse, and another in that of the Meurthe.

[3] Domesday, folio 159 b, col. 2.

[4] Domesday, fol. 157 b, col. 1.

[5] It could not mean that the house stood in eight virgates, though the form virg' seems to stand for *virgata*, of which it is clear four went to the hyde, and as all Oxford (putting it at about ninety acres) would be included in a single hyde, it is impossible that such an extent of land within Oxford could belong to a single house. It might be thought that the gift consisted of the eight virgates elsewhere in the county, and the house in Oxford belonged to it: but throughout Walter Gifard's manors there does not seem to be one of two hydes. Or, again, it might be thought the house was assessed at the equivalent of eight virgates of land, but, compared with the 172 houses at Dorchester assessed at ten hydes, this would be excessive. (Folio 75 a, col. 1.) It has therefore been concluded that, although the word is written precisely in the same way as where it means virgate, it may mean only a *virga*, i. e. a rod, or pole. At the present time such measures about 30 square yards, and the eight would measure 240 square yards, i. e. a moderately sized garden; but there are no means of arriving at any definite measurement for the *virga* at that time.

Next appear two mansions which are entered as belonging respectively to the two manors of Hampton and Bletchingdon. The names may possibly be those of the two tenants resident in them, and they may be Englishmen. The name Gernio is found amongst the King's thanes as holding ten hydes of the King in Hamptun [1], and here therefore is another instance of a house belonging to a manor. In the time of King Eadward the ten hydes seem to have been divided up into five small manors.

The son of Manasses might be thought to be an early instance of a Jew at Oxford; it must be borne in mind however that Old Testament names were often borne by Christians [2]. At the same time there is just a reason for a slight suspicion that this was a Jew. For in the entry under the *Terra Ministrorum regis*, to the effect that Alwi the Sheriff holds of the King two hydes and a half in *Blicestone* (Bletchingdon), it is added, 'This land Manasses bought of him without the king's licence [3].' This statement is suggestive of the land being pledged to Manasses, or at least of some reason for his not having purchased the land in the usual way. However the surveyors omit all reference to Alwi, and insert the son of Manasses as the owner, but with the qualification that the house belongs to the manor.

This completes the list of *tenentes in capite* holding Oxford mansions. In spite of the disproportion in several instances the list of the holders of these mansions may fairly be said to represent the chief holders of the manors in the county of Oxford and its neighbourhood. There are however certain tenants in chief in the county who might have been expected to have held mansions who do not do so; e.g. Robert of Stratford with nine manors; Geoffrey of Mandevile, and Walter Fitz-Poyntz, each with three; Gilbert of Ghent, Richard Puingiant, Alfred, the nephew of Wigod, the Countess Judith (widow of Earl Waltheof) and Roger of Ivry's wife, each with two; and several others with single manors belonging to them; but such exceptions, bearing in mind the chances of the separation, and the evident breaking up of manors which had gone on during the twenty years of the Conqueror's rule, do not seriously militate against the view here taken.

[1] Domesday, folio 160 b, col. 2, Hampton is also mentioned under the land of Roger of Ivry (158 b, col. 2). The whole manor seems afterwards to have been divided into Hampton Gay and Hampton Poyle.

[2] At this very time the Archbishop of Rheims was named Manasses. His father was named Manasses before him, and his next successor but one to the see, viz. in 1096, was named Manasses. In the tenth century a Bishop of Aix was named Israel. At Exeter the *praepositus Canonicorum Sancti Andreae* was named Isaac (Domesday, vol. ii. fol. 71).

[3] Domesday, fol. 160 b, col. 2.

A paragraph is here inserted in the Survey, that all the above-written mansions are held free because they repair the wall, but the exact force of the words is not very clear. They probably paid geld, but they were held *in capite* from the king, free on the condition named.

We then have a somewhat more important list of names, for it may be presumed that the majority actually represent the inhabitants of the town, whereas, in the case of those which have preceded them, there is no reason to suppose that any one except Robert D'Oilgi, and possibly his friend the co-founder of the college in the Castle, Roger of Ivry, ever set foot in Oxford.

The first entry we have amongst them is an interesting one, namely, 'The Priests of S. Michael's.' There can be little or no doubt that this is S. Michael's at North Gate, of which the tower remains to this day, similar in many respects to that of the castle, which we are practically sure that Robert D'Oilgi erected. Had it not been for this entry, showing that there were priests attached to the church of S. Michael at this early date, it might have been left an open question whether, after all, the tower was not wholly a military work, and not in any way connected with the churches which the Abingdon Abbey Chronicle says that Robert D'Oilgi 'repaired.' But when we find priests serving S. Michael's, and when we learn from the original record that even within the precincts of the castle he erected a church with a college of priests, the inferences are very strong that S. Michael's priests were practically endowed with their houses by Robert D'Oilgi, and that he certainly restored, if he did not erect, the church of S. Michael's at North Gate.

The tower is an interesting one from many points of view. It is intimately associated with the early history of Oxford, inasmuch as it is one of the very few remnants existing of work which was standing as visible to the inhabitants of Oxford at the time the Domesday Survey was compiled as it is to the inhabitants of Oxford now; again, it is interesting as an example of military architecture of that period, of which the examples are so few and far between, not only in this country, but on the continent also; it is interesting, too, perhaps, from the fact of it serving a double purpose, namely, that of protecting the city and yet connected with a church: lastly, it is interesting from a purely architectural point of view.

It will not be out of place here, perhaps, to say a few words on some of these points. On the evidence for the history of the building and the association with Robert D'Oilgi's name, sufficient perhaps has been already said; and that it guarded the north gate, the way into Oxford mostly requiring protection against the enemy, is suffi-

ciently proved from the line of wall and ditch, as well as from the name which the church received later on, viz. St. Michael's at North Gate, to distinguish it from a little chapel which seems to have been erected at a later period near the south gate of Oxford[1].

But while the appearance is much more like that of a church tower than the tower of the castle, there is a feature which is especially worthy of attention, namely, a small round-headed doorway, about five feet high, and little more than two feet wide, which exists at the north side of the tower, at twenty-seven feet from the ground. It is hidden on the exterior by the chimneys of the house built against it, and so is probably entirely overlooked by most visitors; but it is well seen and readily accessible from the interior, and has the jambs and each abacus complete. The use of this there can be but little doubt is the same as that of the arches, now blocked up with masonry, at the very top of the castle tower, some sixty feet from the surface of the ground, and which have already been referred to as being constructed for the purpose of giving access to the '*hourdes*' or wooden galleries which projected from the wall[2]. The reason for the gallery in S. Michael's tower being on a much lower level than that in the castle tower, was that it might guard the approach to the gateway adjoining, while in the castle the tower had to command the river and a much more extended line.

It is difficult at this distant date, and after so many alterations have taken place, to decide where the wall or rampart joined the tower. Following the ordinary rule of fortification, it would abut on the eastern side, but leaving the tower slightly projecting on the north.

On the south side, however, the masonry shows that there had been a building of some kind abutting against the tower, and, still visible in the masonry, there are marks of an original doorway, the base of which would have been about twelve feet from the level of the ground. Also, by taking into account the line of the old ditch found during the recent excavations in the yard of the Ship Inn, and also

[1] In reference to S. Michael's Church and Chapel at the north and south gate respectively, as also to there being a S. Peter's Church in the eastern part of Oxford and another in the west, there is a Latin distich as follows:—

'Invigilat porta australi boreaeque Michael
Exortum solem Petrus regit atque cadentem.'

'At North-gate and at South-gate too S. Michael guards the way,
While o'er the east and o'er the west S. Peter holds his sway.'

The distich is probably not earlier than the fourteenth or fifteenth century, but the first occurrence has not been definitely traced.

[2] See *ante*, p. 210.

the line of the wall on the west, it must be admitted that there is some reason to suppose the tower wholly projected from the north side of the rampart, and that the rampart was continued along the south side of the tower, and that the doorway at twelve feet from the ground opened upon this rampart. In time of siege the soldiers would be able to pass from the rampart into the tower, which was no doubt provided on the interior with wooden staircases, and so reach the projecting 'hourd' on the north side, whence, if the suggested plan is correct, they would command the ditch on the right, and the roadway in front of the gate on the left.

The traces of one more original doorway should be observed, namely, on the west side, and level with the street. From this doorway access would be gained from the road into the basement storey of the tower. But whether the wall abutted against the eastern side of the tower, or was carried along under the southern side, a great difficulty arises in fixing upon the site of the church. In the eleventh century a church tower was, as a rule, either central or at the west end, and when the latter was the case, the tower arch, opening into the church, was an important feature, and generally bore distinctive marks of the Romanesque style. Here there is no trace of any such arch, but a fourteenth century arch, which, so far as can be judged, does not take the place of any pre-existing arch of such a size as would have existed had the church occupied the eastern end. In other words, the evidence points to the tower not having been a western tower; and it could not have been a central tower, but to being a detached tower, such as the tower was in the castle; and though possibly provided with bells, and having much more of the appearance of a church tower than its companion, still it was not part and parcel of the church which stood at the north gate, such as it is now.

On looking at the plan it will be at once seen that the wall has been extended on the north so as to include the church; but the precise time when this was done it is difficult to determine. It may be conjectured however that the last extension was in the fifteenth century, for the wall (and opportunity was given recently of examining it to the foundations) was found to be scarcely two feet thick, while the main city wall, as seen at the end of Turl Street, was close upon nine feet in thickness.

The existing tower windows, it will be observed, present what are called mid-wall shafts, of the type which occur at Jarrow, Monkwearmouth, and in other early architectural examples. In the cases named they were probably the distinguishing feature which made the venerable

Bede speak of those buildings as being erected *more Romano*[1]. Truly Romanesque before the style had developed into Norman, they stand as important landmarks in the history of architecture; for while they were erected under the superintendence of the Norman Constabularius who came over with the Conqueror, yet they were not more Norman in style than buildings which had been erected for centuries previously in the country. They point to the fact that although our intercourse with Normandy accelerated, and possibly in a measure influenced the development of our national style of architecture, we did not import that style from Normandy. It is dangerous, with the few remains we possess, and still fewer records which directly interpret the history of those remains, to compare the tower of S. Michael's with other existing towers, and the architectural details of the same with those of other buildings, but it may be said to represent the architecture of the close of the eleventh century, before the long-and-short work at the angles, with the rest built of rubble, gave way to the more expensive but more lasting mode of building with surface ashlar masonry throughout; also before the plain pierced arch with a mid-wall shaft gave way to the splayed Norman window or to arches with orders duly recessed, such as eventually developed into the rich Gothic work with their series of mouldings. And further, it is to be noticed that the mid-wall shafts of S. Michael's are in the most perfect state of preservation, inasmuch as regards three of the windows they have only been exposed during the last few years[2].

The next entry in the Survey relates to the fifteen mansions held by the Canons of S. Frideswide. These mansions again were probably part of the endowment of the monastery in Oxford, either given by wealthy residents or possibly built by the community on land which they had acquired. Houses were not unfrequently given on the condition that for the rest of the donor's life a 'corrody,' that is, sufficient maintenance, and perhaps an annual sum of money, should be secured to him by the monastery; and it is possible that some of the tenements of S. Frideswide had been already obtained in this way, as the

[1] Beda, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. cap. 21.

[2] About ten years since, partly with a view of lightening the weight of the tower, as it was, in spite of the iron clamps, in a somewhat dangerous condition, and partly with a view of improving the effect, the parish proposed to open the windows, which had been long blocked up. To the satisfaction of every one, the mid-wall shafts were found perfect. This had not been anticipated, and can only be explained from the circumstance of the abacus in each case having been broken by the pressure of the superincumbent mass, in which state each was found, and therefore probably soon after their erection the windows were walled up to prevent further giving way of the masonry above them.

documents show that many were so obtained after the eleventh century.

But S. Frideswide's, as has been already said, does not appear to have been prosperous. We find no parish church in Oxford at this time which there is any reason to suppose had been built under its auspices or in any way belonged to it, and the property in Oxfordshire was still exceedingly small compared with that of other existing monasteries, or with that which it acquired in Henry the First's reign. As to the church itself, not a vestige exists of the old work, the whole having been rebuilt, or at least been begun to be rebuilt, under Prior Guimond at the beginning of the next century[1].

In the Domesday Survey all that we find is under the heading 'No. xiv. *The Land of the Canons of Oxford and of other Clerks.*' It runs as follows:—

> 'The Canons of S. Frideswide hold 4 hydes of the King near Oxford. They held it in King Edward's Time. The land five Carucates. There 18 *villani* have five ploughs and 105 acres of meadow, and eight acres of spinney. It was and is worth 40*s*. This land never paid tax; neither does it belong, nor did it belong to any *hundred*.
>
> 'Siward holds of these same Canons 2 hides in *Codeslaw*. Land for two ploughs, which are there now. It was and is worth 40*s*. It belonged and does belong to the Church[2].'

As to the four hydes near Oxford, it is dangerous to assign to them any definite place. Indeed it is not clear that it includes the precincts of the nunnery. It has already been suggested that it does not necessarily follow that the land was all in one part, and might possibly include some on the western side of Oxford at Binsey. At the same time it will not be overlooked that three hydes adjoining to the eastern side of Oxford are expressly referred to in the charter of King Ethelred granted A.D. 1004[3], namely, a piece of land on the north bank of the Thames, stretching from the Cherwell on the west, to

[1] The site is of course the same, or rather nearly so. It will be remembered that the author of the life of S. Frideswide speaks of the tomb of that saint having been moved. Whether he had any evidence for saying it was moved in the time of King Athelred may be doubted. See *ante*, p. 101.

[2] The remaining entries under the same heading refer to the holding of a certain Osmund the priest, of land at *Chertelintone* (Kirtlington); of Brun, a priest, of land in *Cadewell* (qy. Adwell); of Edward, also probably a priest, the place of whose holding is not named; and of Rannulf Flambard, of land in Middleton (perhaps Middleton Stoney), and who has been already referred to as probably first a clerk and afterwards a Bishop. See *ante*, p. 255. Appendix A, § 99.

[3] See *ante*, p. 143.

Iffley on the east, and bounded by Bullingdon and Cowley on the north[1].

The land which they held on the north of Oxford, known as Cutslow, and which also was part of the grant of King Æthelred, it will be seen, they had leased to a certain Siward. This is not an uncommon name amongst the tenants in the time of King Edward, and occurs in several counties. But in Oxfordshire there is an entry under the King's thanes[2] respecting a certain Siwardus *Venator*, i.e. the king's 'hunter,' who holds from the king 2½ hydes at *Cedelintone* (i.e. Kidlington). The record adds, 'This Siward held it freely in the time of King Edward. Probably from his abilities as a huntsman he was allowed to retain his land, but *de rege* and not *libere* as before, and it is clear that he found it convenient to farm the neighbouring land of the Canons of S. Frideswide in the adjoining manor of Cutslow.'

The land however at Cutslow[3] held by S. Frideswide had not increased in value. It had belonged to S. Frideswide's before the Conquest, and it belonged to it now; in other words, the conduct of the occupants of the monastery or of its lands had given no excuse to the Conqueror to despoil them of their property[4].

We now come to the names of the tenants, who may be for the most part considered to be actually occupiers of the houses in Oxford, for it will be observed that out of the thirty-eight thirty-two represent occupiers of a single house. The names may be said to be all English names[5], but we are met by the circumstance that they are

[1] The question as to the extent of these lands can only be discussed by taking into account the confirmation charters of the next century.

[2] LVIII. Terra Ricardi et aliorum ministrorum Regis. Domesday, fol. 160 b, col. 2.

[3] The following is an instance of the obscurity in the entries in the Domesday Survey arising from their terseness. Though we find Siward holding 2 hydes from S. Frideswide's in Cutslow, we find later on (fol. 159 a) under XXIX. Terra Rogeri de Iveri, 'Aluredus Clericus tenet de R[ogerio] *Codeslave*.' There are there three hydes, &c. It must be assumed that these three hydes held by the 'clerk' from Roger of Ivry are distinct from the two hydes held by the 'huntsman' from the Canons of St. Frideswide's; and we must infer that the whole manor of Cutslow, represented at the present day only by a few farm buildings, consisted of five hydes. The value of Roger of Ivry's three hydes had increased from three pounds to four pounds. The two hydes belonging to St. Frideswide's were originally valued at two pounds, and are declared to be of the same still. However much is left to conjecture; very few words more would have made all clear.

[4] This circumstance ought to have suggested itself to Thierry, when he describes the action of the monks of S. Frideswide's at the siege of Oxford. See *ante*, note 2, p. 195.

[5] William perhaps might be taken as an exception, but whether or not Englishmen by birth, there were several Williams in the country in the time of Edward the Confessor.

given as a rule, unfortunately, without any designation, and further, they are names of tolerably frequent occurrence in various parts of the country, so that there is very little means of identifying the owners with others bearing the same name. Coleman, the first of the series, held three mansions, and is referred to as being dead, other occupiers presumably having been found for his houses; it is a name not unfrequent in the neighbourhood; he may, perhaps, be identified with one of the original holders of the six hydes at *Cestitone* (Chesterton), in Oxfordshire, which were now held from the king by Aluric, and which Coleman and Azor had once held[1]; or with one of those of *Sewelle* (?) in Berkshire, which had been confiscated to the Earl of Evreux, but which Coleman and Brictward had held of King Eadward[2]. Some little time after, that is, early in Henry the First's reign, one of the houses in question was purchased by Abbot Faritius of Abingdon. The following is the entry in the chronicle of that abbey, in reference to the revenue being set aside for the use of the occupation of the infirmary there, and though as to date it belongs to the next century, the passage so directly concerns the houses referred to in the Survey that it must be given here.

> 'Since the brethren who were sick, and who had been bled were without fire, the same Abbot Faritius with the consent of the whole chapter granted all the rents of the undermentioned *mansiones* which he himself had bought in Oxford, so far that when it was needed there should be a fire supplied to the Infirmary, and he granted this for the salvation of his own soul, and out of compassion on the sick; and whoever shall render this of none effect let him be anathema. These are those *mansiones* with their rents:—
>
> The land of Wlfwi the fisherman, five shillings and eight pence.
>
> The land of Ruald, five shillings and two pence.
>
> The land of Derman the Priest, seven shillings and two pence.
>
> The land of Coleman, eight shillings.
>
> The land of Eadwin the Moneyer and his brother, five shillings.
>
> And whosoever shall take away this benefit from the sick, let him be a stranger to God, and an exile from his kingdom for ever[3].'

The Abbot Faritius had also purchased other houses in Oxford. One of Roger Maledoctus yielding fifteen shillings, and one of Peter, who had been formerly sheriff (*vice comes*), of nine shillings; and one of Derman, of three shillings[4].

[1] Domesday, folio 161 a, col. 1. [2] Ibid. folio 60 a, col 1.

[3] *Chron. de Monasterii de Abingdon*, Rolls Series, vol. ii. p. 154. Appendix A, § 100.

[4] *Chron. Mon. Ab.* vol. ii. p. 153. The exact date cannot be determined, but it was before the death of Abbot Faritius in 1117. Ibid. p. 41.

It will be seen that the name of Coleman appears in this list, and others will be referred to hereafter; although the term '*terra*' is used, it included the mansions, as the text of the charter states, and the heading of the list and the value of rents received prove. It will be observed that the property, which in the Domesday Survey was assumed to pay three shillings and eight pence, was producing to the abbey a rental of eight shillings.

Next in the list we find a certain William, a name which is sometimes found as that of the holder of lands in the time of King Eadward, but more frequently as holding property *quâ* undertenant in the Conqueror's reign. In a very large number of cases we find a surname added, or its equivalent, e.g. *Willelmus filius Azor; Willelmus Diaconus*, &c. If, however, we attempt to determine who this William was, we are met with many difficulties. That there was a William of Oxford is clear, a man of some note, and apparently at one time the sheriff of Oxfordshire. Amongst the charters granted by Henry the First respecting certain demesne lands at Abingdon there are two which are addressed to William of Oxford and one addressed to *W. Vicecomiti de Oxenford*[1]. But it would be too much to say that the William whom we find here holding a single house in Oxford was the same man, though it is not impossible; for the same William who was afterwards made sheriff was very likely the William who appears as undertenant of three hydes at Thame (Sawold holding four, and he held also houses in Oxford), of three hydes at Middleton, and of five hydes at Banbury, all being held under the Bishop of Lincoln; of two hydes at *Hansitone* (Hensington, near Woodstock), and three hydes at Rowsham, under Roger of Ivry; also twelve hydes in Chestertone, eight more hydes in Hensington, and three hydes in *Advella* (Adwell, near Watlington), all under Milo Crispin. There is also a Willelmus, a subtenant in Berkshire, who holds some seventeen hydes at different places under Milo Crispin, and therefore probably the same, and some six or eight under others[2]. This, on the one hand,

[1] *Chron. Mon. Ab.* Rolls Series, vol. ii. pp. 86 and 87. Both charters are dated '*in Natale Domini*' at Westminster, but the year is not given. There is some reason however to think it was Christmas Day, 1102. For the charter (ibid. p. 80) no material is given to fix the date, but it was probably about the same year.

[2] There were several tenants named William who held land in the neighbourhood; for the name after the Conquest became exceedingly common. For instance, in the Abingdon charters we find, besides those of that name holding offices in the abbey, there was William the son of Anskill, another the son of Ermenold of Oxford, another the son of Abbot Rainold of Abingdon, another the son of Turold, and another the nephew of Earl Hugh. All were living in Henry I's reign, and some had been benefactors to Abingdon.

may reasonably be the holder of a house in Oxford, and on the other may reasonably have been thought worthy of the appointment of sheriff.

The name of Spracheling does not occur elsewhere, while Wulwi, the fisherman's house, has already been noted amongst those afterwards bought by Abbot Faritius. Alwin is not an uncommon name; but in this case it is highly probable that the holder of five mansions in Oxford was the holder, in the time of King Eadward, of several mansions in the county, and that they had for some reason been confiscated, and perhaps the five houses were all he had saved from the wreck. An Alwin had, together with Algar, held Combe, near Woodstock, now in the hands of the Bishop of Bayeux; *Amintone* (Emmington, near Thame), now in the hands of Walter Gifard; Whitchurch, now in the hands of Milo Crispin; and together with Sawold, land in *Alwoldesberie* (? Albury). Also an Alwi who was sheriff held land at Bletchingdon[1]. It will be observed that there are other separate entries of an Alwin, one holding a house which was entered as void, another holding a house which appears to pay nothing (the name being written Alwi), and one who does not pay because his house repairs the wall, and one a priest (whose house also pays nothing). How far any or all of the four last are to be identified with each other or with the Alwin who holds the five mansions it is impossible to say, but from the irregular manner in which the Survey is compiled, the repetition of the name does not necessarily involve there being five different persons of the same name in Oxford.

Edric is a common name amongst the tenants in the time of King Eadward in Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, but this name does not occur in Oxfordshire. It is, however, found in Berkshire, as holding Sparsholt, and Stanford in the Vale, in the time of King Eadward[2]. Under Sparsholt there is an interesting reference made to Edric's son being a monk of Abingdon, and in one of the Abingdon charters, relating to land in Oxfordshire, this Edric is referred to as the 'homo' of Droco of Andelys[3].

Harding appears to be a name unknown in Oxfordshire in the time of King Eadward, though one at that time held some amount of property in Wiltshire and Leicestershire. We hear, however, of one of his houses in a singular manner. The toll of a hundred herrings

[1] See *ante*, p. 257. It is not stated of what county he was sheriff. By implication it would be Oxfordshire.

[2] Domesday, fol. 59 a, col. 2, fol. 61 a, col. 1.

[3] *Chron. Mon. Ab.* Rolls Series, vol. ii. p. 68; and this Droco, who must have been a neighbour of the Poeni family on the Seine (see *ante* p. 247 note), seems to have been a benefactor to S. George's in the Castle; *Chron. Mon. Ab.* p. 143.

being the customary payment annually from the Oxford boats for using the Abingdon water in their way down the Thames, has been already referred to[1]. It seems disputes occurred, though the custom had been already confirmed by Henry I.; writs were issued to his sheriffs of Berkshire and Oxfordshire in 1111, and, to follow the words of the chronicler, 'pleadings respecting this matter were instituted in the said city of Oxford, in the house of Harding the priest, and by the common decree of the authorities (*majorum*) of the same place it was adjudged in favour of the church of Abingdon[2].'

We learn from this that there had been a Harding at Oxford who was a priest, and further, that one of the houses which still bore his name was of sufficient importance for a court to be held in it. And more than this, his name has already appeared as a benefactor to Ensham Abbey, apparently in connection with St. Ebbe's Church; for one of the charters, dated 1109, recites, 'that Harding, of Oxford, had given two houses there, one within and one without the wall; and that he had gone to Jerusalem, and there died[3]. Whether these two or either of them are to be identified with the Harding, who, with Leveva, had nine houses, may perhaps be doubtful.

No documents exist associating the name of Leveva with Harding. Later on it will be observed that a certain Leveva had a single house separately which paid ten pence, in the time of King Eadward, but was now void. The name occurs not unfrequently, though not in Oxfordshire. At Wallingford Leveva held a *haga* valued at two pence, while at Reading the church which had been given to Battle Abbey had formerly been held by Leveva an Abbess[4]. Denchworth also, which Robert of Stratford had obtained, had been held by Leveva, *quaedam libera femina*. It may be added, however, that the name also occurs as if it were that of a man; e. g. in Bedfordshire we find *Leveva Homo Regis Edwardi.*

The form Ailric appears in several counties both before and after

[1] See *ante*, p. 214.

[2] *Chron. Mon. Ab.* vol. ii. p. 119. [3] See *ante*, p. 243.

[4] It has been imagined by the Reading historians that the foundation of which Leveva was abbess was in that town. There was a religious foundation of some kind there, which the original charter of Henry I. refers to, in conjunction with Cholsey and Leominster, as having been destroyed by the Danes. But there are no grounds for saying that it was a nunnery, nor is it very likely, if destroyed in or about 1006, a house would be returned in 1086 as having belonged to its abbess. It was much more likely that the name mentioned in connection with Battle Abbey refers to Leveva the abbess of Shaftesbury, who is so returned in the time of King Eadward. It does not follow necessarily that the religious house at Shaftesbury held it, for the abbess might have held it in her own personal right.

the Conquest, i.e. amongst those who held lands in King Eadward's time, and those who appear as undertenants in William's time after the land was confiscated, but not in Oxfordshire. There was, however, an Alric in Oxfordshire, who together with Alnod held the manor of *Celeford* (Chalford, near Aston Rowant), which afterwards fell to Henry of Ferrieres. Besides this form of the name, there is Elric, tolerably frequent, and closely allied to it is Aluric, which is more frequent still.

Two houses belonging to a Derman have already been noticed amongst those which Faritius bought for Abingdon Abbey some few years after the date of the Survey; and we gather from the note that one of these Dermans, like Harding, was a priest, his house paying seven shillings and twopence; the house of the other paying only three shillings[1]. And it will be observed that the name of Derman occurs later on in the Domesday list associated with a certain Brictred in the possession of another house, and so the two houses may perhaps represent the purchases made by the Abbot Faritius. The name Brictred occurs only once in the Domesday Survey, and then as a thane of Earl Eadwine in Worcestershire, though the name Brictric is very frequent and occurs in most counties.

We then have a 'Segrim,' and the Survey distinctly refers to 'another Segrim,' and a little further on a third of this name holds three houses. Although the form Segrim is not often found, the name Sagrim is common enough in some counties, but not in Oxfordshire. The name of Smewin occurs in Somerset, and Goldwin occurs in Sussex in the time of King Eadward, but they do not appear anywhere as undertenants, except as holding the houses in Oxford. As to Eddid, it is impossible to suggest anything, for not only are the entries in the Domesday Survey of the name of the Queen Eddid very frequent, but also many other persons are so called; the forms too of this name are so varied that it is difficult always to recognize it. To go no further than Domesday, we find the forms Edded, Eddeda, Eddeva, Eddeve, Eddida, Eddied, Eddiet, Eddiva, Eddive, Edeva, Edid, Edied, Ediet, and Ediva, and they seem to be promiscuously used for perhaps as many individuals as there are forms of the name.

We then have a Swetman, but there are three others of that name, only one of whom is distinguishable, namely, the Moneyer. The name is rare, both as a tenant in Eadward's Time, and as an undertenant at the time of the Survey. The mention of a moneyer, however, is interesting, as affording documentary evidence that there was one

[1] See *ante*, p. 264.

established at Oxford plying his business as early as the Conqueror's reign; but the evidence of coins themselves, which have been discovered, carries the history of coinage at Oxford several reigns back, and the total number supposed to have been struck at Oxford make so considerable a series, that the subject deserves separate treatment. Without trespassing however upon such, it may be said that amongst the specimens in existence there is one preserved in the British Museum, bearing a king's head, full-faced, crowned, which is ascribed to William II., and on the reverse is SPETMAN ON OXI[1].

Sewi is a name rarely found. Alveva, on the other hand, is very common. It will be remembered that Alveva was the wife of Earl Ælfgar and mother of Earl Morkere, and her name occurs in the Survey so distinguished, while there are several others bearing the name. Possibly the lady named in the Oxford list had been the tenant of Ambrosden in King Eadward's time, as that is the only place where the name occurs in Oxfordshire. Alward is found as a tenant at Denchworth and Shottesbrook in Berkshire, and a sub-tenant under Robert D'Oilgi at *Stratone* in Oxfordshire (i.e. Stratton Audley, near Bicester)[2].

Derewen has not been met with elsewhere, but the name Leuric is found very frequently as a tenant in King Eadward's time, and occasionally as an undertenant in William's time; but of the latter no case occurs in Oxfordshire. It has already been noticed, when referring to Alwin, that a Leuric and an Alwin held Whitchurch freely in King Eadward's time, which had now been confiscated to or purchased by Milo Crispin, and a Leuric also held *Wigentone* (i.e. Wiggington, near Banbury) freely in King Eadward's time, now in the hands of Wido D'Oilgi[3]. And besides this it will be found that in the list of *Tenentes in Capite* in Oxfordshire there is a William Leuric (No. XLVI) holding three hydes and one virgate of the king, but the compiler of the Survey has omitted to give the name of the place where the land was situated[4]. The form of Wluric is written generally Vluric, and is very common in many counties. It is very probable that the manor of *Redrefeld* (Rotherfield), which had fallen with so many others to Milo Crispin, belonged once to the owner of the house in Oxford[5]. But it is not without interest to note that the Domesday Survey for Kent, under the

[1] It is perhaps hardly necessary to point out that the P is the old Saxon form of the W; and this is interesting to note, as showing that English forms of letters as well as language were continued to such a degree that the king's English moneyer adopted the English letter on his Norman master's coin.

[2] Domesday, fol. 61 a, col. 1, 63 b, col. 1, and 158 a, col. 2.

[3] Ibid. fol. 160 a, col. 1. [4] Ibid. 160 a, col. 2. [5] Ibid. 159 a, col. 2.

north. At the same time it is felt that in bringing these considerations together the difficulties in arriving at a true view of the confiscation of the lands at the Conquest are rather illustrated than explained. The surveyors name the previous tenants in only a few cases, and no light seems to be thrown upon the matter of distribution from this source since, as far as can be observed from the imperfect data, the property of one tenant in the Time of King Eadward seems as a rule to have been distributed to several different tenants in the Time of King William.

It has been supposed that the second half of the list, that is, the names connected with the forty-five manors, represent those of the actual tenants, that is, the occupants of the houses, and that they may therefore be reckoned as citizens of Oxford at this time. A few notes have been added here and there; but while on the one hand the references to the names found elsewhere are confessedly imperfect, on the other hand the identification of the names with them when so found is as a rule purely conjectural. Taking the series however as a whole, they seem to illustrate in a measure what might easily be conjectured from other considerations, that several tenants in chief in the Time of King Eadward, came to be under tenants in the Time of King William; a few, very few, and those entered amongst the king's thanes in the Domesday Survey[1], seem by purchase or favour to have retained something of their former estate.

The list however cannot, it is feared, be said to represent the chief citizens of Oxford. Though the number of the burgesses is frequently named in other towns, the Survey here is silent, merely intimating that twenty burgesses in the Time of King Eadward went for the others when the king called upon them to go on an expedition. Further, the list must represent a very small proportion of the occupants; for we do not know any of the names of those occupying the houses[2] held by the King, the two earls, the bishops, the abbeys, and the Conqueror's followers, in all a hundred and thirty-six houses, many of which must have been as large if not larger than those referred to afterwards; besides this, for the remaining forty-five houses, we have only the names of thirty-seven occupiers.

And yet, if we look elsewhere amongst the few documents existing at this time, we find that it is very difficult to add any appreciable

[1] Domesday Survey, No. lviii. folio 160 b.

[2] The total of these houses is 217, but there were 81 waste. This total does not include the eighteen houses of priests and canons (of which nine were waste), or of the 62 houses held by the supposed occupants, of which seventeen were waste.

number of names to those given in the Survey. For example, in the list given by the Abingdon Chronicle of the houses purchased in Oxford, the rents of which, in the next reign, were set aside for the use of the infirmary of that abbey[1], we find that out of five names three, viz. Wlfwi, Derman, and Coleman, are the same we have had already. Ruald and Eadwin only are new names. It must be borne in mind that this document belongs to the early part of Henry I's reign, and some fifteen years or so had elapsed, so that Ruald may be a new comer; still, as we find in a grant made to Ensham Abbey by Robert D'Oilgi of '*totam illam terram quam tenet de eo Rualdus in Oxeneford*'[2], it is quite possible that he was the occupant of one of D'Oilgi's twelve mansions. In the Abingdon list also Eadwin is found, named as the moneyer, and this seems to point to the fact that Swetman was dead or had been superseded; and it will be observed that Eadwin's brother also is mentioned.

In the same list of purchases, which Faritius had made '*in Oxenfordia urbe*,' there was the land with the houses of Roger Maledoctus. We find elsewhere in the Chronicle an account of his gift in Henry the First's reign, but we have no means of knowing how long before he had become possessed of the houses. It seems he came to the chapter of the monks of Abingdon, together with his wife, named Odelina, and gave '*terram cum domibus quas in Oxenford habebant*[3].' Part of their bargain was that they should both be buried in the church at Abingdon, which is very suggestive of the low estimate in which S. Frideswide's was held by them.

In the same list also the name of Peter, the sheriff of Oxfordshire, occurs, as owning a house in Oxford. This Peter must have held the post of sheriff soon after the time of the Domesday Survey, for there is a writ issued to him apparently at the beginning of William Rufus' reign[4]. This writ also refers to Eadwi, his *praepositus*, which may perhaps mean the *Port-reeve* of Oxford for the time being; it is just possible too that this is the same as Eadwi the moneyer, mentioned above, for Eadwi and Eadwin are no doubt the same name; though, if it was the same person, he probably would not have held the two offices at one and the same time.

The mention of 'Saulf' of Oxford, in Domesday, under Wallingford[5],

[1] See *ante*, p. 264.

[2] From the Ensham Cartulary. Printed in Dugdale, vol. iii. p. 21. We further find that amongst the signatures to that grant occurs the name of Nicholaus *filius Sawoldi*.

[3] *Chron. Mon. Ab.*, ii. p. 139.

[4] Ibid. p. 41.

[5] Domesday, folio 56 a. See *ante*, p. 228.

may be added to the list of names connected with Oxford, unless indeed it be a variety of the name Sawold: while the names of William Fitz Nigel, and Gilbert of Damari will also have been observed as having given their Oxford houses to Ensham, and, as has been suggested, towards the endowment of S. Ebbe's Church[1].

Also in a suit early in King Henry the First's reign (before 1117) we find that the Abbot of Abingdon held his court '*apud Oxeneford in domo Thomae de Sancto Johanne*[2].' The circumstances also attending Ermenold's suit and his house, '*juxta pontem Oxeneford*[3],' belong to the next century; but the house may well have been standing in the eleventh century.

Again, though it is trespassing somewhat upon the material of the next century, the list of the tenants here given of the houses granted to Oseney Abbey, by the charter of foundation in 1129, carries on some of the names already given, as well as gives others who may have been living in the houses when they were counted in the Survey. The grant includes:—

> 'Within the town of Oxford, the lands which the following held, Engeric, Reimund, Godwin, Ailnoth, Edwacher's son, Ermenold, Godwin *Nicuma* (?), Sweting *Cadica* (?), Ravenig, Segrim By wall (*juxta murum*), Henry Corveiser, Leofwin *Claudus*, Godwin the moneyer, Brichtrec the moneyer, Godric, William Ralph the baker, Leofwine Budda, Geoffrey the miller, ... and near the castle of Oxford, beneath the wall, one mansion which belonged to Warine the chaplain[4].'

Many of these early names too are very constant in Oxford. For instance, in the charter by King Stephen confirming the property which S. Frideswide's had acquired during Henry the First's reign, we find the houses of Ailwin, Sewi, Editha (a widow), Saul (possibly a contraction of Sawold), Golde[win], Godric, and Alwi; while the names of Segrim and Sewi constantly occur in deeds relating to S. Frideswide's property. And if we go on further, even to the Hundred Rolls in the course of the inquisition taken in Edward the First's reign, we still find the names of Edric, Harding, Segrim, Sewi, Godwin, and Swetman as those of resident citizens of Oxford, and several have survived

[1] See *ante*, p. 243.

[2] *Chron. Mon. Ab.*, ii. p. 134. Thomas of St. John appears to have been appointed Sheriff of Oxfordshire. Ibid. 119.

[3] *Chron. Mon. Ab.*, ii. pp. 140, 141, ad. 196.

[4] Printed in Dugdale, vol. vi. p. 251. The original is in the Oseney Cartulary (Cottonian Vitellius E. xv.), and though the edges are burnt it happens to be quite legible. The titles *nicuma* and *cadica* are puzzling. It will be observed there are two new Moneyers.

even to far later times. The name Sewi again survives in Sewy's Lane, as will be seen in the recent map of the Ordnance Survey[1], though it does not follow that it dates from the Sewi living in the time of William the Conqueror.

Taking then the Survey of Oxford Domesday as a whole, and bringing to bear upon it what illustrations charters or other documents provide, and reading it by the light of existing remains, it presents to us a town measuring about half-a-mile from east to west, and a little more than a quarter-of-a-mile (about 480 yards) from north to south, fortified and compact. Domesday, it will have been observed, tells us that dues from certain houses were set aside for the keeping the fortifications in repair, and draws a clear distinction between the houses within and without the wall[2]. Moreover it is referred to in one place as a city (*civitas*)[3], a name rarely given to towns. From the survival through mediæval times of the line of the fortification we can fairly judge of the extent of the town, and the number of houses being given, we are able to form some idea of the general aspect. Compared with the time[4] when Æthelred, ealdorman of the Mercians, took possession of Oxford in 912, much which was then perhaps still pasture land and woodland had given way to houses with their gardens, until the whole of the plateau of the gravel promontory, the sloping edges of which are washed by the Thames on the south and west, and by the Cherwell on the east, had in 1087 come to be occupied by habitations[5].

Some of the chief features however were no doubt the same. The main roads, the sides of which were more definitely marked by houses than they were before, so that they were now streets, still followed the old lines, meeting in the centre at Carfax, and at the far western

[1] The lane led from New Inn Hall Street by S. Michael's Schoolhouse into Commarket Street, crossing through where Messrs. Grimbly and Hughes' premises were built. By neglect the right of way seems to have been lost. It was for a time called Shoe Lane.

[2] Note also the 'thirty acres of meadow near the wall,' *ante*, p. 225.

[3] *Molinum quem infra civitatem habebat.* See *ante*, p. 219, but in the next line but three it runs *In ipsa villa.* So far as has been observed, the only towns throughout the whole of the Domesday Survey to which *civitas* is applied are Canterbury, Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, Shrewsbury, and Chester.

[4] See *ante*, p. 119–122.

[5] The plateau may be reckoned to be about 36 feet above the level of the river beneath Folly Bridge, the slope being, as a rule, uniformly gentle throughout; the most rapid part of the slope is that between the site of South Gate (at the south-western corner of Christ Church) and Carfax, being something like 24 feet in 280 yards, while from the ground just below the Castle Mound on the way to the Station the rise to Carfax is about 24 feet in 500 yards, and from the High Street, by the turn to Long Wall to Carfax, only 24 feet in the 700 yards.

extremity of the town beneath the slope there still rose the Castle mound. But the ditches here had probably been deepened, and the earthen vallum had no doubt been faced with stone work, and perhaps in places surrounded by a stone wall; while along the western edge overhanging the river there now rose the great tall tower, a more conspicuous object than the mound itself, and no doubt the wonder and admiration of the citizens.

The view of the Castle as given by Loggan, though some allowance must be made for the effects put in by the artist, probably represents most of the chief features as they existed at the close of the eleventh century. In after years the more imposing fortification of Henry the Third's time, and the greater amount of buildings had no doubt much changed the aspect and obscured the original landmarks; but when in the seventeenth century these additions had been swept away, leaving the deep ditch with the water standing in it, the Vallum, the Mound, the Tower, and the Mill as the chief objects, the artist was able to draw, and has drawn a picture as closely representing the appearance which the Castle presented in the eleventh century as possible. He has perhaps exaggerated the high rising ground on the outer edge of the castle ditch on the north side, and which appears to have been the place of execution, and called the *Mont de juis*; at least it is not probable that it existed at the time of the Survey of such a size as to endanger the safety of the castle. It has now been almost levelled. Its position would be on the northern side of the enclosure occupied by the Canal wharfs, lying between the New Road and the western end of George Street. It is very possible, however, that in deepening the ditches in the Conqueror's time a large quantity of soil was thrown out here, just as the excavation of the original ditch had provided the material for the Castle Mound. Further, the artist has represented a row of houses on the outer edge of the Castle ditch, on the eastern side towards the city, with what is now Bulwarks Lane curving round behind them and forming a street; while the houses have their little gardens at the back lining the outer slope of the ditch, and trees growing on either side of the stream beneath. It is not improbable that some such appearance may have presented itself in the eleventh century; as long as the gardens did not interfere with the fortification[1], the tenants might in time of peace have been allowed to use the

[1] The plan of the Castle engraved by Skelton (*Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*, 1843, pl. 127) from the drawing, temp. Elizabeth, in possession of the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, shows the houses also with their gardens. They are shown partially in Agas' map, but they are not so numerous. In continental towns it is not unusual to see the slopes of fortifications utilized for garden purposes.

ground, though in time of siege the houses themselves might have been, if thought necessary, wholly swept away.

At the time of the Domesday Survey the view of the town, with a much increased number of buildings, concentrated within a well-defined boundary, would have at first sight presented a marked contrast to the few groups of habitations clustering round the north side of S. Frideswide's, or scattered over the sloping ground between the Castle ditch and the central spot where the roads crossed, such as would have been seen a hundred years before. Further, the fortifications must have been of a more imposing character, and though we have only evidence of the two tall towers of the Castle and of S. Michael's, guarding the west and north of Oxford, it would be rash to say that the east and south gates were not so guarded. It is true the north gate was the most liable to be attacked, but the east and south were still liable. Again, it is hard to think that they were the only two towers which rose from amidst the town of Oxford, where so many churches existed already[1].

But with all the growth of buildings, if much stress is laid upon the returns made by the inhabitants when they were to be taxed, concerning the number of houses which were *vastae*, nearly five hundred must be supposed to have had closed doors, or their roofs fallen to decay, or indeed perhaps presenting in some cases only bare walls, while less than two hundred and fifty were in such a habitable state as to pay the tax; the town, if this were so, must have presented to the visitor so forlorn an aspect that it might have appeared more busy and prosperous in the days when Eadward the Elder took possession of it and fortified it. But it would be a mistake to lay too much stress upon these returns, since so many contingencies, as already pointed out, are included under the word *vastae*. The population of a thousand, the number suggested, would, as towns went in those days, present a busy scene. Already the roads had given way to streets, and the houses dotted about, each for the most part with a garden behind it, or sometimes standing clear within its plot of ground[2], were thus so distributed that their varied roofs of tiles or wooden shingles, or stone slabs, would have given an aspect of a populous town. Although too it is difficult to judge of the kind of business which was done, it may be fairly considered that more took place in the open-air in proportion to what takes place there at the present day; that is, many more people would be seen in the streets and open spaces, in proportion to

[1] As to the tower of S. Frideswide's in 1002, see *ante*, p. 148.

[2] See *ante*, p. 256, note 5.

the population than is now the case; and this would add life and brightness to the scene.

The chief market-place probably occupied an important position near the centre of the town, if not at Carfax itself, though we do not find a notice of it in any of the few records which we have belonging to the century[1]. The existence of the market may be assumed as a matter of certainty, though we do not definitely hear of it till we find in Henry II's reign disputes arising between the market men of Oxford and of Wallingford on one side, against the market men of Abingdon on the other, the former evidently considering that the ancient privileges of their market had been invaded by those which the men of Abingdon had, through the interest of the Abbot, obtained from the Crown[2].

And again as to the fairs; it is not till the reign of Henry I that we find a charter professing to be granted by the king to the community of S. Frideswide to hold a fair for seven days, with especial privileges belonging thereto; but then it was that S. Frideswide's monastery was arousing itself from its lethargy, and obtaining as many privileges as possible; so that it would be most unreasonable to suppose that fairs existed in Oxford then for the first time.

As already pointed out, we obtain in contemporary records few if any mention of trades in the town[3]; we have only the mills, the gardens in Holywell manor, and the business of Wulwi the fisherman mentioned, yet other trades and occupations were no doubt in existence, though accident has prevented record of them. There must have been bakers and brewers and butchers then as well as now, and though for purchasing clothes, crockery, household utensils and the like, the citizens waited till fair time, and there were but few if any shops, such as we have in abundance now, still there must have been tailors and carpenters, and smiths, though no record of the name of even one has been handed down.

There must also have been at times a great deal of business going forward connected with the peace and welfare of the town, and in a case of this kind we may fairly gather something from the light which

[1] In the next century the land of Ralph Brito is described as '*infra forum Oxeneford sitam*,' Chron. Mon. Ab., ii. p. 212.

[2] 'Adierunt regem istum Henricum juniorem Walingefordenses, cum iis de Oxeneforde de foro ei Abbendonensi suggerentes quoniam aliter esset quam esse deberet,' &c. *Chron. Mon. Ab.*, ii. p. 227.

[3] The earliest charter referring to a *Gilda Mercatoria* which has been observed, is one by Henry III (1229); but as it is a confirmation of previous liberties, it implies a previous existence.

after history reflects back on this period. We may consider that the town meetings took place in the open space, then existing on the north side of Carfax church, and in bad weather it is not impossible that much was transacted in the nave of the church itself[1].

Amongst other things it will be seen by the Survey[2] that sixty pounds had to be provided as an annual payment to the king, but probably payable by quarterly instalments, and the provision each quarter for the sum required must have entailed much discussion, and much business connected with the assessment of such taxes, whence the money was to be obtained, and in the administration of such property whence revenue was derived towards supplying the sums needed.

Further it has already been shown that from Oxford being a shire town, many of the manors in the county, and several in the adjoining counties possessed houses there, in order that their owners or tenants could find a residence when they came to transact the various business which must necessarily take place in the management of large properties, and settle those differences which must be constantly arising where rival interests are at stake.

Gemots and courts of several kinds therefore were constantly being held in Oxford, but from the few references to their practical working which we have left to us, and the imperfect summaries of the laws in force at that time which have been preserved, it is difficult to distinguish the various forms of procedure, or ascertain how often various courts were sitting. In the laws which King Eadward the Elder (904–24) issued, he decreed as follows:—

> 'I will that each *Reeve* have a *gemot* always once in four weeks, and so do that every man be worthy of folk-right[3].'

This is repeated in the laws of King Eadgar (959–75), and in a series of additional laws belonging to the same king we find:—

> 'Let the *hundred gemot* be attended as it was before fixed, and thrice in the year let a *burh-gemot* be held; and twice a *shire-gemot*[4].'

And in the laws of King Cnut, the references to the shire and burh-gemots are in almost exactly the same words, and there is good reason to suppose that this series of laws are in substance those which were decreed at Oxford in 1018, when 'Danes and Angles were unanimous

[1] That churches were at times used for purposes of administering justice in various ways is evident. Amongst the laws of Eadward the Confessor it is decreed, 'Et si barones sint qui judicia non habeant; in hundredo ubi placitum habitum fuerit, ad propinquiorem ecclesiam ubi judicium regis erit, determinandum est, salvis rectitudinibus baronum ipsorum.' Thorpe's Ancient Laws, &c., vol. i. p. 446.

[2] See *ante*, p. 223.

[3] Thorpe's Laws and Institutes of England. London 1840, vol. i. p. 165.

[4] Ibid. vol. i. p. 269.

for Eadgar's law[1], and that these various gemots were continued during the Conqueror's reign is shown by their being virtually repeated in the laws of Henry the First[2].

It may be presumed that at one of these gemots the set of laws especially relating to Oxford, which are found enrolled at the end of the king's manors in Oxfordshire in the Domesday Survey, were promulgated. These few laws are expressed as follows:—

'The king's peace given under hand or seal; if any shall break it so that he kill a man to whom this peace has been given, his members and life shall be at the king's will if he be taken, and if he cannot be taken, he shall by all men be counted as an exile; and if any one shall succeed in killing him he shall lawfully have his goods[3].

'If any stranger choosing to live in Oxford, and having a house independently of his parents, shall there end his life, the king shall have whatever he has left.

'If any shall break or enter into the court or house of any one, so that he knock down (? *occidat*), wound, or assault a man, he pays to the king one hundred shillings.

'Likewise he who when summoned to go 'on expedition,' does not go, shall give one hundred shillings to the king.

'If any shall have killed [*interfecerit*] any one within his own court or house, his body and all his substance are in the king's power, except the dowry of his wife if she shall have had a dowry[4].'

It is difficult to see why these five laws should be especially enacted at this time and place. It looks rather as if they were judgments which had been given as cases which had occurred, perhaps recently, or during the then sheriff's tenure of office, and which he thought it good to have enrolled; for there is reason to think that Domesday Book was looked upon as a Dom-boc, or book of decrees (*domas*). It will be observed that the second law mentions Oxford by name,

[1] See *ante*, p. 161.

[2] 'Debet autem scyresmot et burgemot bis, hundreta vel wapentagia duodecies in anno congregari.' Thorpe's Laws, &c., vol. i. p. 514.

[3] The 'king's peace' here especially referred to is mentioned at the head of the list given in the laws of King Eadward the Confessor, 'Pax regis multiplex est. Alia data manu sua quam Anglici vocant *Kinges hand-sealde grith*. Alia per breve suum data. Alia, &c., &c.' (Thorpe, vol. i. p. 447.) There does not appear to be any special law previously enacted relating to the breach of the king's *hand grith* apart from the breaking of the king's peace generally, though the expression is frequently found. Note especially Thorpe, pp. 167, 319, 359, 453, 454, and 518. This Oxford law however is afterwards incorporated into the laws of Henry I. in the following terms: 'Qui pacem regis fregerit, quam idem manu sua dabi alicui, si capiatur, de membris culpa sit' (ibid. p. 585). At the same time it is uncertain how far the compilations which go under the name of *Leges Regis Henrici Primi*, were ever authoritatively promulgated.

[4] Domesday, folio 154 b, col. 2. Appendix A, § 101.

as if it was applicable solely to this town; the case may perhaps have arisen from some one, probably an Englishman driven out from some other town, who had come and taken up his abode in Oxford, and without friends or relations. The third law seems at first sight a repeal of one of those laws of King Cnut, which, as already said, were possibly decreed at Oxford on the occasion mentioned in the Chronicle. In those laws 'house-breaking,' that is *Hus-bryce*, was decreed, according to secular law, to be *bot-less*[1], while here the fine is fixed. But there may be some special circumstance in this case which the terse language in which the law is laid down does not explain. The word '*occidat*,' too, probably has the meaning of knocking down, and does not involve killing, since it is put in the same category as *vulneret* and *assaliat*, and is therefore to be contrasted with *interfecerit*, which occurs in the fifth law relating to similar offences.

The fourth of the series also seems to be in a measure connected with the succeeding laws as they stand in the series enacted by King Cnut above referred to, since it defines the penalties for neglecting any one of the three obligations imposed by the *trinoda necessitas*, i.e. of fortification, making of bridges, and going on expeditions.

The law of King Cnut stood as follows:

> '66. If any one neglect "*burh-bōt*," or "*bricg-bōt*," or "*fyrd-fare*"; let him make "bōt" with one hundred and twenty shillings to the king by English law, and by Danish law as it formerly stood; or let him clear himself,' &c.[2]

In this it would seem that though Cnut's laws recognized the English law as the guiding principle, there might be occasions on which the Danish law might be administered. What the *bot* under the Danish law was does not seem to be ascertainable; but here we seem to have William the Conqueror's law promulgated in Oxford, reducing the fine imposed by Cnut's law and agreed upon in the same city, from 120 shillings to 100 shillings. But the promulgation of this law at Oxford has a further significance in illustrating the passage in the Domesday Survey,

[1] Laws of King Cnut, No. 65. 'Hus-bryce .... æfter woruld-lage is bot-leas.' (Thorpe, vol. i. p. 410.)

[2] Laws of King Cnut, No. 66. 'Lif hwa burh-bote oththe bricg-bote oththe fyrdfare forsitte gebete mid hund-twelftigum scill tham cyningce on Engla-lage and on Dena-lage swa hit ær stod oththe geladige hine,' &c. (Thorpe, vol. i. p. 410.) This law is practically repeated in the compilation of laws known as those of Henry I, viz. under Cap. LXVI. as follows: 'Si quis *burcbotam* vel *brig botam* vel *fierdfar* supersederit emendet hoc erga regem CXX. solidos in Anglorum laga; in Denelaga sicut stetit antea vel ita se allegiet,' &c. No notice seems to be taken of the revised Oxford law in this respect. But, as already pointed out, there seems much reason to suppose the laws of Henry I. to be for the most part a mere unauthorised compilation.

in which the law of Eadward the Confessor ran that twenty burgesses should go, or pay a fine of £20—that is, twenty shillings per man. By the issue of the law by the Conqueror it seems the *fyrd-fare* was continued in Oxford, and that the fine for neglect was practically 100 shillings per man. Still, with so little material on which to base conclusions, it is impossible, perhaps, to suggest any very definite hypothesis for the appearance of these five laws in the Oxford Domesday.

We incidentally obtain in another of Cnut's Oxford laws a hint that the shire gemot was a sort of court of appeal. One law runs as follows:—

> 'And let no man take any distress either in the shire or out of the shire before he has thrice demanded his right in the hundred. If at the third time he have no justice, then let him go at the fourth time to the shire-gemot, and let the shire appoint him a fourth term[1].'

Other minor courts are sometimes mentioned:—

> 'Moreover let there not be "miskenninga" in *Husteng*, nor in *Folkesmote*, nor in other pleadings within the city. And the Husteng shall sit once in the week, that is to say on Monday[2].'

Though certain details are given as regards things to be done in *Folcmote*[3], it is not made clear what relation it bore to the others. The *Wardemote*[4] is also found incidentally mentioned. The Hustings Court has existed in Oxford down to quite recent times; the proceedings of which, from the time of Edward II to that of Charles II, are enrolled in the *Liber Albus* preserved in the City Archives[5].

There is another name also which has been observed applied to a particular court held in Oxford, namely, the *Portmanni-mot*, and though the reference is to proceedings early in the following reign, the circumstances of the case show that the name was a survival, and not a new name introduced after the Conquest. The Abingdon chronicler, after describing a judgment concerning Ermenold's house, already referred to as being in the south of Oxford, adds, 'And afterwards it (i.e. the judgment) was shown in *Portmannimot* and agreed to in the same manner, and according to the same arrangement[6].'

[1] Thorpe, vol. i. p. 387.

[2] Temp. Henry I. Thorpe, vol. i. p. 503. As to the term Miskenninga, Ducange defines this, following Brompton, as *Variatio loquelae in curia*. It seems to mean that a change of issue during proceedings in court was provided against; in other words that all counts must be set forth before the proceedings are instituted, and in some cases in later years the word seems to be applied to the mulct which was demanded for the offence of such mispleading.

[3] Temp. Henry I. Thorpe, vol. i. p. 614.

[4] Temp. Henry I. 'Et terras suas, et *wardemotum*, et debita civibus meis habere faciam infra civitatem et extra.' Thorpe, vol. i. p. 503.

[5] See Turner's Selections from the Records of the City of Oxford, 1880.

[6] 'Sed et postea in *Portmannimot* ostensum et concessum eodem modo et eadem conventione est.' *Chron. Mon. Ab.*, vol. ii. p. 141.

But, besides these, we find several instances in the following reign of courts held in Oxford by the Abbot of Abingdon[1] or the Abbot of Ensham, and such courts were no doubt frequently held; and probably lords of manors, so far as they had right to do so, found it convenient on occasions to hold their court in the shire town.

The business then at all these courts, whether connected with the interests of the king or with that of the town or of the county as a whole, or of the various manors which made up the county, must have caused not only much concourse among the towns-people, but large numbers from the country would visit Oxford; rich litigants did not travel alone, but brought their servants and often considerable retinues with them. Besides, there was a large amount of criminal procedure to be got through affecting individuals, and though perhaps a good deal would be disposed of near the place where the crime may have been committed, there must have been a considerable residue to be got through in the chief county town.

The Castle too, in which no doubt a guard of some number was kept, to be at the bidding of Robert D'Oilgi, would as a rule show signs of activity. Probably here soldiers would be seen constantly coming and going, for the country in many parts was very unsettled[2]. At such a central spot as Oxford, no doubt a good supply of cavalry was retained in case of emergency, and they would probably exercise in the great meadow called the King's Mead, which lies on the south of the Botley Road, and which Robert D'Oilgi was accused of taking from Abingdon Abbey.

Probably not much was gained to the activity of the town as yet, from the ancient foundation of St. Frideswide. Still the monastery must have had an existence and probably an extensive enclosure, and there must have been monks to be seen going to and fro, and the sound of bells at stated times would be heard, if not from a tall tower, at least, from something of the nature of a steeple[3]. Oseney, which was afterwards to occupy the island meadows beyond the Castle outside the farthest western extremity of the town, did not yet exist.

The town, as will have been seen, was already well supplied with churches. When we add together the names of those which we obtain incidentally from the Domesday Survey, and those which we glean from other sources, including S. Frideswide's Church itself, we find we have in all eight in number from the several sources.

[1] A copy of one of the licences from the King, viz. that granted to Abbot Vincent, temp. Hen. I, is preserved. *Chron. Mon. Ab.* ii. p. 165.

[2] See *ante*, p. 204.

[3] As to the tower of S. Frideswide, see *ante*, p. 148.

1. S. Frideswide	...	(A.D. 757) *S. Frideswide Cart.*
2. S. Martin ...	...	(„ 1034) *Abingdon Chron.*
3. S. George ...	...	(„ 1074) *Oseney Cart.*
4. S. Mary Magdalen	...	(„ 1074) *Ibid.*
5. S. Mary the Virgin	...	(„ 1087) *Domesday.*
6. S. Michael ...	...	(„ „) *Ibid.*
7. S. Ebbe ...	...	(„ „) *Ibid.*
8. S. Peter ...	...	(„ „) *Ibid.*

The question arises, was the town as yet mapped out into parishes? *A priori* on the building of a church, a district would naturally be assigned to it. In the country, as a rule, the churches had been built by the lords of the manors, and the manors formed the parishes, but in towns the growth of parishes and their sub-division may often have been gradual. Looking at the map, and comparing it with the list of churches above named, we see that a parish belonging to King Cnut's church, dedicated to S. Martin, must have occupied the same general position which it does now, namely the centre of the town, and possibly of much the same extent, comprising as it does small portions of each of the four quarters into which the two main streets divide the town. S. Michael's parish must also have occupied the district between S. Martin's and the north wall of the city as it does now. Robert D'Oilgi's church of S. George in the castle probably served for the inhabitants on the western slopes between S. Martin's parish, and the Castle ditch, while S. Ebbe's Church, which the energy of Ensham Abbey had given to Oxford, supplied those inhabitants whose houses lay between the others and the south wall.

On the eastern side of the street leading down to the south gate, S. Frideswide's no doubt would be supposed to administer to the spiritual wants of the population around it, and may indeed, perhaps, have extended its jurisdiction over to the western side of the same street, while in the north-eastern quarter of the town Earl Alberic's church, dedicated to S. Mary, and to the east of it Robert D'Oilgi's church dedicated to S. Peter, may be supposed to have exercised a jurisdiction over all but the small portions belonging to S. Michael's and S. Martin's. At the south-eastern corner of the city, the portion lying on the east of the precincts of S. Frideswide may have perhaps been partly within the jurisdiction of that monastery, and partly of the parish church of S. Peter's on the other side of the street.

S. Mary Magdalen's Church, being wholly without the north gate, took in the suburb to the north of Oxford, while that of S. Peter's would have taken in the suburb of Robert D'Oilgi's manor of Holywell.

S. George's would have supplied any houses which had been erected beyond the Castle ditch, on the northern and western side, while on the southern side, or beyond the southern wall, in this direction any habitations would readily have found themselves beneath the influence of the Church of S. Aebba.

Such an outline represents then the division of Oxford according to the list of eight churches which we find actually recorded as definitely existing before the close of William the Conqueror's reign, but it must not be denied that one or two considerations render it doubtful whether, after all, the above completes the list of the churches which Oxford possessed at the time. For the reign of William Rufus, and for the first few years of Henry the First's reign, there is a singular absence of records. But soon after the restoration of S. Frideswide's we find a charter professing to be given by Henry the First[1], reciting all the churches in which S. Frideswide's held any rights. Including chapels, they are nine in number, and it will be observed that only one of them, namely S. Michael's at north gate, is common to the two lists. Of course it is possible that eight more churches should have been added to Oxford between 1087, the date of the Domesday Survey, and before the close of Henry the First's reign, a period of nearly fifty years, but still it is not probable; it may therefore be supposed that some of them existed earlier. The names, however, and a few remarks upon the evidence for the early origin suggested for some, may not be altogether out of place, in considering the number of the churches in Oxford before the close of the eleventh century.

The list runs as follows:—

The Church of All Saints.
The Church of S. Mildred.
*The Church of S. Michael, *ad portam Borealem.*

[1] The signatures are wanting to the charter, and it must not be overlooked that in the title and style of the king at the commencement, the charter might as well be ascribed to Henry the Second as to Henry the First. At the same time the rubric in the S. Frideswide Cartulary, prefixed to the charter, runs *Sequitur prima carta Henrici primi;* unless his copy had a date or signatures the compiler or transcriber might have been easily misled. Kennett, in his Parochial Antiquities (ed. 1818, vol. i. p. 125), includes it under the year 1132. Antony a Wood appears to give throughout his references 1122, but the evidence for either of these dates has not been observed. There are reasons however, why some doubt must be thrown upon the date ascribed by the copyist if not upon the genuine character of the charter. See e.g. *post*, p. 292. The question is further complicated by the fact that a charter purporting to be given by the Empress Matilda, dated from Oxford, and with the signature of Robert Bp. of London (appointed 1141) and Robert of Gloucester (who died 1145), and which must therefore, if genuine, have been granted in 1142 when Matilda was besieged in Oxford, contains exactly the same list almost in the same words.

The Church of S. Peter, *ad Castrum*.
The moiety of the Church of S. Aldae.
The Chapel of S. Michael, *ad portam Australem*.
The Church of S. Edward.
The Chapel of the Holy Trinity.
Without the city, the Chapel of S. Clement.

It is to this confirmation charter of Henry the First that the compiler of the S. Frideswide's Cartulary invariably refers for the origin of the churches in which the monastery had any direct interest. He evidently had found nothing whatever referring to any earlier event, or of an earlier date than this one charter ascribed to Henry the First. To show this it is only necessary to transcribe the rubrics which he has inserted at the head of the divisions of the Cartulary which refer to the respective parishes; they run as follows:—

'1. *Memorandum* that the Church of S. Frideswide possessed the Church of All Saints through (*per*) Henry the First, formerly King of England, as appears above in the foundation [*in Fundatione*], &c.[1]

'2. *Notandum* that the Church of S. Mildred was collated to the Church of S. Frideswide, with the other churches and possessions as in the foundation, &c.[2]

'3. *Memorandum* that the Church of S. Peter in the Castle (*S. Petri ad Castrum*) was given to the Church of S. Frideswide by King Henry the First, as appears in the charter of the same and in the foundation, &c.[3]

'4. *Sciendum* that the Church of S. Michael was collated to the Church of S. Frideswide at the foundation of the same, as appears above in the foundation, &c.[4]

'5. *Notandum* that Henry the First, King of England, gave to the Church of S. Frideswide the moiety of the Church of S. Aldate (*S. Aldathi*), in Oxon[5], and this, as above, in the foundation, &c.

'6. *Memorandum* that the Chapel of S. Michael [i.e. at South gate] was given to the Church of S. Frideswide at the first establishment (*in prima creatione*) of the Regular Canons there, as appears above in the foundation of the place, &c.[6]

'7. *Memorandum* that the Church of S. Edward was granted to us by Henry, formerly King of England, as appears above in the foundation, &c.[7]

'8. *Notandum* that the Chapel of the Holy Trinity, over the East gate (*supra portam Orientalem*), together with its appurtenances, was collated to the aforesaid church [i.e. of S. Frideswide] by Henry the First, formerly King of England, as appears above in the foundation[8].

[1] Cartulary of S. Frideswide in possession of the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, folio 407. [2] Ibid. folio 482. [3] Ibid. folio 399.
[4] Ibid. folio 437. [5] Ibid. folio 357. [6] Ibid. folio 337. [7] Ibid. folio 325.
[8] Ibid. folio 453. This rubric stands as the head of the parish of S. Peter in the East.

'9. *Sciendum* that Henry the First, formerly King of England, gave to the Church of S. Frideswide the Chapel of S. Clement, as appears above in the foundation, &c.[1]'

Although in the above series of Rubrics there are one or two which, if taken singly, might seem to imply that there was more material on which the writer based his statements than the one charter of Henry the First, which is given at the beginning, taking them as a whole, the variations must be ascribed partly to the arts which a chronicler uses in writing, and partly to the desire to connect the grants with the king's authority, which of course would weigh much in their favour in courts of law. Supposing then for a moment this document to be genuine, and that it points to a confirmation of the property in churches held by S. Frideswide at that time, it proves the churches to have been in existence early in the twelfth century, but by no means disproves the earlier existence of the church before the date of that charter, or even before the date of the revival of S. Frideswide's about 1120, because it was not at all unusual to transfer churches which had been already erected by private benefaction to the care and authority of some religious house. If it is a forgery it is of course left still open to suppose that some of the churches might have been in existence before the close of the eleventh century, but on the other hand, that some of the churches named did not come into existence till the close of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century.

It has been supposed for instance that the circumstance of a church being dedicated to S. Mildred, an English saint, points to that church being erected before the Conquest. The view of course is based upon the supposition that after the Conquest the chief benefactors to churches would most likely be those who were wealthy, and who had come over with or been favoured by the Conqueror, so that in most parts of the country the English saints which had hitherto been popular would be forgotten; while as regards the popularity of S. Mildred there could be no question. The Abbess of the church of Minster, on the southern shore of Thanet (which was then more of an isle than it is now), died towards the close of the seventh century of a lingering illness. The church and conventual buildings over which she had presided, suffered like the rest throughout the kingdom, during the

[1] Cartulary of S. Frideswide, folio 493. It may be noticed that there is no rubric of this kind in regard to the parishes of S. Martin, S. Ebbe, S. Mary Magdalen, or S. Mary the Virgin. Though the monastery had property in each parish the compiler has not thought it necessary to add any introductory notice. As the head rubric to S. Giles' Parish there is the reference to one hyde of land in Walton in the Parish of S. Giles, 'as appears above in the foundation, &c.'

Danish incursions, and in the time of Cnut, i. e. 1030, the remains were translated to S. Augustine's Monastery at Canterbury. A monk of that monastery, named William Thorn, who compiled a chronicle c. 1390, has preserved to us an account of the translation, with details showing in what high veneration S. Mildred was held. Thorn begins by reciting a charter of King Cnut, which grants the body of S. Mildred to S. Augustine, which is supposed to be dated 1027[1]. He then, to all appearance copying the register, gives exact dates first when Abbot Elstan translated the body of S. Mildred, viz. on the 15 Kalends of June (May 18), 1030, to his monastery, and buried it in front of S. Peter's altar; and next when Abbot Wulfric, on enlarging his church translated it again into S. Augustine's Chapel (*porticus*), viz. on the Eve of S. Leonard's Day (Nov. 5), 1037. Still, writing evidently from the register, he notes that when Eadward [the Confessor] succeeded, in 1043, the same year he confirmed all that King Cnut had done as to the Manor of Minster[2].

William of Malmesbury, writing c. 1125, bears testimony also to the honour in which S. Mildred was held after her remains were translated in 1030. He writes:—

> 'Mildritha dedicating herself to a life of celibacy, came to the end of her days [at Minster] in the Isle of Thanet in Kent, which King Egbert had given to her mother. . . . . In after years, when she was translated to the monastery of S. Augustine at Canterbury, she was honoured with exceeding assiduity on the part of the monks, the fame of her piety and that of her gentleness towards all (as her name implies) being equally thought worthy of their praise. And although almost all the winding passages throughout that monastery are filled with the bodies of saints, and those neither of slight fame or merit, and any of which would be sufficient to shed lustre over England, yet than none

[1] 'Notum sit vobis omnibus me dedisse Sancto Augustino Patrono meo, Corpus Sanctae Mildredae, gloriosae virginis cum tota terra sua infra insulam de Thanet et extra,' &c. Printed in *Decem Scriptores* 1652, col. 1783. It is possibly an early forgery, but based on documents then in possession of the Monastery, and valuable so far for historical purposes.

[2] *Decem Scriptores*, cols. 1783–1784, Thorn, under the year 1262, when he mentions the final translation of the body into the shrine in which it now lies, gives a full account of S. Mildred. There are some earlier notes relating to the life of the saint compiled by Goscelin in the eleventh century; additional material relating to S. Mildred is also given in the chronicle of Thomas of Elmham, who wrote somewhat later than Thorn, but has preserved copies of many older documents. See *Historia Monast. S. Augustini Cantuariensis*, Rolls Series 1858, pp. 215, 217, 225, 289, &c. Capgrave devotes several pages to the expansion of the biographical details of the life of this saint.

> is she less honoured, and at the same time she is more tenderly beloved and remembered than all [1].'

Before the date of this translation no churches would be dedicated in her honour, but either in Cnut's time or early in Eadward the Confessor's time there would be, on account of the popularity of the saint, a reason for a church being dedicated to her; and as King Cnut appears to have been instrumental in the erection of S. Martin's Church here, it might be argued that he founded S. Mildred's Church also. Were it not for the chance preservation of the single charter in the Abingdon Chronicle, we should have known nothing of S. Martin's Church, as the Domesday Survey is absolutely silent with respect to it; and since all records belonging to S. Frideswide have been lost, and no records of the churches founded by individuals were kept, there is no reason to expect any mention of the foundation to exist. On the other hand, it must be admitted that though dedications to English saints may have gone out of fashion, still there is no reason whatever why some benefactor in Oxford, after the eleventh century, may not have, for particular reasons, either from being a native in the Isle of Thanet, or connected with S. Augustine's, thought proper to dedicate his church to this saint.

Five churches only however are known to have been dedicated in her honour. One at Canterbury, one at Preston near Wingham in Kent, two in London, and one at Whippingham in the Isle of Wight. That at Canterbury was perhaps erected soon after the translation of the relics. Very little of the original structure remains, but sufficient to show that a church had stood there of a date anterior to the twelfth century [2]. Preston lies half-way between Minster and Canterbury, in a direct line, and would possibly be the place where the body rested on its way. Of the two churches in London, one is in Bread Street, the other is in the Poultry [3]; it is needless to say that no early remains exist; moreover, no record has been observed which implies an early foundation. Of Whippingham also data are wanting [4] on which to base

[1] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, Liber II. § 215, Eng. Hist. Soc. 1840, vol. i. p. 369. Appendix A, § 102.

[2] There seems to be no reference to it in the numerous documents and chronicles relating to Canterbury except in a MS. in C. C. C. C. (Miscell. G. p. 307), *De Ecclesiis fundatis ante adventum Normannorum in Angliam*. In this occurs, 'In australi parte civitatis infra muros abbatia in honore beate Mildrithe statuitur cujus ultimus abbas Alfwicus.' Printed in Dugdale, ed. 1846, vol. i. p. 128. This seems to bear out what the remaining portions of ancient structure suggest.

[3] They are thus referred to in the names of the city benefices 31 Edw. I: 'Sancta Mildreda in Poletria cum Capella de Conehop. Sancta Mildreda in Bredstrate.' *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis*, Rolls Series 1860, p. 229.

[4] It appears, however, to have been granted by William Fitz Osborne to the Abbey of Lire soon after the Conquest. The present structure is modern.

any theory as to its erection. No remains whatever of S. Mildred's Church in Oxford are in existence; it is believed that the very foundations have been dug up, and that no evidence remains by which the exact site can be traced. Allowed to go to ruin in the later years of the fifteenth century, both Exeter College and Lincoln College have taken in portions of the churchyard, the pathway across which, being a public way, survives in Brasenose Lane. On the whole therefore the church of S. Mildred may have existed in the eleventh century, but may not have existed till the twelfth.

If S. Eadward's Church is dedicated to S. Eadward the Martyr [1], who was assassinated in 979, the date may be carried back to a time before the Conquest; for in the reign of King Cnut his remains [2], so at least the Abingdon folk claim, were translated to that monastery. As in the case of the translation of the relics of S. Mildred, such would be a more likely time for the dedication, and whether the Abingdon claim, or that of Glastonbury, or that of Shaftesbury, be the just one, the fact of the statement that his remains were brought to this neighbourhood, would be sufficient to suggest a church being dedicated in his honour at the time. Still the data are not sufficient to warrant any satisfactory conclusion; and when it is remembered that the church may perhaps be, after all, dedicated to Eadward the Confessor [3], it must be admitted that there is no evidence for or against the foundation of the church having taken place before or after the Domesday Survey.

The site of the church, like that of S. Mildred, is wholly obliterated. It was situated between the High Street and the northern boundary wall of S. Frideswide's, and the parish would therefore have been to the south of All Saints' parish, with which in the fifteenth century it appears to have been incorporated.

Contrasted with the full details we have of the parentage and life of S. Mildred, the name of S. Aldate presents considerable difficulty. No early writer seems to have known this saint. In no ancient

[1] So Antony Wood apud Peshall, p. 116. But no reference is given. Throughout numerous charters, entries in the Hundred Rolls, &c., &c., no single instance has been observed in which anything more than the name '*Eccl. Sancti Edwardi*' is found.

[2] *Chron. Mon. Ab.*, vol. i. p. 443. In the list of the relics (ibid. ii. p. 157) they are entered, 'De Sancto Eadwardo pars plurima.' The story adopted by nearly all the martyrologists is that his remains, after reposing for a time at Wareham, were translated to Shaftesbury. We note the date of the translation (June 20) still in our Prayer Books.

[3] It may be mentioned that it is impossible to distinguish between the dedications of the churches of S. Eadward throughout the country as to which belong to the Martyr and which to the Confessor.

martyrologies or calendars does the name appear. The fanciful identification with the imaginary Eldad of Geoffrey of Monmouth's romance does not seem to have been definitely suggested till the seventeenth or at the earliest till the sixteenth century.

The story of Hengist meeting Vortigern and giving the watchword of 'Nemet oure Saxas,' is well known; and how four hundred and sixty barons and consuls (*barones et consules*) of the British were slain; and how 'the blessed Eldad buried their bodies with Christian burial in the cemetery which was near the monastery of Abbot Ambrius[1].' This is supposed, of course, to have taken place soon after the landing of Hengist and Horsa, given in the Chronicle under the year 449. Elsewhere Eldad is called by Geoffrey *Episcopus Claudiocestrensis*[2], and said to be brother of Eldol, consul of Gloucester, who did such valiant deeds on the battle-field against the Saxons. All this, inclusive of the names, is pure invention, and of a very weak sort even for the twelfth century, so far as the writer was actuated by the desire to pass his fiction off for history. Still he succeeded, strange as it may appear, and a church dedicated to a British bishop being too good a point to be lost, we have the dedication of the church neatly introduced by Antony a Wood as an argument to prove the antiquity of the church.

> 'Concerning the first foundation of which [i. e. S. Aldate's Church] it is very ancient; if we regard to whom it was dedicated, and whose name it bears, a British saint, about 450, as Leland says[3], and whose feast, as another author observes, was used to be kept at Gloucester 4th February. Through his means it was that Hengist, King of the Saxons[4],' &c.

The first time we hear of S. Aldate's Church, apart from the supposed Confirmation Charter of Henry the First, is in the Abingdon Chronicle. The story, which is a very singular one, belongs to the next century, but, on account of the light it throws upon that charter, it must be briefly referred to here. The chronicler introduces it thus:—

[1] *Galfredi Monumetensis Historia*, vi. 15, ed. Giles, 1844, p. 113.

[2] Ibid. viii. 7, p. 137.

[3] But does Leland say so? The reference is '*Com. in Cygneam cantionem sub voce* C.' This must mean the word Claudia where Leland is justifying his use of the word Claudia for Gloucester by referring to '*Nennius Britannus*,' and '*Annales Britannorum*,' which are only later forms of Geoffrey of Monmouth. He simply writes, 'Annales Britannorum referunt olim sedem hic fuisse episcopalem antistitemque habuisse Eldadum,' and nothing more (see Leland's Itinerary, Hearne's ed. 1744, vol. ix. p. 49). But it is not only useful to note the imperfect reference and misstatement, but also the fact that Leland, whose *Cygnea Cantio* relates so much to Oxford, had seemingly never heard of the suggestion that the church opposite the entrance gate of St. Frideswide had as yet been connected with the imaginary British Bishop.

[4] Antony a Wood. Apud Peshall, 1773, p. 144.

> 'There is in the city of Oxford a certain minster (*monasterium*) dedicated in honour of S. Aldad Bishop. Two clerks (*clerici*) of the said town, Robert and Gilbert, brothers, share the whole benefice equally with a certain Nicholas a priest[1].'

It appears that the two brothers had taken the monk's habit at Abingdon in the time of Abbot Ingulph. Nicholas made a bargain thereupon with Abingdon that he was to hold the said brother's moiety as well as his own, paying Abingdon twenty shillings per annum as long as he lived; if he died as he was (viz. an ordinary priest), his moiety should, with the other, go to Abingdon; if he took a religious habit he should not go to any other house than Abingdon. He was taken ill suddenly in Oxford, and sent word of his illness to Abingdon; the brothers delayed to come; when *in extremis* the canons of S. Frideswide put on him their habit, and so the moiety was lost to Abingdon, and gained by S. Frideswide. This is the bare outline of the story, and it shows how S. Frideswide obtained that moiety which the charter of Henry the First confirms to them. But when did this take place? Ingulph was Abbot of Abingdon 1130–1158, and he is recorded to have received the two brothers. It must therefore have been some time after 1130, even supposing he had received them immediately on his accession, for between the brothers taking the habit and the death of Nicholas, some time elapsed (to quote the exact words '*defluente vero aliquanto tempore*'). Henry the First, in whose reign the charter confirming the moiety to S. Frideswide professes to be granted, died 1135. So far it would be just possible, provided the charter was given quite at the end of Henry's reign, for it to be genuine. But incidentally at the last moment, before the death of Nicholas, the Abbot of Oseney is called in, by name Wigod. So far as can be ascertained he did not become Abbot until 1138. This makes it impossible that S. Frideswide could have obtained the moiety of S. Aldate's in Henry's reign, and therefore, in that particular at least which can be tested, the charter is false, and it

[1] *Chron. Mon. Ab.*, Rolls Series, ii. p. 174. Wood apud Peshall comments upon this in a curious way; thus, '*Est in civit. Oxenford Monasterium quoddam S. Aldati episcopi venerationi consecratum.* This charter was wrote in King Rufus' time; by which it is evident this church at that time was a monastery or cloister to receive monks, or other devoted persons, to be prepared or trained up for the above religious houses, viz. *S. Frid* and *Abendon* Monasteries' (Peshall, p. 145). The passage he quotes is not a charter; as will be shown it is not of William Rufus' time, but relates to events which could not have taken place before Stephen's reign; and as to the 'monastery' as a preparatory cloister to others, the word minster is often used simply in the sense of a church with a priest or priests attached. S. Martin's Church in Cnut's Charter is called *monasteriolum* (see *ante*, p. 164).

tends to throw a doubt, of course, over other particulars which cannot be tested. Ingulph lived on till 1158, that is, well into Henry the Second's reign, and any time before that date the two brothers might have been received and have given their moiety to Abingdon[1]; Wigod continued Abbot of Oseney, so far as can be ascertained, till 1168, and any time therefore before that date the death of Nicholas may have taken place, and S. Frideswide have obtained their moiety. If therefore the charter is of the time of Henry the Second there is nothing to be said against it, and there is an error in the rubric; but it is so connected with the one[2] declaring the grant of this property to have been confirmed by the Empress Matilda, in 1142, that some caution should be exercised in accepting this explanation.

But then there is nothing proved as to the antiquity of the church itself. The two brothers, Robert and Gilbert, might have succeeded to or purchased one moiety of the benefice, and Nicholas the other. Had they been the founders of the church the probabilities are that they would not have been referred to by the chronicler in the manner in which he writes. We are therefore thrown back into an obscurity in regard to the origin of the church, just as absolute as in regard to the life of the saint to whom it was dedicated.

That there are many saints of whom we find nothing recorded, and whose names exist only in the churches dedicated after them, is true; but though this is common enough in Cornwall and Wales, and somewhat so in the north, it is not the case of the churches lying in the midland and southern counties, and the suggestion is somewhat forced on the mind that the name Aldate (as it is most commonly found written) is that of no saint at all.

One church, and one church only, is known to be so called, namely a church at Gloucester. There seems to be little or no record remaining which throws any light upon its origin[3]. There is, however, this one point in common between the two, namely, that they are each situated just within one of the four town gates; that at Gloucester just within and a little to the left on entering the old north gate of the

[1] As the moiety is mentioned in the Privilegium of Pope Eugenius III. granted to Abingdon in 1146, their reception of the brothers and acquisition of their moiety must have taken place either at or before that date.

[2] See *ante*, p. 285, note 1.

[3] In the *Cartularium Monasterii S. Petri Gloucestriae*, Rolls Series 1863–67, where one would expect to find at least some references to S. Aldate's Church, amongst the other churches, the name is not even mentioned. The Priory of Deerhurst is entered as having a portion in the Church of S. Aldate in Gloucester in the *Taxatio Papae Nichalai*, made c. 1291, and this is the earliest instance of the name which has been observed.

town, that at Oxford just within and on the left on entering the old south gate of the town. It may be added that on one old map of Gloucester and in another old map of Oxford they are inscribed 'St. Aldgate's Church[1].'

The calling of a church after its position as well as after the saint to which it is dedicated, is not uncommon. In London it was often necessary to have a second name, and so in the list of benefices taken 31 Edward I. (1303), nearly all have such. We find, for instance, Sancti Botulphi extra Bisschopesgate, Sancti Botulphi apud Billingesgate, Sancti Botulphi de Alegate, Sancti Botulphi de Aldresgate[2],' &c. It is therefore quite possible that the two churches, one in Oxford and one in Gloucester, had originally some designation of this kind. Supposing at Oxford the church had been called St. Martin at Aldgate, it might have been shortened, just as St. Martin's at Carfax is commonly called in conversation Carfax Church; and were it not for written documents the name of this dedication would thus very likely have been lost. In the state of things at the Conquest it is quite possible that the church was called the Aldgate Church, and the Normans thought Aldgate (or as it was softened Aldate) to be the name of a saint[3]. There is, of course, no written evidence of this, for if the original name before the Conquest had been enrolled in documents it would not have been forgotten, and the error would not have happened. All that can be said is that this view is as probable as that a church in Oxfordshire should be dedicated in the eleventh or twelfth century to a saint utterly unknown, and of which, amidst the numerous martyrologies, no writer should ever have attempted a history. One thing may be taken as certain, and that is, it was not originally dedicated to the fanciful Eldad[4] of Geoffrey of Monmouth, since his romance was not

[1] Hall and Pinnell's map of the city of Gloucester, 1780, and Longmate's map of Oxford, 1773, which accompanies Peshall's edition of Antony a Wood. In Speed's map of Gloucester it is curiously spelt St. Aldame's.

[2] *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis*, Rolls Series 1860, vol. ii. pp. 228–30. Sometimes the names are singular; for instance, Sancti Nicholai Aldrethegate ad Macellas, Sancti Nicholai Olof (and this occurs elsewhere as S. Nicholai Bernard Olof), Sanctae Mariae de Eldemariechirche, &c.

[3] There is room for suspicion that the Est-rig-hoiel (? Est-bricg-hoiel) on the first folio of the Gloucestershire Domesday (fol. 162 a, col. 1), where the *Castellum* was built by William, was corrupted to S. Briavels, and hence was the origin of that saint's name.

[4] By the Abingdon chronicler writing 'Aldad Bishop' it looks almost as if he had in his mind Geoffrey of Monmouth's Eldad of Gloucester. He had evidently read the romance, as in the beginning of his chronicle he speaks of Brutus, of Faganus and Divianus, and of the burial of Lucius at Gloucester, &c. In the charters the name is written simply *Ecclesia Sancti Aldati* or *Aldathi*.

issued till 1125 and a previous existence of the church is implied. In all early cases the first syllable is *Ald*, and when we find corruptions in later times it is S. Olds or S. Tolds[1]; no trace of S. Eldad ever having been written exists.

Thus much then for three churches out of the eight which are mentioned for the first time in the somewhat doubtful charter as confirmed to S. Frideswide's Monastery. It has been thought that such dedications as S. Mildred and S. Eadward belong rather to the times when S. Aebba, the sister of S. Oswald[2], was chosen by the community at Ensham as the saint in whose memory to dedicate their church; and this may be so; and if S. Aldate is a corruption of Aldgate, as has been suggested, the fact would still point to a church having been in existence on the spot sometime before the close of the eleventh century.

Of the remaining five churches, namely All Saints', another S. Peter's, another S. Michael's, and a chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity close to the east gate, and one to S. Clement on the other side of the river Cherwell, nothing can be said which points to their being of an earlier date than the twelfth century, nor on the other hand that they were founded afterwards. The buildings themselves offer no remains whatever. All Saints', and S. Peter's in the Bailey of the Castle, were entirely rebuilt from the ground in the eighteenth century, and the latter of the two re-erected on another site in the nineteenth century, while the little chapel of S. Clement's, which gave way to a fourteenth century church, standing just on the other side of Magdalen bridge, and in the middle of the eastern road out of Oxford, as S. Mary Magdalen's stood in the middle of the northern road, was wholly cleared away at the beginning of this century, and another church erected in the fields. Of Trinity Chapel, and of the other S. Michael's, even the exact sites may be said to be unknown, and it is not clear whether the latter was built over the gate or adjoining to it.

[1] In the English version of the Oseney Chartulary before referred to (p. 207), amongst the signatures to a charter dated 1226 there is one translated 'Reginald Chapelyn of ye church of Seynte Oolde of Oxford' (folio 14 b).

[2] Beda, *Hist. Eccl.* Lib. IV. cap. 19, mentions her as the abbess of Coldingham. She died in 683. It is Florence of Worcester who supplies the name of her parents (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 533). At the same time the martyrologists seem to have mixed up two stories together in the lives they write of this saint. There was another St. Ebba an abbess of Coldingham who lived in the ninth century, when her house was attacked by the Danes. It is impossible to say to which of these the monks of Ensham intended to dedicate their church. One other church in Oxfordshire, namely Shelswell (now destroyed), was dedicated in her honour, and also Ebbchester in Durham. No others are known.

There is another church of which the name may be thought to carry the foundation back as far at least as the eleventh century, namely, that of S. Budoc. It does not seem to have been under the charge of any monastery, or we should have probably learnt something more about it. The chief references definitely to the church itself are in the early part of the thirteenth century. In 1206 we find that William the chaplain of Oxford has letters of presentation directed to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln for the church of S. Budoc in Oxford[1]. Later on we learn the story how, during the Barons' wars, the church being in the way of the fortifications of the castle, the King had it pulled down, but Henry III. rebuilt it apparently on another site[2]. There are however one or two incidental references to houses in S. Budoc's parish in the twelfth century amongst the Oseney charters from King Stephen's reign onwards.

To the question as to who S. Budoc was, no very satisfactory answer can be given. It is easy to imagine some Cornish saint after whom S. Budoc's or Buddock near Falmouth[3], and S. Budeaux (in Devonshire) near Plymouth[4] are supposed to be named, yet no reason could be well assigned for a church in Oxford being dedicated to a Cornish saint. If the name had been S. Judoc, the saint of Brittany who died about 658, and was much honoured in some parts of Normandy and in Picardy at this time[5], it would have been easy to have imagined that some of the Conqueror's followers erected a little church outside the West gate, either for travellers arriving in that direction, or for the population which had sprung up outside the town in that part. As it is, we must perhaps fall back upon the obscure Cornish saint, who seems to be known only from the two places which appear to bear his

[1] *Rotuli Literarum Patentium*, anno 7° John, Memb. 7. The writ is dated, apparently at Basing by the king, May 6, 1206.

[2] *Rotuli Literarum Clausarum*, 6° Henry III, Membs. 10 and 3, and 7°, Membs. 21 and 7.

[3] 'And thus within the space of half a mile I cam to S. Budocus Church. This Budocus was an Irisch man and cam into Cornewalle and ther dwellid.'—*Leland's Itinerary*, Hearne's ed. vol. iii. p. 14.

[4] 'A four mile upper a creke going up to Mr. Budokes side where is his Manor Place and S. Budok Chirch' (ibid. Hearne's ed. vol. iii. p. 30). Wood apud Peshall, p. 298, refers to Oudoceus (which he spells Budoceus), the son of a king of Brittany whom Godwin gives as Bishop of Llandaff circa 560. Also to a certain Bodo. As to Budic, or Budec, Geoffrey of Monmouth (Bk. vi. cap. 8) introduces the name into his story as a king of Brittany who received Aurelius, Ambrosius, and Uter Pendragon when they escaped for fear of being killed by Vortigern, but he does not name Budoc.

[5] Orderic Vital, one of the chief historians of this time, devotes several pages to a life of S. Budoc. His monastery of S. Evroult had acquired the old church where his relics were preserved, and they had been twenty-four years at the time of his

name. The church does not now exist, and even the exact site cannot be identified[1], while the parish has been wholly absorbed by S. Ebbe's. So that whether it existed before the close of the eleventh century, or did not come into being till the twelfth, there are no means of ascertaining.

And there is a possibility of still another church having been in existence before the close of the century, and that is S. Cross. We have no mention of the church in records as existing in the eleventh century, and only indirectly in the twelfth, but there is an architectural feature belonging to the church, namely the old chancel arch, which speaks, as plainly as the records, of a date, certainly very early in the twelfth, and probably in the eleventh, when the structure was erected. The Domesday Survey mentions S. Peter's Church, and that alone as existing in Robert D'Oilgi's manor; hence it may fairly be argued that at that time the church was not built; but then it must be remembered that Robert D'Oilgi lived some three or four years after the Survey was made, and there were still nine or ten years to the end of the century, during which time, as the population on Holywell manor increased, his brother Nigel, or perhaps his heir, Robert D'Oilgi the younger, who later on was so munificent to Osenèy Abbey, would have gone on with work which was begun, and would not have allowed those outside the wall no more than those within to be long without a church. Still it must be remembered that the evidence rests upon a single architectural feature, and that though this points to a date within the eleventh century, it is to one quite at the close of it.

There is little to be said beyond what has been already said as to the streets. It is not till late in the twelfth century that we begin to find them called by name. Early in that century, for instance, we find the following reference to a house which had belonged to the manor of Tadmarton, which was situated '*in via scilicet qua itur a Sancti*

writing (i. e. 1116) in rebuilding it. At the same time the Hyde Abbey Chronicle declares that the relics were brought over in 903 to the new minster at Winchester. S. Judoc's father was a king of Brittany, and it may be that Geoffrey of Monmouth took his name of Budec from Judoc, and it is quite possible that a confusion arose in the nomenclature, though in the ordinary change of words Judocus would not get into Budocus.

[1] The most probable site was in the angle formed by the road which skirted the castle ditch on the southern side and the stream, since in one of the Oseney charters reference is made to a property *extra portam occidentalem, in Parochia S. Budoci.* If it stood in the middle of this road, as S. Mary Magdalen Church stood, it would have been in the way of fortifying the castle on this side, and Falk de Breauté, who had not much respect for churches, would have demolished it when he was preparing the castle against siege.

Michaelis ecclesia ad castellum.' This was practically what is now represented by New-Inn-Hall Street, but was part of that continuous street which went all round the town within the walls. By degrees this road was gradually blocked. As early as Henry the First's reign, and when Bishop Roger of Salisbury was chancellor (1101–3), if we can trust the Frideswide Charters, the king grants to them the way which goes along the wall of the city of Oxford, so far as their land reaches, and that they may enclose the said way, and that they may close or obstruct all the entrances of the whole of their priory, &c.[1] In the next century (1244) the Grey Friars were allowed to enclose the inner road for a considerable distance, in another part of the southern wall in St. Ebbe's parish[2]. And so it was continued, sometimes small portions being enclosed by individuals, sometimes large portions being enclosed by colleges, e. g. Merton, Exeter, and New, until now only here and there traces of such a street are left.

The four streets meeting in the centre must have existed, but we do not know how they were called; and it is not till we come to the charters of the Abbeys of S. Frideswide, Oseney, &c., of the twelfth century, and mainly of the latter part of that century, that we find any reference to the streets into which the central part of the city was divided.

It has already been mentioned that Robert D'Oilgi built the bridge at the western approach to Oxford on the north of the Castle bridge, i. e. the Hythe Bridge[3]. It is probable that before the century closed the south bridge was in existence. The evidence is briefly this:—In the time of Abbot Faritius, who became Abbot of Abingdon in 1100, a certain house in Oxford, called the Wick, which was left to Ermenold, is described as '*juxta pontem Oxeneford*[4],' and later on, in the time of Abbot Ingulph (1130–1558), when it is let on lease[5], it is again so described. Of course it is possible that the bridge may have been built in the early years of Abbot Faritius, or the house may have had that name given to it afterwards, the chronicler calling it by the new name in order to identify it; still the more reasonable view perhaps is, that the bridge was in existence. A later reference, i. e. after the

[1] 'Praeterea do eis viam juxta murum civitatis Oxeneford quantum extenditur terra eorum; et volo quod praedicti canonici eandem viam includant, et concedo quod iidem canonici claudere possint omnes portus totius prioratus,' &c. *Rotuli Lit. Pat.* Hen. V. Memb. 3. Per Inspeximus.

[2] Printed in Dugdale, vol. viii. p. 1525.

[3] See *ante*, p. 218.

[4] *Chron. Mon. Ab.* vol. ii. p. 140.

[5] Ibid. p. 176. Another entry occurs respecting a certain Langford Mill, which is described as '*apud Pontem Oxeneford positum*' (Ibid. p. 123), and which was given during the time of Abbot Faritius. It does not however seem to refer to this bridge, but there are difficulties in identifying the spot.

death of Abbot Roger, 1184, when a schedule is drawn out of the property of the abbey, with the dates when the payments to it are due, we find under rents from Oxford those from iij *messagia supra pontem australem*; i. e. it has here the name of the south bridge[1].

And after mentioning the bridges, the mills should not be omitted. There was the mill, which is mentioned in the Survey, namely, the Castle Mill; and there is no reason to doubt but that it occupied the same site as it does now, and portions of the masonry of the foundations, and by which the rush of water is regulated, may well be of a date anterior to the Conquest, for it will be observed that Earl Aelfgar held the mill T. R. E.[2] Incidentally it is noticed in Domesday that, besides this mill, Robert D'Oilgi had one worth ten shillings[3], which by implication was in his manor of Holywell. It must have occupied the site of the present Holywell Mill, being supplied with water from the Cherwell. Although the charter relating to the property of Ensham, which mentions the mills, is not earlier than the year 1109, it is a confirmation charter, and bears internal evidence of referring to property which had been some time previously in the hands of the monastery; and as we see by the Domesday Survey they already possessed their church and several houses which appear to be connected with the church, we may fairly conclude that they already possessed these mills also, and therefore two more may be added to the list of mills, which may be supposed to be supplying the inhabitants of Oxford with flour at this time. It is perhaps dangerous to fix on any particular spots for the two mills, but we may presume that they were in or near to St. Ebbe's parish. There are several divergences in the stream between the Castle and Folly Bridge, and any of these would serve as a site for a mill. In all probability, the mill which afterwards bore the name of Trill Mill, the stream of which is now covered over for a greater part of its course, and is filled up or much diverted for the remainder[4], was

[1] *Chron. Mon. Ab.* vol. ii. p. 332. The words probably are not to be taken to mean that the houses were built on the bridge, like the so-called Friar Bacon's study was afterwards. *Supra* here means *beyond* the bridge. The bridge in Edward the First's reign is usually called the *Pons longus* or the *Pons magnus*, the latter possibly a latinization of *Grand-pount*.

[2] See *ante*, p. 223.

[3] Ibid. p. 225.

[4] The Trill Mill stream left the main stream on the west of what is now Paradise Square, and flowing through meadows which are now covered thickly with houses, it gave off (as shewn by the map of Agas and Loggan) a stream running due south to the Thames, and parallel with the road to Folly Bridge. On the west side, the main stream, after passing beneath the road some seventy yards outside South gate, gave off another stream running parallel with the former, but a little distance off, on the east side of the said road. A portion of the main

originally one of the Ensham mills. In the next century we find Oseney with certain mills which Robert D'Oilgi's nephew had given them, but there is no evidence of there being more than the four mills above named actually in existence at the time of the Survey.

There is one feature which still remains to be noticed, and which essentially connects the time of the Domesday Survey with our own. It will have been observed that the last item in the Oxford list runs as follows:

> 'All burgesses of Oxford have common of pasture without the wall which pays 6*s.* 8*d.*'[1]

That 'common of pasture' remains the same, stretching itself between Walton Manor on the east and the main stream of the river on the west, and bounded on the north by Wolvercote. It would be perhaps rash to say that during the eight hundred years which have passed since this notice of it there have been no encroachments, especially on the southern side where the Cripley meadows lie. But still in substance it remains, and the rights of the freemen of Oxford to have therein free pasture are still admitted; above all it bears the old English name of the 'Port Meadow.' Practically the chief duties of the Reeve of the town (who is appointed annually by the Portmannimot or Town Council) is to look after the well-being of this meadow, and the interests of the freemen therein; but by a perversity which it is difficult to account for, instead of being called the Port-reeve, which is his true name, he is always called the Shire-reeve; still, in the title of sheriff it is something to find a survival of a part of this ancient officer's name, and in his work a part of his ancient duties; it is something more to find the meadow itself still set apart for its ancient purpose, and bearing the ancient name in which that purpose is in a measure set forth.

Such then are the points respecting Oxford on which the few scattered documents which we possess appear to throw any light. The little which they tell us is very slight in proportion to the amount which is left to conjecture; but enough seems to be handed down to show that Oxford, like most other towns, had suffered much during the time that preceded the arrival of William the Conqueror, and enjoyed comparative tranquillity afterwards. His rule, though at times

stream was continued evidently across Merton Fields by the side of what is now the Broad Walk, and found its way into the Cherwell. Several small branches of the river in the south-western part of Oxford have been filled up and built over during the past century.

[1] See *ante*, p. 225.

perhaps harsh, was always firm, and he thereby probably prevented harshness in others. So far as can be judged from the very few data existing, his government as regards the town was based upon the old English lines. There was a reeve appointed over the shire by the King himself; and probably also a reeve either appointed or elected over the town also. It is difficult from the few scattered passages in which the *Scire-reve* or Vice-comes is mentioned, and from the omission in most cases of the names of the counties over which they presided, to make even a list of the names of the sheriffs at this time; while of the names of the portreeves there is scarcely a trace.

In the charter in which King William greets Sawold, *Scirefe*, and all his thanes in Oxfordshire[1], we may presume we have the name of the reeve of this county at the time of the Conquest. The document probably belongs to the early part of William's reign, for the community at Westminster whom it concerns would have hastened to have their property protected by royal charters. Sawold however is not recognized as sheriff in the Oxford list, though the same Sawold was apparently holding mansions in Oxford; hence we may argue that he had ceased to be sheriff by the time the Survey was taken. In that list we have distinctly named Edward as the Sheriff[2]; but, as already pointed out, it is a question whether this was Edward of Salisbury who was sheriff of Wilts, or another Edward, who was sheriff of Oxford. The latter seems the most probable, from the circumstances that the charter respecting the grant of Ensham, which could have nothing to do with Wiltshire, is witnessed by Edward the sheriff, and Robert D'Oilgi together[3]. But in the list of the holders of Oxford mansions occurs more than once the name of Alwin, or Alwi, and under the '*Terra Ministrorum Regis*,' we find that Alwi the sheriff holds of the king two hydes in Bletchingdon[4]. We also find amongst the *Tenentes in capite* in Oxfordshire that a Suain is entered as *vicecomes* and that he held Baldon[5]. If either of them was sheriff of Oxfordshire there is the difficulty of determining whether one succeeded Edward, or the reverse. The balance of evidence perhaps would be in favour of Edward (who was most likely a Norman) succeeding to Alwi or Suain, who must have been Englishmen. Still, it must be confessed that the data are insufficient for arriving at any very definite

[1] See *ante*, pp. 270–71.

[2] See *ante*, p. 246.

[3] See *ante*, p. 242, and Appendix A, § 95. His signature also occurs in the charter respecting Remigius, A, § 90.

[4] See *ante*, pp. 257 and 266.

[5] Domesday, fol. 160 a, col. 1. See also the list of *Tenentes in capite* shown as the Frontispiece to this volume, No. xlii.

conclusion, since either Alwi, Suain or Edward might have been sheriffs of some other county after all.

In William Rufus' reign, and presumably early in that reign, we find several writs addressed to Peter the sheriff of Oxford. It may reasonably be suggested that, whether Alwi or Edward were holding the office in William the Conqueror's reign, they gave way to Peter in the reign of his successor. But he appears only to have held the office during William Rufus' reign, since, when Abbot Faritius soon after 1100 bought houses in Oxford, they are described as those of Peter formerly sheriff[1]. Further than this, we find a writ dated in 1002—that is, early in Henry the First's reign—to William of Oxford and to William the sheriff of Oxford[2]. Hence it would seem that on the accession of King Henry, Peter was for some reason, possibly political, superseded and William put in his place.

As to the Port-reeve, it is curious that no mention is made of him in the list of the Oxford tenants. Either he lived in one of the houses of the '*Tenentes in Capite*,' or possibly his office was not recognized by the Domesday Surveyor from it not being a crown appointment. One instance however has been noted, and it is the only one, namely, where the name of the *Praepositus* Eadwi occurs in a writ issued by William Rufus.

The writ runs as follows:—

> William, King of the English to Peter of Oxford greeting.
>
> Know that I will and command that abbot Rainald of Abingdon, and the monks of his church, shall have and hold all their customs every where and in every way as well and as honourably and as peacefully as they ever held them in the time of King Eadward, and in the time of my father, so that no man shall henceforth any more do them injury.
>
> Witness Ranulf the Chaplain[3].
>
> And take care that full right be done to the aforesaid abbot by Eadwi your *praepositus*, and other of your servants who have done his monks injury[4].

[1] See *ante*, p. 264.

[2] See *ante*, p. 265.

[3] This must be Ralph Flammard (see *ante*, p. 255), to whom William Rufus gave the bishopric of Durham in 1098, and who made such bad use of his power. The following passage bearing upon the signature, 'Rannulph the Chaplain,' occurs in the continuation of Simeon of Durham's history of Durham. 'Rex W. dedit episcopatum Ranulfo qui propter quandam apud regem excellentiam singulariter nominabatur capellanus Regis.' Apud Twysden, *Decem Scriptores*, col. 59.

[4] *Chron. Mon. Ab.* ii. p. 41. As to Eadwi being named in the Domesday list in the Conqueror's reign see *ante*, p. 273. Appendix A, § 103.

The word *praepositus* seems generally to be used in the sense of Port-reeve[1], although at the same time it is used in the other senses as well[2].

We have no direct evidence that either William the Conqueror or William Rufus ever visited Oxford. No charter has been observed dated by either of those kings at Oxford; but then the charters of which copies are in existence are very few in proportion to the number which must have been granted. The probability is that the first William would visit the town to satisfy himself that the works done at the Castle were sufficient, and this is strengthened by the fact that we learn that he was frequently in the immediate neighbourhood, though if we accept entirely the Abingdon chronicler's statement, the two Williams, both father and son, preferred Abingdon, as a place of sojourn, to Oxford. In speaking of the island called Andres-ei, which adjoins the precincts of the monastery, and which was celebrated from the circumstance that King Offa, about the year 760, had taken up his abode there, and also King Æthelstan, the chronicler writes:—

> 'And in this place King William the elder and his son King William the younger after his father frequently chose to be lodged when they passed through this district[3].'

He then speaks of the manner in which he was entertained and the pleasant aspect of the place, and goes on to speak of King Henry and his queen Matilda.

It would seem too that Prince Henry was commanded by his father to keep Easter there in the year 1084, Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, and Milo of Willingford, '*cognomento Crespin*,' being in attendance on him, and the chronicler narrates the circumstance with a certain feeling of satisfaction, inasmuch as he adds that Robert D'Oilgi provided abundance of provisions not only for the table of the royal party but also for those of the brethren of his monastery[4].

It was this Robert D'Oilgi whom the king had appointed to the governorship of the castle and to whom was entrusted the military control of the district. The titles given to him by the Abingdon

[1] It is clearly so in the case of Godwin, one of the signatures to the charter referred to p. 179. The original runs, 'Et Goduuinus praepositus civitatis Oxnafordi, et Wulfwinus praepositus comitis, et omnes cives Oxanfordienses.'

[2] For instance, in the laws of King Æthelstan a hlaford may appoint a praepositus to protect his men (Thorpe, vol. i. p. 217). A praepositus of a hundred also is found mentioned in William the Conqueror's laws (ibid. p. 469).

[3] *Chron. Mon. Ab.* vol. ii. p. 49.

[4] Ibid. p. 12.

chronicler, of *Constabularius* and *Castelli oppidanus*, do not throw any special light upon his official position; no doubt he was practically governor over Oxford. There is no reason however to suppose that he was ill-disposed towards the city. Indeed the little that has come down to us implies the contrary. He lived on into the reign of William Rufus; as has been said, he was a benefactor to Abingdon, as much as to Oxford, assisting in the rebuilding of their monastery, and so eventually determined to be buried there[1]. He left no heir, and Nigel D'Oilgi his brother succeeded to his barony. There does not appear to be any reason for saying Nigel succeeded to him in the office of governor of Oxford[2]. It is possible that Peter the Sheriff was entrusted with the responsibilities hitherto belonging to Robert D'Oilgi, as no name of a successor is found. In the absence of any record to the contrary, it can only be supposed that whoever it was he followed in the steps of his predecessor. Certainly it would appear that the next century saw Oxford regain its old prosperity and advance beyond it, and that is perhaps the best test of good government which the historian can expect to find. Besides, so far as can be judged by the incidental reference to the legal proceedings which we possess, though they are mainly of the following century, there was a disposition not only to give the people good laws but to see that they were carried out, and though we learn but little of the sheriffs, or the portreeves, who were responsible for the peace and progress of the town, we may fairly presume they did their duty, and that, compared with the state of things previously, Oxford had rather to be thankful than otherwise for the Norman Conquest.

[1] See *ante*, p. 215.

[2] Kennett, in the *Parochial Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 102, speaks of him as 'Nigel de Oily, constable of the castle of Oxford, and lord of the barony of Hook Norton,' but the examination of some thirty or forty charters, either granted or signed by him, affords no evidence that he held this position.

APPENDIX A.

Passages quoted in Chapter II. on the Mythical Origin of Oxford.

§ 1. Ex *Johannis Rossi Historia Regum Angliae:* fol. 11 a[1].

(See p. 5.)

Circa haec tempora judicabat Samuel, dei servus, in Judaea. Habuitque iste rex Magdan duos filios, videlicet Mempricium & Malun. Hic junior proditorie à seniore interfecto monarchiam fratricidi reliquit. Erat vir invidus & immisericordia plenus, &, juxta illud Proverbiorum IIdo. 'Ira non habet misericordiam,' sic nec ipse, sed erat ipse contra omnes, & omnes contra eum. Ipse Mempricius monarcha existens male intravit, pessime proceres suos necando rexit. Tandem vicesimo regni sui anno à multitudine rapidissimorum[2] luporum circumdatus miserime vitam finivit, ab ipsis dilaceratus & devoratus. Nil boni de eo commemoratur, nisi quod probum filium & heredem generavit nomine Ebrancum[3], & unam nobilem urbem condidit, quam à nomine suo Caer Memre nominavit, sed temporum postea decursu Bellisitum, demum Caerbossa, tandem Ridohen, & ultimo Oxonia, sive Oxenfordia, à quodam eventu de quodam vado vicino per Saxones appellata est, quod nomen usque hodie retinet. Crevit ibi posteris diebus nobile studium generale, ab inclita Universitate de Greklaad dirivatum. Situatur inter flumina Thamisie & Charwell ibi obviantia. Urbs haec, sicut Iherusalem, ut apparet, est alterata. Nam mons Calverie

[1] Hearne's edition, 1745, p. 21. This professes to be printed from a transcript of the Cotton MS. Vesp. A. XII., made by Ralph Jennings, but compared with another transcript made for Archbishop Parker, and preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The above passage and those which follow have been read by the original MS., which is thus described in the Catalogue of the Cottonian Library: 'Codex Memb. in 4to. constans foliis 147. Joannis Rossi Warwicensis Historia a Bruto ad tempora Regis Henrici VII &c. ad nativitatem principis Arthuri, anno 1486.' Hearne's foliation given in the margin seems to be from the Cambridge copy. The folios given here are from the latest of the three series of folios by which the Cottonian MS. has been foliated.

[2] After 'rapidissimorum' the MS. has 'suorum,' which has been struck through.

[3] Ebrācū in MS.

Christo passo erat juxta muros civitatis, & nunc infra murorum ambitum continetur. Sic extra Oxoniam est modo quaedam larga planicies muris ville contigua, & Belmount appellatur, quod sonat pulcher mons, & hoc quodammodo cum uno de antiquioribus nominibus urbis ipsius praenominatis & prerecitatis, videlicet Bellisitum; unde opinantur multi, Universitatem à Greklad ad ipsum Bellum montem, vel Bellesitum, translatum ante adventum Saxonum Britonibus in insula regnantibus, et ecclesia Sancti Egidii, sub nomine cujusdam alterius Sancti dedicata, erat locus creationis graduatorum, sicut modo est ecclesia Sancte Marie infra muros. De hac nobili Universitate plenius tangam cum pervenero ad tempora regis Aluredi.

§ 2. Ex *Johannis Rossi Historia:* fol. 2 b[1].

(See p. 6.)

De aliis civitatibus ante diluvium conditis tacet Moyses. Scribit tamen egregius vir Bernardus de Breydenbach, decanus & camerarius Maguntinensis ecclesiae cathedralis, in Itinerario suo ad Terram Sanctam & ad Sanctam Katerinam, quod ante diluvium Noë fuerunt octo nobiles urbes condite in humanum praesidium contra diluvium illud Noë venturum, quarum Joppe, alias Japha, erat una, sic nominata à Japhet, filio Noë, qui eam construxit, & ex suo nomine eam appellavit, ubi & hodie vectes eciam magni ex quadam rupe videntur pendere, quibus naves fuere affixe, &c.

§ 3. Ex *Galfredi Monumetensis Historia:* Lib. II. § 6[2].

(See p. 7.)

Tunc Samuel propheta regnabat in Judaea, et Silvius Aeneas adhuc vivebat. Et Homerus clarus rhetor et poëta habebatur. Insignitus sceptro Maddan, ex uxore genuit duos filios Mempricium et Malim. Regnumque cum pace et diligentia quadraginta annis tractavit. Quo defuncto orta est inter praedictos fratres discordia propter regnum: qui uterque totam insulam possidere aestuabat. . . . . Vigesimo tandem regni sui anno, dum venationem exerceret, secessit a sociis in quandam convallem, ubi a multitudine rabiosorum luporum circumdatus, miserrime devoratus est. Tunc Saul regnabat in Judaea, et Eurystheus in Lacedaemonia.

§ 4. Ex *Galfredi Monumetensis Historia:* Lib. III. § 10[3].

(See p. 8.)

Habita ergo victoria remansit Brennius in Italia, populum inaudita tyrannide afficiens, ... Belinus vero in Britanniam reversus est: et cum tranquillitate reliquis vite suae diebus patriam tractavit. Renovavit etiam aedificatas urbes ubicumque collapsae fuerant; et multas novas aedificavit. Inter caeteras composuit unam super Oscam flumen prope Sabrinum mare,

[1] Hearne's edition, 1745, p. 3.
[2] *Galfredi Monumetensis Historia Britonum*, edidit Giles, 1844, p. 26.
[3] Ibid. p. 48.

quae multis temporibus Kaerosc appellata est. . . . . Fecit etiam in urbe Trinovanto januam mirae fabricae super ripam Tamesis, quam de nomine suo cives temporibus istis Belinesgata vocant.

§ 5. Ex *Johannis Rossi Historia:* fol. 13 a [1].

(See p. 8.)

Huic successit filius suus Bellinus, cujus frater Brennius condidit Bristolliam, quasi Brend locum; et iste Bellinus condidit urbem Legionum in Cambria, & Byllnsgate apud London, et Danmarchiam sibi conquestu subjugavit [2].

§ 6. Ex *Johannis Rossi Historia:* fol. 14 a [3].

(See p. 8.)

Condidit ipse Porcestriam, id est, Porchestre, prope Suthamptoniam, & urbem Warwici, quae caput est provinciae circumjacentis, quae & Caerleon est appellata secundum nostrum Gildam, virum diebus suis literatissimum & moribus excellenter pollentem, magni regis Arturi praecipuum capellanum.

§ 7. Ex *Johannis Rossi Historia:* fol. 13 b [4].

(See p. 9.)

Et eorum principis fratrem Gantebrum nomine, Cantebre civitatis Hispaniae verum heredem, secum retinuit, cui cum propria filia in uxorem dedit portionem terrae in Estanglia, ubi, ut scribunt Cantebrigienses, civitatem super flumen Cant condidit circa annum ab origine mundi M. M. M. M. CCC. XVII.[5] et quia vir literatissimus erat viros literatos sibi collegit, ac sibi studium generale incepit, quod nostris temporibus in magno floret honore. Quae civitas à filio suo Grantino, qui pontem ibi fecerat, Caergrant appellata vel Grauntcestre secundum alios, & modo appellatur Cambryge, & est caput patriae circumjacentis.

§ 8. Ex *Libro Cancellarii et Procuratorum* [6].

(See p. 10.)

Translatio Universitatis de loco in locum.

Contestantibus plerisque chronicis, multa loca per orbis climata variis temporibus variarum scientiarum studiis floruisse leguntur; omnium autem

[1] Hearne's edition, p. 25.

[2] The words '*et Danmarchiam . . . subjugavit*' are written in the MS. in a smaller hand, space having been left for them.

[3] Hearne's edition, p. 26.

[4] Hearne's edition, p. 25.

[5] Space had been left for the date, but barely sufficient, so that it has been written in afterwards in a smaller hand.

[6] Printed in *Munimenta cademica*, ed. Anstey, 1868, Rolls Series, vol. ii. p. 367. The text is that of the Chancellor's Book (A.) compiled c. 1375, compared with that of the Proctor's Book (B.) *written* 1477, and with a still earlier Proctor's Book (C.), written 1407. The above has also been compared with a fine transcript, presumably made for the private use of the Chancellor (M.), preserved amongst the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum (Claudius D. VIII.), and to which the date of 1411 may perhaps be assigned.

inter Latinos nunc extantium studiorum Universitas Oxoniensis fundatione prior, quadam scientiarum pluralitate generalior, in veritatis Catholicae professione firmior, ac privilegiorum multiplicitate praestantior invenitur.

Prioritatem[1] suae fundationis insinuant historiae Britannicae perantiquae: fertur enim inter bellicosos quondam Trojanos, qui, cum duce suo Bruto, insulam tunc Albion, postmodum Britanniam, ac demum dictam Angliam, triumphaliter occuparunt, quosdam philosophos adventantes locum habitationis sibi congruae in ipsa insula elegisse, cui et nomen videlicet Grekelade. Iidem philosophi, qui Graeci fuerunt, usque in praesentem diem quasi sui vestigium reliquerunt. A quo quidem loco non longe municipium Oxoniae noscitur esse situm, quod, propter amnium, pratorum et nemorum adjacentium amoenitatem, Bellesitum olim antiquitas, postmodum Oxoniam, a quodam vado vicino sic dictam, populus Saxonicus nominavit, et ad locum studii praeelegit.

Scientiarum quippe exuberantior pluralitas ibidem evidentius eo cernitur quo in aliis studiis uni pluribusve[2] scientiis sic insistitur, ut tamen aut plures, aut saltem earum aliqua[3], videatur excludi; Oxoniae vero singulae sic docentur, ut scientia, quae illic respuitur, nullatenus licita censeatur.

§ 9. Ex *Libro Monasterii de Hyda:* Cap. xiii. § 4[4].

(See p. 13.)

Quae universitas Oxoniae quondam erat extra portam Borealem ejusdem urbis, et erat principalis ecclesia totius cleri ecclesia sancti Egidii, extra eandem portam; modo vero est, intra muros urbis Oxoniae, et est ecclesia principalis cleri, ecclesia Sanctae Mariae intra eandem urbem. Quae translatio facta est anno regni regis Edwardi tertii post Conquestum vicesimo octavo; anno Dominicae incarnationis millesimo tricentesimo quinquagesimo quarto. Cujus translationis causa fuit ista: Nam laici collecta multitudine virorum, de patria convicina, in scholares atrocissime irruerunt, et quosdam vulneraverunt, quosdam crudeliter peremerunt. Tandem, more praedonum, bona scholarium diripientes, eos de villa fugere compulerunt; propter quod Oxonia diu postea erat supposita ecclesiastico interdicto. Sed demum, mediantibus regni magnatibus et eorum amicis, pax inter eos tali pacto firmata est, ut cives Oxonienses, qui causas discordiae ministraverant, firmiter et perpetualiter obligarent se nunquam de caetero scholaribus Oxoniensibus fore nocivos, vel eis laesionem aut injuriam illaturos; regimenque totius villae cancellarius universitatis, qui pro tempore fuit, et nullus alius saltem laicus in posterum obtineret.

[1] Prout B. and C. Praestantior erased and Prout written above M.
[2] De scientiis M.
[3] Aliqua *omitted* M.
[4] Printed from the edition of the *Liber Monasterii de Hyda,* in Rolls Series, 8vo. Lond. 1866, p. 41. Edited by Edward Edwards from the unique MS. in the Library of the Earl of Macclesfield.

§ 10. Ex *Johannis Brompton Chron.* (*sive Chron. Jornallensi*): fol. 36 b [1].

(See p. 15.)

Unde circa idem tempus juxta quorundam opinionem, & vulgare antiquorum & modernorum dictum, creditur studium apud Grantecestre sedem juxta Cantebrigiam a venerabili Beda esse fundatum: quod verisimiliter credi potest, pro eo & ex eo, quod postmodum tempore magni Karoli regis Franciae studium de Roma usque Parisius per quemdam Alquinum Anglicum discipulum Bedae in omnibus scripturis exercitatum, legitur eciam translatum esse, ut cito inferius plenius dicetur.

Item superius legitur, quod Erpwaldus rex Estanglie, filius regis Redwaldi antequam factus fuerat rex, Gallia exulans, scolas ut ibi viderat, sancto Felice episcopo se juvante, instituit puerorum. Sed secundum quosdam, adhuc ante ista tempora fuerunt duo studia in Anglia, unum de Latino, & aliud de Græco, quorum unum Graeci posuerunt apud *Greglade*, quæ modo dicitur *Kirkelade*, et sic ibidem linguam Graecam pro tempore docuerunt. Aliud vero Latini posuerunt apud *Latinelade*, quae modo vocatur *Lecchelade* juxta Oxoniam, linguam ibi Latinam docentes.

§ 11. *Passages supposed to be by Leland supporting the mythical story as to the existence of Oxford.*

(See p. 16.)

Johannes item Leylandus in marginali quadam annotatione, quam scripsit in Polydori Virgilii Anglicam historiam, quo loco idem Polydorus primam Oxoniensis Academiae fundationem Alphredo ascribit, affirmat, se legisse apud quosdam mirae vetustatis Britannicarum rerum scriptores, tempore Britonum, tam Graecas quam Latinas scholas ad vadum Isidis floruisse, easque bellicis tumultibus deletas fuisse, & non ante Alphredi tempora instauratas. Haec in codicis margine illius manu scripta habentur [2].

Idem (i.e. Lelandus) in annotatione Marginali in Polydorum, in hunc modum: fuere tempore Brytonum ad ripas Isidis Graecae scholae et Latinae quarum nomina vel adhuc corrupte manent; quas, praeceptores loci amoenitate ducti Calevam transtulerunt ubi pius Alfredus pristinis sedibus literas restituit. Haec Lelandus [3].

Lelandus verò de utraque schola sic ait, nempè, veteres Britones duas scholas habuisse tam eloquentia quam omni literaturâ florentes; quarum quidem una Greekelade à grecae linguae professione dicta est, altera vero Latinlade à linguae latinae professione: verum nunc corrupte Crekelade & Lechelade nomen est. Haec Lelandus apud Baleum in vita Regis Alphredi Magni.[3]

[1] Printed by Twisden, *Hist. Angliae Decem Scriptores*, London, 1652, col. 814. From Cottonian MS., Tiberius CXIII, with which the extract has been compared.

[2] From *Assertio Antiquitatis Oxoniensis Academicae*, Hearne's ed., p. 279.

[3] From Bryan Twyne *Antiq. Acad. Oxon. Apologia*, Oxoniae, 1608, p. 114.

§ 12. Ex *Galfredi Monumetensis Historia:* Lib. X. cap. 4 [1].

(See p. 17.)

Congregatis tandem cunctis quos expectaverat Arturus; illinc Augustodunum progreditur, ubi imperatorem esse existimabat. Ut autem ad Albam fluvium venit, annunciatum est ei, illum castra sua non longe posuisse, et tanto incedere exercitu, quanto (ut aiebant) resistere nequiret. Nec idcirco perterritus coeptis suis desistere voluit, sed super ripam fluminis castra sua metatus est, unde posset exercitum suum libere conducere, et si opus esset, sese intra ea recipere. Duos autem consules, Bosonem Devadoboum et Guerinum Carnotensem, Walganium etiam nepotem suum Lucio Tiberio direxit, ut suggererent ei quatenus recederet e finibus Galliae, aut in postero die ad experiendum veniret, uter eorum majus jus in Galliam haberet, &c.

(See p. 18.)

Invidit ergo Boso Devadoboum, quoniam tantam probitatem fecisset Carnotensis: et retorquens equum suum, cui primo obviavit, ingessit illi lanceam in tragulam, et letaliter vulneratum coegit caballum deserere, quo eum insequebatur [1].

(See p. 18.)

Cum igitur solennitas Pentecostes advenire inciperet, post tantum triumphum maxima laetitia fluctuans Arturus, affectavit curiam ilico tenere, regnique diadema capiti suo imponere. Reges etiam et duces sibi subditos ad ipsam festivitatem convenire: . . . . . Praeterea gymnasium ducentorum philosophorum habebat qui astronomia atque ceteris artibus eruditi, cursus stellarum diligenter observabant, et prodigia eo tempore ventura regi Arturo veris argumentis praedicebant. . . . . Venerunt nobilium civitatum consules, Morvid consul Claudiocestriae: Urgennius ex Badone: Jonathal Dorocestrensis: Boso Ridocensis id est, Oxenefordiae [2].

(See p. 19.)

Eliminabit Claudiocestria leonem, qui diversis praellis inquietabit saevientem. Conculcabit eum sub pedibus suis, apertisque faucibus terrebit. Cum regno tandem litigabit leo, et terga nobilium transcendet. Superveniet taurus litigio, et leonem dextro pede percutiet. Expellet eum per regni diversoria: sed cornua sua in muros Oxoniae confringet [3].

§ 13. Ex [*Johannis Caii*] *De Antiquitate Cantab. Academiae:* Libro I. cap. 1 [4].

(See p. 21.)

Ceterum ad has discordias rumpendas atque finiendas, sanctamque pacem componendam atque statuendam, quum neque Oxoniensis Canta-

[1] *Galfredi Monumetensis Historia Britonum*, edidit Giles 1844, pp. 184–5.
[2] Ibid., Lib. ix. cap. 12, p. 170. [3] Ibid., Lib. vii. cap. 4, p. 127.
[4] Printed from Hearne's edition, Oxon. 1730, p. 6.

brigiensem, nec Cantabrigiensis Oxoniensem fert in controversia judicem, quod pro sua cujusque affectione rem tractatum iri uterque judicat, ex libidine magis quam ex vero celebratam existimat, res suasit et commiseratio jussit, ut ego homo Londinensis, medio loco inter utrumque positus, et eodem animo in utrumque affectus cui longa triginta annorum absentia a gymnasiis (nisi subinde invisendi gratia charitatis studio) omnem affectum juvenilem in Gymnasia sustulit, hanc controversiam ut inutilem, imo vero rem damnosam, tanquam communis amicus definirem ac componerem. Etenim sic in animum induxi meum, boni viri officium atque partes esse omnem litis ansam intercipere, dulcem pacem componere, atque alienas simultates ut suas nec excitandas aut alendas esse existimare, et opportunitate data aut extinguendas aut mitigandas esse, idque minimo motu si maximas, nullo tumultu si periculosas sentiat.

§ 14. *Oratio oratoris Cantabrigiensis coram Elizabethae Reginae habita Nonis Augusti* A. D. 1564[1].

(See p. 25.)

'Superest adhuc (excellentissima princeps) cum posita sunt multorum collegiorum incunabula, ipsa Academia nostra quando esse coepit, paucis explicetur. Historia nostra scriptum est, à Cantabro quodam, Hispaniae Rege, cum, domestico tumultu patria ejectus, in nostrum regnum appulisset, Gurguntii temporibus fuisse exstructam. Hujus authores sententiae Leylandus & vanitatis arguens & mendacii, Sigebertum Regem facit Academiae nostrae conditorem, in quo perniciosum reliquit exemplum nimis curiose in historias inquirendi, & sibi quoque parum consuluit. Nam si ipse tam multis non credat, mirabiliter in hoc conspirantibus, quis paulo magis consideratus, ei soli fidem esse putabit adhibendam? Sed sive ad hunc, sive ad illum authorem referatur, illud constat inter omnes, Oxoniensi Academia nostram multis esse annis antiquiorem. Nam illa ab Aluredo Rege dicitur instituta, quem omnes sciunt & Gurguntio & Sigeberto aetate multo fuisse posteriorem. Illud praeterea, ad magnam nostram gloriam, omnes una voce testificantur historiae, Oxoniensem Academiam à Cantabrigiensi doctiss. mutuatam esse qui prima ingenuarum artium incunabula in suo gymnasio traderent. Parisiensem etiam, quasi Coloniam à nostra Academia ductam, Alcuinum nostrum Bedae discipulum, à Carolo magno, Gallorum Rege, magnis locupletatum beneficiis habuisse, qui discendi cupidis quasi ludum quendam bonarum artium Lutetiae primus aperuerit.'

§ 15. Ex [*Nicholai Cantalupi*] *Historiola. De Origine Universitatis Cantebrigiensis*[2].

(See p. 35.)

Huic civitati rex Cassebalanus regni gubernaculum cum esset adeptus talem praeeminenciam contulit ut quicunque fugitivus aut reus doctrinam

[1] From the *Assertio Antiquitatis Oxoniensis Academia* [Thomae Caii], as printed in Hearne's edition, Oxon. 1730, p. 281.

[2] Printed from Hearne's Appendix to *Sprotti Chronica*, Oxon. 1719, p. 265.

haurire desiderans ad eam confugeret, cum venia sine molestia, improperio, aut injuria coram inimico tueretur. Cujus occasione, & propter terrae opulenciam, aëris mundiciam, & doctrinae habundanciam, & regis clemenciam, illuc accesserunt juvenes & senes ex diversis terrae finibus, ex quibus Julius Caesar habita de Cassebelano victoria secum adduxit Romam, ubi postmodum floruerunt eloquiis.

§ 16. Ex *Libro Monasterii de Hyda:* Cap. 13, § 4[1].

(See p. 45.)

Igitur anno Dominicae incarnationis octingentesimo octogesimo sexto, anno secundo adventus sancti Grimbaldi in Angliam, incepta est universitas Oxoniae, primitus in eadem regentibus, ac in theologia legentibus sancto Neotho, abbate necnon in theologia doctore egregio; et sancto Grimbaldo, sacrae paginae suavissimae dulcedinis excellentissimo professore: in grammatica vero et rhetorica regente Assero, presbytero et monacho, ac in arte literatoria viro eruditissimo: in dialectica vero, musica, arithmetica, legente Johanne, monacho Menevensis ecclesiae: in geometria et astronomia, docente Johanne, monacho ac collega sancti Grimbaldi, viro acutissimi ingenii et undecumque doctissimo; praesente gloriosissimo et invictissimo rege Alfredo, cujus in omni ore, quasi mel, indulcabitur memoria, et totius regni sui clero et populo. Ubi idem rex prudentissimus Alfredus tale decretum edidit, videlicet, ut optimates sui filios suos, vel si filios non haberent, saltem servos suos, si ingenio pollerent, concessa libertate literis commendarent. [Quae Universitas, &c.]

§ 17. From Camden's edition of *Asseri Annales*, showing the interpolated passage[2].

(See p. 46.)

Eodem anno [i.e. DCCCLXXXVI.] Ælfred Angulsaxonum rex, post incendia urbium stragesque populorum, Londoniam civitatem honorifice restauravit, et habitabilem fecit; quam genero suo Ætheredo Merciorum comiti commendavit servandam, ad quem regem omnes Angli et Saxones, qui prius ubique dispersi fuerant, aut cum Paganis sub captivitate erant, voluntarie converterunt, et suo dominio se subdiderunt.

[1] Printed from the edition in the Rolls Series 1866, p. 41. The passage immediately precedes that already printed, Appendix A. § 9.

[2] *Anglica, Hibernica, Normannica, Cambrica, a Veteribus Scripta:* Ex quibus Asser Menevensis, Anonymus de Vita Gulielmi Conquestoris, Thomas Walsingham, Thomas De la More, Gulielmus Gemiticensis, Giraldus Cambrensis, plerique nunc primum in lucem editi Guilielmi Camdeni, ex bibliotheca Francfort 1603, p. 15. An edition of Asser is printed in the *Monumenta Historica Brit.* with the interpolated passage within brackets p. 489. The text there adopted is that by Wise in his 'Annales rerum gestarum Ælfredi Magni Auctore Asserio Menevensi: Recensuit Franciscus Wise, Oxonii 1722.' He prints the interpolated passages, but with the following note: 'Clausulam hanc de discordia Oxoniae omittunt MS. Cott: et Ed. P[arkeriana]; e codice autem MS. Saviliano edidit Camdenus.'

[Eodem anno exorta est pessima ac teterrima Oxoniae discordia, inter Grymboldum, doctissimosque illos viros, quos secum illuc adduxit, et veteres illos scholasticos quos ibidem invenisset; qui ejus adventu leges, modos, ac prelegendi formulas ab eodem Grymboldo institutas, omni ex parte amplecti recusabant: per tres annos haud magna fuerat inter eos dissensio, occultum tamen fuit odium, quod summa cum atrocitate postea erupit, ipsa erat luce clarius: quod ut sedaret, rex ille invictissimus Ælfredus de dissidio eo nuntio et querimonia Grymboldi certior factus, Oxoniam se contulit, ut finem modumque huic controversiae imponeret, qui et ipse summos labores hausit, causas et querelas utrinque illatas audiendo. Caput autem hujus contentionis in hoc erat positum: veteres illi scholastici contendebant, antequam Grymboldus Oxoniam devenisset, literas illic passim floruisse, etiamsi scholares tunc temporis numero erant pauciores, quam priscis temporibus, plerisque nimirum saevitia ac tyrannide Paganorum expulsis; quin etiam probabant et ostendebant, idque indubitato veterum annalium testimonio, illius loci ordines ac instituta a nonnullis piis et eruditis hominibus fuisse sancita, ut a D. Gilda, Melkino, Nennio[1], Kentigerno, et aliis qui omnes literis illic consenuerunt, omnia ibidem felici pace et concordia administrantes: ac D. quoque Germanum Oxoniam advenisse, annique dimidium illic esse moratum. Quo tempore per Britanniam iter fecit adversus Pelagianorum haereses concionaturus, ordines et instituta supra mirum in modum comprobavit. Rex ille inaudita humilitate utramque partem accuratissime exaudivit; Eos piis ac salutaribus monitis etiam atque etiam hortans, ut mutuam inter se conjunctionem et concordiam tuerentur. Itaque hoc animo discessit rex, quosque ex utraque parte consilio suo esse obtemperaturos et instituta sua amplexuros. At Grymboldus haec iniquo animo ferens, statim ad monasterium Wintoniense ab Ælfredo recens fundatum proficiscebatur, deinde tumbam Wintoniam transferri curavit, in qua proposuerat post hujus vitae curriculum ossa sua reponenda, in testudine, quae erat facta subter cancellum ecclesiae D. Petri in Oxonia. Quam quidem ecclesiam idem Grymboldus extruxerat ab ipso fundamento de saxo summa cura perpolito.]

Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCCCLXXXVII. nativitatis autem Ælfredi regis trigesimo sexto[2], supra memoratus Paganorum exercitus Parisiam civitatem derelinquens incolumem, &c.

§ 18. Ex *Ranulphi Higden Polychronicon:* Lib. VI. cap. 1[3].

(See p. 47.)

Psalmos et orationes in unum libellum compegit quem manuale appellans, i. e. *hand boc* secum jugiter tulit; grammaticam minus perfecte attigit, eo

[1] Misprinted Nemrio.

[2] In Wise's edition *trigesimo nono*, but in *Mon. Hist. Brit.* correctly *sexto*.

[3] Printed from the edition of *Ranulphi Higden Polychronicon* in the Rolls Series 1883, vol. vi. p. 354. The passage in Asser on which Higden has based his account is as follows: 'Post haec cursum diurnum, id est celebrationes horarum, ac deinde psalmos quosdam, et orationes multas, quos in uno libro congregatos in

quod tunc temporis in toto regno suo nullus grammaticae doctor extiterit. Quamobrem ad consilium Neoti Abbatis [1] quem crebro visitaverat, scholas publicas variarum artium apud Oxoniam primus instituit; quam urbem in multis articulis privilegiari procuravit. Neminem illiteratum ad quamcunque dignitatem ecclesiasticam ascendere permittens, optimas leges in linguam Angliam convertit.

§ 19. Ex *Johannis Bromton Chron.* (sive *Chron. Jornallensi*): fol. 36b [2].

(See p. 47.)

Psalmos et orationes in unum libellum compegit, quem secum jugiter circumduxit, grammaticam tamen minus perfecte attigit, eo quod tunc temporis in toto occidentali regno nullus grammatice doctor extitit, quamobrem ad consilium beati Neoti abbatis, quem crebro visitaverat, scolas puplicas variarum artium apud Oxoniam primus instituit, quas in multis privilegiari procuravit; unde et ipse rex eleemosine dator missarum auditor, ignotarum rerum investigator sanctum Grimboldum monachum literatura et cantu peritum de partibus Gallie, et Johannem monachum de monasterio sancti David Meneviae in ultimis finibus Walliae posito, ad se vocavit, ut literaturam ab eis addisceret. Optimates quoque suos ad literaturam addiscendam in tantum provocavit, ut ipsi filios suos, vel saltem si filios non haberent, servos suos literis commendarent.

§ 20. Ex *Thomae Rudborne Historia Majore Wintoniensi*: Cap. VI [3].

(See p. 49.)

Habuit etiam Alfredus Ethelwardum, virum literatissimum, et Philosophum in Universitate Oxenfordensi, qui sepultus est in Novo Monasterio

sinu suo die noctuque (sicut ipsi vidimus) secum inseparabiliter orationis gratia inter omnia praesentes vitae curricula ubique circumducebat. Sed, proh dolor! quod maxime desiderabat, liberalem scilicet artem, desiderio suo non suppetebat, eo quod, ut loquebatur, illo tempore lectores boni in toto regno Occidentalium Saxonum non erant. Quod maximum inter omnia praesentis vitae suae impedimenta et dispendia crebris querelis, et intimis cordis sui suspiriis fieri affirmabat: id est, eo, quod illo tempore, quando aetatem et licentiam, atque suppetentiam discendi habebat, magistros non habuerat.' (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 474.)

[1] In the margin of the MS. is written 'Nota sub quo Universitas Oxoniensis incipit.' There is added in another hand (supposed to be Abp. Parker's), 'Sed quantum hic scriptor erraverat vide Io. Caium de Antiquitate Cantabrigiae.'

[2] Printed by Twisden, *Hist. Angliae Decem Scriptores*, col. 814, from Cottonian MS. *Tiberius*, cxiii. It is perhaps also well to give the passage from Asser on which Brompton has based his account: 'Legatos ultra mare ad Galliam magistros acquirere direxit, indeque advocavit Grimbaldum sacerdotem et monachum, venerabilem videlicet virum, cantatorem optimum, et omni modo ecclesiasticis disciplinis, et in divina scriptura eruditissimum, et omnibus bonis moribus ornatum; Johannem quoque aeque presbyterum et monachum, acerrimi ingenii virum, et in omnibus disciplinis literatoriae artis eruditissimum, et in multis aliis artibus artificiosum; quorum doctrina regis ingenium multum dilatatum est, et eos magna potestate ditavit et honoravit.' (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 487.)

[3] Printed in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, London 1691, vol. i. p. 207 and p. 208.

Wyntoniae, quod modo Hyda nominatur. . . . . Nobilis iste Alfredus Regna, quae olim erant in Angliâ, in Comitatus dividebat; et ut fides Christiana in Regno suo semper cresceret, florens in virtutum floribus, Universitatem Oxoniensem fundavit. . . . .

Hic Alfredus quendam subulcum, nomine Denewlphum, inveniens, ad scolas misit; qui postmodum Doctor in Theologiâ Oxoniis factus, per ipsum Alfredum Regem in Episcopum Wyntoniensem ordinatus est.

§ 21. Ex *Johannis Rossi Historia*: fol. 43 b[1].

(See p. 50.)

Iste rex [Alfredus] litteratos intime dilexit, quibus virtuosam vitam novit non deesse. Unde Plegmundum Cantuariensem, et Werferthum Wygorniensem ante praesulatum, ac Athelstanum Herfordensem, et Werulfum Legecestrensem viros literatos ad se vocavit de regno Merciorum. Hii ipsum ut optabant erudierunt. Sanctum eciam Grimbaldum Flandrensem monachum de monasterio Sancti Bertini cum consociis Johanne et Assero, et Johannem Wallensem à monasterio Sancti David sibi univit. Quorum doctrina edoctus librorum omnium notitiam habebat. Illo tempore non erant grammatici in toto regno occidentalium Saxonum. Hic inter laudabilia magnificentiae suae opera anno Domini DCCCLXXIII, Sancto Neote instigante, scolas publicas variarum artium apud Oxoniam instituit. Quam urbem ob scolarium precipuum favorem in multis privilegiavit articulis, neminem illiteratum ad quamcumque dignitatem ascendere permittens. Magistri et scolares, qui ad fidem conversi sunt, docuerunt in monasteriis et locis devotis secundum formam studiorum antiquorum Grekladie, Lechladie, Staunfordie, Caerleon, Cantebrigie, et Belli siti, et aliorum quot prius in insula fuerunt hujusmodi studia. . . . . In prima dicte Universitatis fundatione ipse nobilis rex Auludedus infra urbis Oxoniae moenia doctores in Grammatica, artibus, et Theologia tribus locis in nomine Sancte Trinitatis de suis sumptubus instituit. In quarum una in alto vico versus portam orientalem situata; xxvi grammaticos omnibus necessariis ipsam aulam dotavit, et eam propter scientie inferioritatem parvam aulam Universitatis appellari decrevit, et sic in diebus meis appellata est. Aliam aulam versus muros urbis boriales, ubi jam dicitur vicus scolarum, in sumptibus necessariis pro dialecticis seu philosophis xxvi habundanter construxit. Et hanc minorem aulam Universitatis appellari precepit. Terciam in alto vico versus portam orientalem fundatam prime aule occidentali contiguam aulam pro xxvi. theologis appellans, sacre scripture studium daturis ordinavit, quibus et expensas sufficientes habundanter exhibuit. Multae alie preter hec in brevi aule alie singularum facultatum à burgensibus urbis et comprovincialium circumjacentium, deinde à remotioribus provinciis sunt exorte, licet non de regiis expensis, sed regio gracioso exemplo feliciter creverunt.

[1] Hearne's edition, 1745, p. 76.

§ 22. *Petitions to Parliament.* No. 6329. In the Second Parliament, held at Westminster the 15th day of Pasch [= 25th of April], in the second year of King Richard the Second, after the Conquest of England [= 1379][1].

(See p. 54.)

A lour tres excellent et tres redoute et tres souereyn Seigneur notre Seigneur le Roy et a son tres sage conseil monstrent ses povres oratours les mestre et escolers de son College appelez mokel universite halle en Oxenford, quele College estoit primierement funduz par votre noble progenitour le Roy Alfrid, qi dieux assoill, pur la sustenance de vyngt et sys dyvins perpetuels; que come un Esmon Franceys Citeyn de Londres parmy son grant avoir ad [avait] pursuiz en tant vers les tenantz des dits mestre et escolers pur certeyn terres et tenementz dont le dit College estoit endouez, que meismes les tenantz par collusion et feynt pleder ont perdus par defaute envers meisme l'esmon les terres et tenemens avant ditz. Et estre ce, lavant dit Esmon considerant que les dits mestre e escolers ne purront a cause de leur grant poverte mayntenir encontre lui aucune processe ou querele, soi enforce de jour en autre a destroier et disheriter lavant dit College del remanant de l'endowement dycell, en tant qil ad porte sur meismes les mestre et escolers un brief appelez nisi prius pur le remanant de leur sustenance avant dite, les queux mestre et escolers sont de non poair de faire defens en meismes le brief tout soit il qils ont suffiseauntes evidences a ce faire: et ce purtant que le dit Esmon est de si grant poair que par douns, mangeries, et autre sotifs voies, il ad procurez tous les empanellez en l'enqueste a prendre sur ycelle d'estre en tout de sa partie. Que plese a votre tres sovereyn et gratieus Seigneur le Roy, depuis que vous estez notre vraie foundoure et avowe, de faire comparoir devant votre tres sage conseil les parties avant dites pur monstrer leur evidences sur le droit de la matire sus dite, issint que a cause del povertee de vos ditz Oratours votre dit College ne soit disheritez en maniere surdit; eant regard tres gracieus Seigneur que les nobles Seintz Joan de Beverle, Bede, Richard Armecan et autres pluseurs famouses doctours et clercs estoient jadys escolars en meisme votre College, et comenserent es dyvins en ycelle; Et ce pur dieux, et en oevre del charite.

§ 23. *Plea of Richard Wilton*, Master of University College, in the suit against the Abbot of Oseney, 1427[2].

(See p. 57.)

. . . . Praedictus Richardus in propria sua persona protestando dicit, quòd ubi praedictus Abbas breue suum praedictum tulit ipsum. Richardum

[1] The original Petition is preserved in the Record Office under Parliamentary Petitions. It consists of a long narrow strip of parchment (about fourteen inches in length and five in breadth), the whole petition written in a very small but clear hand, occupying only eight and a half lines.

[2] Printed from Bryan Twyne's *Antiquitatis Oxoniensis Academiae Apologia*, 1608, p. 189, who has copied it apparently from the original preserved amongst

per idem breue per nomen Custodis Magnae Aulae Universitatis Oxon nominando, dicit quod ipse est Magister eiusdem Aulae & per nomen Magistri Aulae praedictae cognitus, ac non per nomẽ Custodis Magnae Aulae praedictae: & quod ipse & omnes praedicti sui Magistri eiusdem Aulae per nomen Magistrorum eiusdem Aulae cogniti, ac per nomen Magistrorum Magnae Aulae praedictae implacitati extiterint; quia dicit quòd magna Aula praedicta est quoddam antiquum Collegium ex fundatione & patronatu praedicti Domini Regis nunc & progenitorum suorum quondam Regum Angliae, videlicet ex fundatione quondam Domini Alfredi, quondam Regis progenitoris domini Regis nunc praedicti ante tempus à toto tempore, cuius contrarii memoria hominum non existit: & ad Magistrum & septuaginta scholares, videlicet ad viginti sex scholares Philosophos: & viginti sex scholares Theologos ibidem erudiendos & edocendos & ad fidem Domini nostri Jesu Christi Sanctae quoque Ecclesiae, ac jura, leges & consuetudines regni supportandum, manutenendum & sustentandum, ac per nomen Magistri & scholarium magnae Aulae praedictae habiles facti & incorporati ad quaecunque, terras seu tenementa sibi perquisita & in posterum per quirenda, &c.

Passages quoted in Chapter IV.—Oxford during the Saxon Settlement.

§ 24. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno* 571[1].

(See p. 81.)

Her Cuþwulf[2] feaht wiþ Bretwalas[3] æt Bedcanforda[4]· ⁊ IIII. tunas genom · Lygeanbirg[5] · ⁊ Ægelesbirg[6] · Bænesingtun[7] · ⁊ Egonesham · ⁊ þy ilcan geare he forþferde.

§ 25. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno* 661[8].

(See p. 84.)

Her Cenwalh[9] gefeaht in Eastron on Posentesbyrg[10] · ⁊ gehergeade Wulfhere Pending oþ[11] Æscesdune.

the archives in University College. William Smith, in his Annals of University College, gives an English version. The latter evidently refers to the original, and it is presumed he would have given it in his appendix of original documents which he announced, but, as he explains in a postscript, he issued his book in a hurry.

[1] Printed from Chronicle A. Wanting in D. and F.
[2] Cuðulf B, C. Cuða E.
[3] Bryttas B, C. Brytwalas E.
[4] Biedcanforda B, C, E.
[5] Liggeanburh B, C. Lygeanbyrig E.
[6] Æglesburh B, C. Æglesbyrig E.
[7] Bensingtun B, C. Benesingtun E.
[8] Printed from Chronicle A. Wanting in D. and F.
[9] Kenwealh B. Cenwealth C, E.
[10] Posentesbyrig B, C, E.
[11] on B. and C: of E.

Passages quoted in Chapter V.—The Foundation of S. Frideswide's Nunnery.

§ 26. Ex *Baedae Historia Ecclesiastica:* Lib. III. cap. 8[1].

(See p. 87.)

Nam eo tempore necdum multis in regione Anglorum monasteriis constructis, multi de Brittania monachicae conversationis gratia Francorum vel Galliarum monasteria adire solebant; sed et filias suas eisdem erudiendas, ac sponso caelesti copulandas mittebant.

§ 27. Ex *Chron. Monasterii de Abingdon*[2].

(See p. 89.)

Quis autem antiquorum illius primum institutor fuerit, monimento veterum accepimus, quod Cissa rex Occidentalium Saxonum Heano cuidam, religiosae vitae viro, ac abbati simulque sorori ejusdem, Cille nomine, locum ad Omnipotentis Dei cultum construendi coenobii dedit, collatis ad hoc, regio munere, plurimis beneficiis et possessionibus ob vitae necessarium inibi fore degentium. Uterque siquidem regio nobilitabatur genere. Verum non multo post, antqeuam designato insisteretur operi, rex ipse vita functus est.

§ 28. Ex *Chron. Monasterii de Abingdon*[3].

(See p. 90.)

Verumtamen rex Cedwalla (cujus animae propitietur Deus,) non tantum bona supra enumerata Abbendoniae contulit, verum etiam de propria voluntate sua Cille, sorori Heani patricii, dedit licentiam construendi monasterium in loco qui nunc dicitur Helnestoue juxta Thamisiam; ubi virgo Deo sacrata et sacro velamine velata quamplurimas coadunavit sanctimoniales, quarum in posterum mater extitit et abbatissa. Post hujus decessum, succedente temporis intervallo quam plurimo, translatae sunt sanctimoniales praefatae ab illo loco ad villam quae dicitur Witham. Succedentibus vero nonnullis annis, cum grave bellum et a seculo inauditum ortum fuisset inter Offam regem Merciorum et Kinewlfum regem Westsaxonum, tunc temporis factum erat castellum super montem de Witham, ob cujus rei causam recesserunt sanctimoniales illae a loco illo, nec ulterius redire perhibentur.

[1] Printed in the *Monumenta Hist. Brit.*, p. 180.

[2] Printed as a note to *Chron. Mon. Ab.* in the Rolls Series 1858, vol. i. p. 1, from Cottonian MS. *Claud.* ix. folio 102.

[3] Printed from *Chron. Mon. Ab.*, Rolls Series 1858, vol. i. p. 8. From Cotton. MS. B. vi. The MS. *Claud.* C. ix. narrates the benefactions of Ceadwalla somewhat differently.

§ 29. Ex *Cartulario S. Frideswidae penes Dec. et Canon. Eccl. Christi Oxon* [1].

(See p. 91, also p. 142.)

Incipit Registrum cartarum et munimentorum monasterii Sce. Frideswide Oxon' de fundatione ejusdem loci combustione ac ipsius renovatione. Et de omnibus ecclesiis maneriis terris tenementis juribus libertatibus privilegiis consuetudinibus rusticorum servitutibus Redditus porcionibus pensionibus et possessionibus quibuscunque hucusque ad dictum monasterium pertinentibus secundum ordinem inferius distinctum.

Notandum quod Didanus, quondam rex Oxenford' regnavit anno incarnationis Dominicae septingentesimo circiter vicesimo septimo [2]. Iste rex Didanus, pater fuit sancte Frideswyde [3], qui sibi hunc locum dedit optatum, et monacharum [4] habitum dari fecit, ecclesiam, diversoriaque

[1] Printed from folio 7 of the MS. and folio 1 of the Cartulary proper (A).

The Charter itself beginning *Anno Dominicae* is also repeated on folio 25 of the same MS. in a copy of a confirmation charter of Edward I. (Ed. I.); again on folio 36 in one of Edward III. (Ed. III.); and once more on folio 45 in one of Richard II. (Rc.), and to all of these the signatures are found added.

The charter only, without the historical introduction, rubric, boundaries, or signatures, is given in the Chartulary preserved in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, folio 271, Charter No. 415 (C.).

The charter only is also found in an 'inspeximus' enrolled in the Patent Rolls 5 Hen. V. memb. 3 (Hn.). The variations from Ric. II. are but slight.

The historical introduction and the rubric, as well as the charter, but without the boundaries or the signatures, is found on folio 5 of the Oseney Chartulary, preserved amongst the Cottonian MSS. and marked Vitellius E. xv. It is so much damaged by fire that only a very few various readings can be obtained from it (Os.)

Dugdale, however, copied from the MS. when it was perfect, and printed it in his edition of 1612, vol. i. p. 174. From this edition therefore the various readings are given, whether they can be verified or no (D). In the new editions of Dugdale of 1817 and 1846 the boundaries and signatures are added, professing to be taken from a MS. described as follows (vol. ii. p. 144): 'Ex MS. Codice penes Girardum Langbane S. Theol. D. Praepositum Colleg. Reginae Oxon an. 1652.' But whence Dr. Langbane's copy was derived does not appear; most of the various readings seem to be simply the writer's emendations or errors, but some few are given as they are printed in the second and third editions of Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Dd.).

It will be seen from the variations, which are given very fully, that it is difficult to determine the reading of the Archetype. The Inspeximus of Ed. III. and Ric. II. seem to be copied from the same original but neither from A. Possibly Ed. I. may be also from the same original. It would seem however by the indiscriminate use of y for þ and þ that the original was badly copied from the original charter with the names written in Anglo-Saxon letters. For this reason the *y* has been kept in the present transcript, in those cases where it is written, instead of writing the *w* or *th* for which it was intended. A, perhaps, was also taken from the original MS. by a copyist who understood the letters, but as the manuscript only contains a portion of the signatures it is difficult to judge. A very large proportion of the variations are obviously due to the mere emendations of the copyists, or to their errors. Still it has been thought best to give the whole rather than make a selection.

[2] DCC Circiter xxvi. D. [3] Fredeswidae D. [4] Monachorum D.

religioni aptissima secus eam construxit, que quidem liquet in vita ejusdem virginis[1]. Item ibidem patet[2], quod locum illum qui dicebatur[3] Thornburie[4], nunc autem Benseia[5], eadem virgo pacifice optinuit. Nam ibidem latitando fontem precibus impetravit, et unum à demone[6] vexatum, et alterum cujus manus securi adheserat liberavit. Post gloriosum beate Frid'[7] obitum, per intervalla temporum, amotis sanctimonialibus[8], introducti sunt canonici seculares.

Postea, anno gratiae millesimo quarto, Ethelredus[9] *Rex omnes Danos Angliam incolentes utriusque sexus jussit occidere, Et combusti sunt apud Oxon' omnes qui illic*[10] *confugerant, cum ecclesia, libris, et ornamentis, quod patet per cartam Ethelredi Regis in modum qui subscribitur*[11].

ANNO Dominice incarnationis millesimo quarto[12] indictione secunda[13], anno verò Imperii mei vicesimò quinto[14], Dei disponente providentia, Ego Ethelred[15], totius Albionis monarchiam gubernans, monasterium quoddam in urbe situm que Oxenford[16] appellatur, ubi beate zoma[17] Frid'.[18], requiescit libertate privilegii auctoritate videlicet[19] regali[20] pro cunctipatrantis amore stabilivi, et territoria que sibi[21] adjacent Christi arcisterio[22] novi restauratione libelli recuperavi, cunctisque hanc paginulam[23] intuentibus, qua ratione id actum sit, paucis verborum signis retexam. Omnibus enim in hac patria degentibus satis[24] constat fore notissimum, quoniam dum[25] à me decretum cum consilio optimatum satrapumque meorum exivit, ut cuncti Dani qui in hac insula velut lollium[26] inter triticum pululando[27] emerserant, justissima exanimatione[28] necarentur, hocque decretum mortetenus ad effectum perduceretur; ipsi quique[29] in praefata urbe morabantur Dani mortem evadere nitentes, hoc Christi sacrarium fractis per vim valvis ac pessulis intrantes, asilum[30] sibi propagnaculumque[31] contra urbanos

[1] ut patet in vita beatae virginis D.
[2] patet ibidem D.
[3] tunc dicebatur D. Os.
[4] Thornebirie D. Os.
[5] Benseya D.
[6] demonio D. Os.
[7] Fredeswide D. Frideswide Os.
[8] amotis monialibus D. Os.
[9] Etheldredus D.
[10] illuc D.
[11] in hunc modum quae subsequitur D. in modum q (*the rest destroyed*) Os.
[12] millesimo iiijto Os, Ed. III, Rc.
[13] indictione ii^{da} Ed. III, Rc. Hn.
[14] mei xxv^{to} Ed. I, Ed. III, Rc. Hn.
[15] Adelred C. D, Etheldredus Os. Ed. III, Rc. Adeldred Ed. I.
[16] Oxeneford C. Oxoneford D, Oxenforde Os. Oxonaford, Ed. III, Rc. Oxnaford Hn.
[17] zoma requiescit Frideswide C. zoma requiescit Frid' Ed. I. soma requiescit Frideswyde Ed, III, Rc. *Ibid.* Frideswide Hn.
[18] ubi beata requiescit Frideswide D.
[19] videlicet *omitted* D.
[20] regali *omitted* Hn.
[21] ipsi C. D, Ed. III, Rc.
[22] archisterio D. Asciterio Os.
[23] paginam D.
[24] sat constat C. D. Os, stat constat Ed. III, Rc. Hn.
[25] dum *omitted* Ed. III.
[26] lolium C. D. Hn.
[27] pullulando D.
[28] exinanitione D. (*The word is scarcely legible in* A.) *But all other MSS. follow the reading given in the text.*
[29] ipsi qui C. Ed. I, Ed. III, Rc.
[30] asylum C.
[31] repugnaculumque C. Os., Ed. I, Ed. III, Rc.

suburbanosque inibi fieri decreverunt: sed cum populus omnes[1] insequens eos[2], necessitate compulsus, ejicere niteretur nec valeret, igne tabulis injecto, hanc ecclesiam, ut liquet, cum ornamentis[3] ac libris combusserunt. Postquam Dei adjutorio a me et a meis constat renovata et ut prefatus sum, retentis privilegii dignitate cum adjacentibus sibi territoriis in Christi onomate[4] roborata, et omni libertate donata tam in regalibus exactionibus quam in ecclesiasticis[5] omnino consuetudinibus. Si autem fortuitu[6] aliquo contigerit[7] tempore aliquem vesane[8] mentis, quod absit, irretitum[9] desidia, hujusce donationis nostre munus, defraudare satagente[10], anathema[11] sancte Dei ecclesie excipiat eternum mortis, nisi ante exitum questionem tam calumpniferam ad satisfactionem perducat exoptabilem[12]. Istis terminis praefati monasterii rura circumscripta[13] clarescunt[14].

Scripta fuit hec cedula[15] jussu prefate Regis in villa regia que Hedyndon[16] appellatur die octavarum beati Andree Apostoli, hiis consentientibus principibus qui subtus[17] notati[18] videntur.

Ego[19] Ethelred[20] Rex Anglorum hoc[21] privilegium pro Christi nomine perpetua libertate predicto[22] donavi.

Ego Alfrich[23] Dorovernensis ecclesie archipresul corroboravi[24] sub anathemate.

Ego Wulstan[25] Eborace[26] civitatis Archipontifex confirmavi.

Ego Ethelrich[27] Scireburn' ecclesie episcopus consensi.

Ego Elfgifu[28] thoro consecrata regio hanc donationem sublimavi.

Ego Alfwod Cridiensis ecclesie episcopus vegetavi.

[1] omnis C, Ed. III, Rc.

[2] eos *transposed after* compulsus C, D, Ed. I, Ed. III, Hn.

[3] munimentis Ed. I, Ed. III, Rc., Hn. [4] honore roborata D.

[5] Aecclesiasticis Hn. [6] fortuito D, Os.

[7] contigeret D. [8] vesano Ed. III, Rc. [9] inretitum Rc.

[10] satagente diabolo defraudare D. [11] in anathema Hn.

[12] The page of the Oseney MS. ends here, and no other pages appear in the volume giving a continuation.

[13] circumcincta C, D, Ed. I, Ed. III, Rc.

[14] After clarescunt Dugdale (ed. 1682) adds the words 'Caetera desunt in Registro.' In C. there follows another charter beginning 'Henricus Dei gratia Rex.' In A, Ed. I, Ed. III, Rc. and Hn., here follow the boundaries of the property beginning with those of Winchendon.

[15] Scripta est autem hec sedula Ed. I, *ibid.* scedula Ed. III, Rc.

[16] Hedenandun Ed. III, Hedenandon Rc., Hedenandum Hn.

[17] subter Ed. I, Ed. III, Rc. [18] vocati Ed. I.

[19] + Ego *and so throughout* Ed. I, Ed. III, Rc., Hn.

[20] Adeldred Ed. I, Aldeldred Ed. III, Adelred Rc., Aldelred Hn.

[21] hoc *omitted* Hn.

[22] predicto *omitted* Ed. III.

[23] Alfric Ed. I, Ed. III, Rc., Alfrik Hn.

[24] coroboravi Rc. [25] Wlstan Ed. I, Yulstan Ed. III, Rc., Hn.

[26] heboracae Ed. III, Rc. Hn.

[27] Ego Ethelric and Ego Alfwod *are omitted here and occur lower down in* Ed. I, Ed. III, Rc. and Hn.

[28] Alfgifu Ed. I, Ed. III, Rc. Hn.

Ego Adelstan regalium primogenitus filiorum cum fratribus meis testis benevolus interfui, &c. ut in codicillo predicto[1].

Ego Alfean VVentanus antistes consignavi.
Ego Alfstan Fontoniensis[2] episcopus ecclesie consolidavi.
Ego Alfvvn[3] London' ecclesie episcopus consecravi.
Ego God v v[4] Licetfeldensis[5] ecclesie episcopus communivi.
Ego Orbyrt[6] australium Saxonum episcopus conclusi.
Ego Edelric[7] Scireburnensis ecclesie episcopus consensi.
Ego Alfield[8] Cridiensis ecclesie episcopus vegetavi.
Alfric dux[9].
Ego Leofþine[10] dux.
Ego Yulgar abbas.
Ego Alfisige[11] abbas.
Ego Kenuk[12] abbas.
Ego Alfsige abbas.
Ego Athemer[13] comes.
Ego Ordulf comes[14].
Ego Ayelmer comes[15].
Ego Ayelric comes[16].
Ego Elfgar comes[17].
Ego Goda comes[18].
Ego Eyelyerd comes[19].
Ego Ayelwyn comes[20].
Ego Orirdmer[21].
Et Ego Leofyine comes[22].
Ego Godyin comes[23].
Ego Lufyine comes[24].

[1] A *ends at this point, and is followed by* 'Predictus vero Rex.' *See* A § 61. *The text given above is taken from* Ed. I. &c. ut in codicillo predicto *omitted* Ed. I, Ed. III, Rc. Hn.
[2] Fontanensis Ed. III, Rc. [3] Alfuin Rc.
[4] Godyine Ed. III, Rc. [5] lichfeldensis Ed. III. [6] Ordbyrt. Hn.
[7] Edelbrit Dd. [8] Alfeold Ed. III, Alfyold Rc., Alfiod Hn. Elfeod Dd.
[9] Ego Alfric Ed. III, Rc., Dd., Hn. [10] Leofyine Ed. III, Rc. Hn.
[11] Alfsige Ed. III, Rc., Alsigge Dd. [12] Kenulf Ed. III. Rc. Hn.
[13] æyelmer comes Ed. III, Ayelmer m̃[inister] Rc. [14] Ordulf m̃. Rc.
[15] æyelmer comes Ed. III. *Ibid.* m̃. Rc., Ayelmer m̃ Hn.
[16] æyelric comes Ed. III, ayelric m. Rc., Aelryc comes Dd.
[17] Elfgar m̃. Rc., Hn., Ælfgar comes Dd. [18] Goda m̃. Ed. III, Rc.
[19] Ayelyerd m̃. Rc., Hn., Athelwerd comes Dd.
[20] æyeline comes Ed. III, ayelne m̃ Rc., Hn., Athlwyne comes Dd.
[21] Ordmer comes Ed. III. Ordmer m̃. Rc. Ordemer, m̃. Hn. Ordmere, comes Dd.
[22] *Ibid.* m̃. Rc., Hn. Et *omitted throughout except in* A.
[23] Godyine comes Ed. III. *Ibid.* m̃. Rc., Hn.
[24] *Ibid.* m̃. Ric. II. *In all three cases in S. Frideswide's Cartulary and in the Inspeximus in the Patent Roll the last signature is followed immediately by the commencement of another inspeximus.*

§ 30. Ex *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis de Gestis Pontificum*, Libro IV, § 178[1].

(See p. 94.)

Fuit antiquitus in Oxenefordensi civitate monasterium sanctimonialium, in quo requiescit Frisewida[2] virgo sacratissima. Regis filia regis thoros despexit, integritatem suam Domino Christo professa. Sed ille cum ad virginis nuptias appulisset animum, precibus et blanditiis inaniter consumptis, vi agere intendit. Quo Frideswida cognito fugae in silvam consuluit. Nec latibulum latere potuit amantem, nec cordis desidia obfuit quin persequeretur fugitantem. Iterato ergo virgo, juvenis furore comperto, per occultos tramites, Deo comitante, Oxenefordam ingressa est nocte intempesta. Illuc, cum mane curiosus amator advolasset, puella jam de fuga desperans, simulque pro lassitudine nusquam progredi potens, Dei tutelam sibi, persecutori penam imprecata est. Jamque ille cum comitibus portas subibat urbis, cum, caelesti plaga irruente, cecitatem incurrit. Intellectoque pertinatiae suae delicto, et Fridesuuida per nuntios exorata, eadem celeritate qua perdiderat lumen recepit. Hinc timor regibus inolevit Angliae illius urbis ingressum et hospitium cavere, quod feratur pestifer esse, singulis refugientibus sui dampno periculi veritatem rei experiri. Ibi ergo femina, virginei triumfi compos, statuit monasterium, et diebus suis, sponso vocante, subivit fatum. Tempore vero regis Egelredi, cum Dani, neci adjudicati, in monasterium illud confugissent, pariter cum domibus, insatiabili ira Anglorum, flammis absumpti sunt. Sed mox regis penitentia purgatum sacrarium, restitutum monasterium, veteres terrae redditae, recentes possessiones additae. Nostro tempore, paucissimis ibi clericis, &c.

§ 31. Ex *Sanctae Frideswidae Vita* : MS. Bodleian, fol. 140[3].

(See p. 101.)

Sepulta est beata virgo in basilica intemerate semper virginis Dei genetricis S. Mariae in parte australi prope ripam fluminis Thamesis. Sic enim se tunc habebat situs basilica usque ad tempus Regis Althelredi qui, combussis in ea Dacis qui confugerant illuc, basilice ambitum, sicut ante noverat, ampliavit. Hinc nimirum actum est, sepulchrum, quod ante fuerat in parte, medium ex tunc esse contiget.

§ 32. Ex *Annalibus Monasterii de Wintonia*[4].

(See p. 102.)

Anno DCCXXI. Ethelardus Rex Westsaxonum. Hujus conjux

[1] Printed in the Rolls Series, London 1870, p. 315. The chief MS. used is one supposed to be an autograph of William of Malmesbury, preserved in Magdalen College, Oxford (No. 172).

[2] Sic in the MS., but in most copies Frideswida or Fritheswida.

[3] The MS. is of the twelfth century and is marked Laud. Miscell. 114.

[4] The full title is 'Annales Monasterii de Wintonia, ab anno 519 ad annum 1277, authore Monacho Wintoniensis.' It is preserved amongst the Cottonian MSS., Domitian A, xiii. i. It is printed imperfectly in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 289, but accurately in *Annales Monastici*, Rolls Series 1865, vol. ii. pp. 3–125.

Fritheswitha Regina dedit Wintoniensi Ecclesiae Tantonam de suo patirmonio. Et ipse Ethelardus de sua parte addidit ad praedictum Manerium ad opus ejusdem Ecclesiae vii. mansas.

Passages quoted in Chapter VI.—Oxford a Border Town.

§ 33. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno* 777[1].

(See p. 109.)

Her Cynewulf 7 Offa gefuhton ymb Benesingtún[2] . 7 Offa nam þone tún.

§ 34. Ex *Chron. Monasterii de Abingdon.*

(See p. 109.)

Kinewulfo ab Offa regi Merciorum in bello victo omnia quae juridictioni suae subdita fuerant ab oppido Walingefordiae in australi parte ab Ichenildestrete usque ad Esseburiam, et in aquilonali parte usque ad Tamisiam, Rex Offa sibi usurpavit[3].

Passages quoted in Chapter VII.—Oxford during the Danish Incursions in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries.

§ 35. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno* 912[4].

(See p. 116.)

Her gefor Æðered[5] ealdormon on Mercum[6] . 7 Eadweard[7] cyng feng to Lundenbyrg[8] . 7 to Oxnaforda[9] . 7 to ðæm landum eallum þe þærto hierdon[10].

§ 36. Ex *Florentii Wigorniensis Chron., sub anno* 912[11].

(See p. 125.)

DCCCCXII.—Eximiae vir probitatis, dux et patricius, dominus et subregulus Merciorum Ætheredus, post nonnulla quae egerat bona decessit.

[1] Printed from Chronicle A. Similar in the others but omitted in F.
[2] Bensingtun B.
[3] Printed in *Chron. Mon. Ab.*, Rolls Series 1858, vol. i. p. 14, from Cottonian MS. *Claudian*, B. vi.
[4] Printed from Chronicle A. It occurs in substance in the other five Chronicles.
[5] Æþelred D.
[6] on Myrcum B, C, D. Mrycena. ealdor E. This first line omitted in F.
[7] Eadward E, F. [8] Lundenbyrig B, C, D, E. Lundenberi F.
[9] Oxanaforda F. [10] hyrdon B, C, D, F. gebyredon E.
[11] Printed in *Monumenta Hist. Brit.*, p. 569.

Post cujus mortem uxor illius Ægelfleda, regis Alfredi filia, regnum Merciorum, exceptis Lundonia et Oxeneforda quas suus germanus rex Eadwardus sibi retinuit, haud brevi tempore strenuissime tenuit.

§ 37. Ex *Simeonis Dunelmensis Historia, sub anno* 910[1].

(See p. 125.)

Anno DCCCCX.—Rex Edwardus Londoniam et Oxnaforda et quae ad eam pertinent suscepit.

§ 38. Ex *Henrici Huntendunensis Historia:* Lib. V. § 15[2].

(See p. 126.)

Anno sequente, defuncto Edredo duce Merce, rex Edwardus saisivit Londoniam et Oxinefordiam, omnemque terram Mercensi provinciae pertinentem.

§ 39. From *L'Estorie des Engles solum Geffrei Gaimar,* line 3477[3].

(See p. 126.)

L'Estorie des Engles.	*L'Histoire des Anglais.*
En icel tens morust uns reis	En ce temps mourut un roi,
Edelret, ki ert sur Merceneis.	Ethelred, qui était sur les Merciens.
Icist Edelret Lundres teneit;	Cet Ethelred Londres tenait;
Li reis Elveret mis i l'aveit.	Le Roi Alfred mis l'y avait.
Ne l'aveit mie en heritage;	[Il] ne l'avait pas [eu] en héritage.
Cum dust morir, si fist ke e sage :	Quand il dut mourir, il agit sagement :
Al rei Eadward rendi son dreit,	Au roi Edward il rendi sa légitime,
Od quanqu'il i aparteneit.	Avec toutes ses appartenances.
Lundres rendi ainz k'il fust mort.	Londres [il] rendit avant qu'il fût mort,
E la cité de Oxeneford,	E la cité d'Oxford,
E le païs e les contez	Et le pays et les comtés
Ki apendeient as citez.	Qui dépendaient des cités.

§ 40. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno* 924[4].

(See p. 135.)

Her Eadweard[5] cing gefór on Myrcum æt Fearndune[6] · 7 Ælfweard[7] his sunu swiþe hraþe þæs gefór on Oxnaforda[8] · 7 heora lic licgaþ on

[1] Printed in *Monumenta Hist. Brit.* p. 686.

[2] Printed from the edition in the Rolls Series 1879, p. 155.

[3] Printed in *Monumenta Hist. Brit.*, p. 807. The modern French version supplied by M. Francisque Michel.

[4] Printed from Chronicle B. Chronicles A, E, and F omit the paragraph relating to Oxford.

[5] Aedward E. Eadward F. [6] Farndune D. [7] Ælfwerd C.

[8] Oxanforda D.

Wintanceastre. 7 Æþestán[1] wæs of Myrcum gecoren to cinge · 7 æt Cingestúne[2] gehalgod.

§ 41. Ex *Florentii Wigorniensis Chron., sub anno* 924[3].

(See p. 135.)

Cujus corpus [i.e. Eadwardi Regis] Wintoniam delatum, in Novo-monasterio regio more sepelitur. Nec multo post filius ejus Alfwardus apud Oxenfordam decessit, et sepultus est ubi et pater illius.

§ 42. Ex *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis de Gestis Regum*, Libro II. § 126[4].

(See p. 136.)

Primogenitum Ethelstanum habuit ex Egwinna illustri foemina; et filiam, cujus nomen scriptum non in promptu habeo: hanc ipse frater Sihtricio Northanhimbrorum regi nuptum dedit. Secundus filius Edwardi fuit Ethelwardus ex Elfleda filia Ethelmi comitis, literis apprime institutus, multumque Elfredum avum vultu et moribus praeferens, sed cita post genitorem morte subtractus.

PASSAGES QUOTED IN CHAPTER VIII.—OXFORD DURING THE DANISH INVASION IN THE EARLY PART OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

§ 43. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno* 1002.[5]

(See p. 141.)

. . . . 7 on þam geare se cyng hét ofslean ealle þá Deniscan men þe on Angelcynne wæron. Ðis wæs gedon[6] on Britius massedæig · forðam þam cyninge wæs gecyd · þ hi woldan hine besyrwan æt his life · 7 siððan ealle his witan · 7 habban siþ an þis rice[7].

PASSAGES QUOTED IN CHAPTER VIII.—OXFORD DURING THE DANISH INVASION.

§ 44. Ex *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis de Gestis Regum*, Libro II. § 179[8].

(See p. 146.)

Sequenti magnum concilium congregatum est apud Oxenefordum Danorum et Anglorum; ubi rex nobilissimos Danorum, Sigeferdum et

[1] Æthelstan A, C, D, E. Æthestanus F. [2] Cyngestune D.
[3] Printed in *Hist. Mon. Brit.* 1879, p. 573.
[4] Printed from the edition by the English Historical Society, ed. T. D. Hardy, 1840, vol. i. p. 197. [5] Printed from Chronicle C. Wanting in A, B.
[6] The words 'Ðis wæs gedon' are omitted in D, E, and F.
[7] The words 'butan ælcre wiðcweðenesse' (without any gainsaying) are interlineated in Chronicle F.
[8] Printed from the edition by the English Historical Society, 1840, vol. i. p. 297.

Morcardum, interfici jussit, delatione proditoris Edrici perfidiae apud se insimulatos. Is illos, favorabilibus assentationibus deceptos, in triclinium pellexit, largiterque potatos satellitibus ad hoc praeparatis anima exuit: causa caedis ferebatur quod in bona eorum inhiaverat. Clientuli eorum, dominorum necem vindicare conantes, armis repulsi, et in turrim ecclesiae sanctae Frideswidae coacti; unde dum ejici nequirent, incendio conflagrati.

§ 45. Ex *Henrici Huntendunensis Historia:* Lib. VI. § 2[1].

(See p. 147.)

Quo proventu rex Adelred in superbiam elatus et perfidiam prolatus, omnes Dacos qui cum pace erant in Anglia clandestina proditione fecit mactari una eademque die, scilicet in festivitate S. Bricii. De quo scelere in pueritia nostra quosdam vetustissimos loqui audivimus, quod in unamquamque urbem rex praefatus occultas miserit epistolas, secundum quas Angli Dacos omnes eadem die et eadem hora, vel gladiis truncaverunt impraemeditatos, vel igne simul cremaverunt subito comprehensos.

§ 46. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno* 1006[2].

(See p. 148.)

. . . . 7 þá to ðam middan wintran eodan him to heora gearwan feorme · út þuruh Hamtunscire[3] into Bearrucscire[4] to Readingon[5] · 7 hi á dydon heora ealdan gewunan · atendon hiora herebeacen swa hí ferdon. Wendon þá to Wealingaforda[6] · 7 þ eall forswældon · 7 wæron him ðá áne niht æt Ceolesíge[7] · 7 wendon him þa iandlang Æscesdune to Cwicelmes hlæwe[8] · 7 þær onbidedon beotra gylpa · forðon oft man cwæð · gif hi Cwicelmes hlæw gesohton · þ hi næfre to sé gan ne scoldon · wendon him þá oðres weges hamwerd.

§ 47. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno* 109.[9]

(See p. 150.)

. . . . 7 óft hí on þá buruh Lundene[10] fuhton. Ac sí Gode lof þ heo gyt gesúnd stent · 7 hí þær æfre ýfel geferdon · 7 þá æfter middanwintra · þa namon hí ænne úpgang út þuruh Ciltern · 7 swá tó Oxenaforda[11] · 7 ðá buruh forbærndon · 7 namon hít ða on twa healfa Temese to scypeweard.

[1] Printed from the edition in the Rolls Series 1879, p. 174.
[2] Printed from Chronicle C. Wanting in A. and B.
[3] Hamtescire F.
[4] Bearruhscire D. Barrucscire E.
[5] Rædingan E.
[6] Wealingæforda D.
[7] Ceolesege D, *omitted* E. and F.
[8] Cwichelmes hlæwe D. Cwicchelmes hlæwe E.
[9] Printed from Chronicle C. Wanting in A, B; summarized in F.
[10] Lundenne D.
[11] Oxneforda E. Oxanaforda F.

§ 48. Ex *Florentii Wigorniensis Chron., sub anno* 1010[1].

(See p. 150.)

Memoratus Danorum exercitus mense Januario navibus exilientes, per saltum qui dicitur Ciltern Oxenefordam adeunt, eamque devastantes incendunt, et sic in utraque parte Thamensis fluminis in revertendo praedam agunt.

§ 49. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno* 1010[2].

(See p. 152.)

....7 þonne hí tó scipon ferdon · þonne sceolde fyrd ut éft ongean þ hí up woldan · þonne ferde seo fyrd ham · 7 þonne hí wæron be easton · þonne heold man fyrde be westan · 7 þonne hí wæron be suðan · þonne wæs ure fyrd be norðan. Þonne bead man ealles witan to cynge · 7 man sceolde þonne rædan hu man þísne eard werian sceolde. Ac þeah mon þonne hwæt rædde · þ ne stód furðon ænne monað. Æt nextan næs nan heafodman þ fyrde gaderian wolde · ac ælc fleah swa hé mæst mihte · ne furðon nan scír nolde oþre gelæstan æt nextan.

§ 50. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno* 1013[3].

(See p. 152.)

....7 syððan hé com ofer Wætlinga stræte · wórhton þ mæste yfel þ ænig here dón mihte. Wende þá to Oxenaforda[4] 7 seo buruhwaru sona beah 7 gislude · 7 þanon to Winceastre 7 hí þ ylce dydon.

§ 51. Ex *Florentii Wigorniensis Chron., sub anno* 1013[5].

(See p. 152.)

Quibus ita facientibus, et rabie ferina debacchantibus, venit Oxenefordam, et illam citius quam putavit obtinuit obsidibusque acceptis, festinato Wintoniam properavit.

§ 52. Ex *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis de Gestis Regum*, Libro II. § 177[6].

(See p. 153.)

Mox ad australes regiones veniens, Oxenefordenses et Wintonienses leges suas adorare coegit.

[1] Printed in *Monumenta Hist. Brit.* p. 586.
[2] Printed from Chronicle C. Wanting in A, B, and F.
[3] Printed from Chronicle C. Wanting in A and B.
[4] Oxnaforda E. Oxanafordan F. [5] Printed in *Monumenta Hist. Brit.* p. 588.
[6] Printed from the edition by the English Historical Society, 1840, vol. i. p. 290.

§ 53. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno* 1015[1].

(See p. 154.)

Hér ón þissum geare · wæs þ mycle gemot on Oxenaforda[2] · 7 ðǽr Eadric ealdorman beswac Siferð[3] · 7 Morcore[4] · þá yldestan þegenas into Seofon burgum · bepǽhte hí into his bure · 7 hí man þærinne ófsloh ungerisenlice · 7 se cyng þá genam ealle hiora ǽhta · 7 het niman Siferðes[5] lafe · 7 gebringan hí binnan Ealdelmesbyrig[6].

§ 54. Ex *Florentii Wigorniensis Chron., sub anno* 1015[7].

(See p. 154.)

Hoc anno, cum apud Oxenefordam magnum haberetur placitum, perfidus dux Edricus Streona, digniores et potentiores ministros ex Seovenburgensibus, Sigeferthum et Morcarum filios Earngrimi, in cameram suam dolose suscepit, et occulte eos ibi necari jussit; quorum facultates rex Æthelredus accepit, et derelictam Sigeferthi Aldgitham ad Maidulfi urbem deduci praecepit.

§ 55. Ex *Henrici Huntendunensis Historia :* Lib. VI. § 10[8].

(See p. 154.)

Anno XV. dux Edricus prodidit Sigeferd et Morchere proceres egregios; vocatos namque in cameram suam fecit occidi. Edmundus vero filius regis Adelredi terram eorum saisivit, et uxorem Sigeferdi duxit

§ 56. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub annis* 1016, 1017[9].

(See p. 158.)

. . . . 7 hí tohwurfon ðá mid þissum sehte · 7 feng Eadmund to Westsexan[10] · 7 Cnut to Myrcan[11] · 7 se hére gewende þá to scypon · mid þam ðingon þé hí gefangen hæfdon · 7 Lundenwáru[12] griðode wið þone here · 7 him frið gebohton · 7 se here gebrohton hyra scipu on Lundene · 7 him winter setl ðærinne namon · Þá to Sče Andreas mæssan forðferde se kyning Eadmund · 7 his lic lið on Glæstingabyrig · mid his ealdan fæder Eadgare.

[1017]. Hér on þissum geare feng Cnut kyning tó eallon Angelcynnes[13]

[1] Printed from Chronicle C. Wanting in A and B.
[2] Oxnaforda D. Oxonaforda E. Oxanafordan F.
[3] Sigeferth E, F.
[4] Morcer D. Morcær E. Marcer F.
[5] Siferthæs D. Sigeferthes E.
[6] Mealdelmesbyrig E. F.
[7] Printed in *Monumenta Hist. Brit.* p. 589.
[8] Printed from the edition in the Rolls Series 1879, p. 181.
[9] Printed from Chronicle C. Chronicle B has ceased entirely and A practically.
[10] Weastseaxan E. Westseaxan F.
[11] to tham norð dæle D. to Myrcean E, F.
[12] Lundenewaru E. The whole paragraph 'to ðærinne namon' omitted F.
[13] to eall Englalandes rice D.

ryce · 7 hit todælde on feower · him sylfan Westsexan[1] · 7 Þurkylle Eastenglan[2] 7 Eadrice Myrcan[3] · 7 Irce Norðhymbran[4].

§ 57. Ex *Henrici Huntendunensis Historia*: Lib. VI. § 14[5].

(See p. 159.)

Edmundus rex post paucos exhinc dies proditione occisus est apud Oxineford. Sic autem occisus est. Cum rex hostibus suis terribilis et timendissimus in regno floreret, ivit nocte quadam in domum evacuationis ad requisita naturae, ubi filius Edrici ducis in fovea secretaria delitescens consilio patris, regem inter celanda cultello bis acuto percussit; et inter viscera ferrum figens, fugiens reliquit. Edricus igitur ad regem Cnut veniens, salutavit eum dicens: 'Ave rex solus.' Cui cum rem gestam denudasset, respondit rex: 'Ego te ob tanti obsequii meritum cunctis Anglorum proceribus reddam celsiorem.' Jussit ergo eum excapitari, et caput in stipite super celsiorem Londoniae turrim figi. Sic periit Edmundus rex fortis cum uno anno regnasset; et sepultus est juxta Edgar avum suum in Glastengebirh.

§ 58. Ex *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis de Gestis Regum*, Libro II. § 180[6].

(See p. 159.)

Nec multo post, in festo sancti Andreae, ambiguum quo casu extinctus, Glastoniae juxta Edgarum avum suum sepultus est. Fama Edricum infamat, quod favore alterius mortem ei per ministros porrexerit. Cubicularios regis fuisse duos, quibus omnem vitam suam commiserat: quos pollicitationibus illectos, et primo immanitatem flagitii exhorrentes, brevi complices suos effecisse. Ejus consilio ferreum uncum, ad naturae requisita sedenti in locis posterioribus adegisse.

§ 59. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno* 1018[7].

(See p. 161.)

7 Dene 7 Engle wurdon sammæle æt Oxanaforda[8] · to Eadgares lage[9].

PASSAGES QUOTED IN CHAPTER IX.—OXFORD DURING THE FORTY YEARS BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

§ 60. Ex *Chron. Monasterii de Abingdon*[10].

(See pp. 164, 165.)

Unde ego Cnut, Ejus gratuita miseratione et inolita benignitate totius Albionis basileus, parvam ruris particulam, quod ab hujus patriae incolis

[1] Westseaxan E. [2] Þorcylle East Englan E, F. [3] Myrcean D, E, F.
[4] Eiric D. Yrice E, F. [5] Printed from the edition in the Rolls Series 1879, p. 185.
[6] Printed from the edition of the English Historical Society, vol. i. p. 303.
[7] Printed from Chronicle D. [8] Oxnaforda C, E. Oxanafordan F.
[9] 'to Eadgares lage,' omitted in C, E, and F.
[10] Printed in *Chron. Mon. Ab.*, Rolls Series 1658, vol. i. p. 439. This charter of Cnut, printed from MS. Claudian, B. vi, has been collated with Claudian, c. ix. fol. 127b.

Linford nuncupatur, duorum videlicet manentium quantitatem, quoddamque monasteriolum in honore Sancti Martini praesulis consecratum, cum adjacenti praediolo in urbe quae famoso nomine Oxnaford nuncupatur, Domino nostro Jhesu Christo Ejusque genetrici semperque Virgini Mariae, ad usus monachorum loco qui celebri Abbandun vocitatur onomate, aeterna largitus sum hereditate; in nomine sanctae Trinitatis et individuae Unitatis praecipiens ut nullus alicujus personae hominum praefatam donationem a praedicto coenobio auferre praesumat. Haec autem ruris particula libera ut maneat praecipio, causis tribus segregatis, expeditione scilicet hostili, fundatione arcis regiae, pontisque restauratione. Sl quis vero &c.....

Thisne landsplot becwæth Æthelwine into Abbendune and thone hagan on Oxnaforda, the he sylf onsæt, on mycelre gewitnysse[1].

[Tantillum terrae hujus Adelwinus testamento hereditavit Abbendonam, et curiam apud Oxonofordam in qua ipsemet commanebat. Et hoc fecit multorum testimonio[2]].

Acta est ergo haec cartula anno Dominicae Incarnationis XXXII. post mille, indictione XV.; et ut haec scedula inviolabilis firmitatis soliditatem obtinere possit.—Ego Cnut &c.[3]

Atheluuino abbate diem claudente supremum, successit ei Siwardus ex Glestoniensi coenobio monachus, tam secularium quam ecclesiasticarum vigore admodum suffultus. Ob cujus etiam benignitatem, quam rex Cnuto ex ipsius pectore jugiter novit exuberare, memoratus rex ecclesiam Sancti Martini in Oxoneforda cum uno praediolo huic domui caritative contulit[4].

§ 61. Ex *Cartulario S. Frideswidae penes Dec. et Canon. Eccl. Christi, Oxon*[5].

(See p. 166.)

Praedictus vero rex Ethelredus eandem ecclesiam, sicut ante voverat, amplicavit, sicut in cronicis.

Et postea antequam viris Normannorum Deus Angliam subdidisset Abendonensi cuidam abbati ecclesia ista cum possessionibus suis à quodam rege donata fuit. Spoliati igitur bonis suis et sedibus expulsi fuisse canonici seculares memorantur; et monachis res addicta per annos aliquot eorum

[1] Omitted in Claud., c. ix.

[2] Omitted in Claud. B. vi., and occurs only in Claud., c. ix.

[3] Here follows the list of signatures. The passage occurs in both MSS. See *Chron. Mon. Ab.*, i. p. 440.

[4] Printed in *Chron. Mon. Ab.*, i. p. 443.

[5] Folio 7 of the volume is actually folio 1 of the Cartulary, and this is on the verso of the same. It does not occur, so far as has been observed, elsewhere in the Cartulary, as is the case with the paragraphs preceding it (see Appendix A. § 29). It is printed, but very carelessly, in Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 144, probably from Dr. Langbane's rough transcript: e. g. line 1. *Deus* omitted; *ab* for Abendonensi; *fuit* omitted; *suis* for fuisse: *memorati* for memoratur; *servi* for servivit. These variations seem to point to a bad transcript, and not to the existence of any other document. The passage in the Cartulary is followed by the rubric *Qualiter introducti fuerant Canonici regulares in ipsam ecclesiam, et instituti.*

dispositioni servivit. Postea, sicut se habent res mortalium, Regis cujusdam beneficio consilii deliberatione, canonicis prefatis sua sunt restituta. Et usque ad annum Incarnationis Dominicæ M^m. C^m. XXII^dum eidem ecclesiae praefuerunt.

§ 62. Ex *Joannis Lelandi Collectaneis* [1].

(See p. 168.)

Anno domini MXLIX. rex Eadwardus tertius, qui sanctus dicitur, monasterium Sancti Petri Westmonast. reparavit, & possessionibus & libertatibus largifluis ampliavit. Eodem etiam anno institutio canonicorum Sanctæ Frediswidae de Oxonia.

§ 63. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno* 1049 [2].

(See p. 172.)

⁊ on þysum geare forðferde Eadnoð se goda b.[3] on Oxnafordscire · ⁊ Oswig abb. on Þornige · ⁊ Wulfnoð abb. on Westmynstre. ⁊ Eadwerd cing geaf Ulfe his preoste þ b.rice · ⁊ hit yfele beteah[4].

§ 64. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno* 1047 [5].

(See p. 172.)

⁊ eft se papa hæfde sinoð on Uercel · ⁊ Ulf b. com þærto · ⁊ forneah man sceolde tobrecan his stef · gif he ne sealde þe mare gersuman[6] · forðan he ne cuðe don his gerihte swa wel swa he sceolde.

§ 65. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno* 1053 [7].

(See p. 173.)

. . . . ⁊ Leofwine ⁊ Wulfwi foran ofer sæ · ⁊ leton hig hadian þær to bisceopum. Se Wulfwi feng to ðam biscoprice þe Ulf hæfde be him libbendum ⁊ of adræfdum.

[1] Joannis Lelandi Collectanea, Hearne's edition. London, 1774, vol. iv. p. 72. Compared with Cottonian MS. Nero D. 2, which it is almost certain is the one which Leland refers to under the title *Ex veteri codice Rofensis Monasterii.*

[2] Printed from Chron. C. Summarized in E and F.

[3] The words 'Eadnod se goda b.' seem to have been accidentally omitted in D, and the passage is placed under the year 1050.

[4] The following words are substituted in D, instead of the last paragraph: ⁊ Ulf pr. wæs geset þam b.rice to hyrde þe Eadnoð hæfde.

The whole is summarized in E. thus: ⁊ on þam ylcan geare · forðferde Eadnoð b. be norðan · ⁊ sette man Ulf to biscop. And finally in F thus: ⁊ Eadnoð b. be norðan fordferde · ⁊ man sette Ulf ðarto. The former appearing under the 1046 and the latter 1048.

[5] Printed from Chron. E. Wanting in C, D.

[6] The words 'gif he . . . . gersuman' omitted in F, and the paragraph occurs under the year 1049.

[7] Printed from Chronicle C. Apparently wanting in the other Chronicles.

Ibid. sub anno 1067[1].

.... ⁊ þæs dæges forbarn Cristes cyrce on Cantwarebyri · ⁊ Wulfwi ƀ. forðferde · ⁊ is bebyrged æt his ƀ. stole on Dorkacestre.

§ 66. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno* 1036[2].

(See p. 174.)

Her forðferde Cnut cyng æt Sceaftesbyrig[3]. ⁊ sona æfter his forsiðe wæs ealra witena gemot on Oxnaforda. ⁊ Leofric eorl · ⁊ mæst ealle þa þegenas be norðan Temese · ⁊ þa liðsmen on Lunden gecuron Harold to healdes ealles Englelandes · him ⁊ his broðer Hardacnute[4] · þe wæs on Denemearcon[5]. ⁊ Godwine eorl · ⁊ ealle þa yldestan menn on West Seaxon lagon ongean · swa hi lengost mihton · ac hi ne mihton nan þing ongean wealcan. ⁊ man gerædde þa þ Ælfgifu · Hardacnutes modor · sæte on Winceastre · mid þæs cynges huscarlum hyra suna · ⁊ heoldan ealle West Seaxan[6] him to handa · ⁊ Godwine eorl wæs heora healdest man.

§ 67. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno* 1039[7].

(See p. 175.)

Her forðferde Harold cyng on Oxnaforda · on XVI. Kł. Apr̃. · ⁊ he wæs bebyrged æt Westmynstre.

§ 68. Ex *MS. Cotton Aug. A. II*, fol. 90[8].

(See p. 175.)

Her kyþ on þison gewrite þ harold king .... þa gerædde eadsige arceð þa he þis wiste. ⁊ eall se hired æt xp̃es cyrċ betweonan heom þ man sende ælfgar munuc of xp̃es cyrċ to harolde kingce · ⁊ wæs se king þa binnan oxanaforde swyþe geseocled · swa þ he læg orwenæ his lifes · þa wæs lyfingc ƀ of defenanscire · mid þam kincge. ⁊ þancred munuc mid him · þa com cristes cyrċ sand to þá ƀ. ⁊ he forð þa to þam kincge · ⁊ ælfgar munuc mid hĩ · ⁊ oswerd æt hergerdes hã · ⁊ þancred. ⁊ sædon þã kinge, &c.

§ 69. Ex *MS. Cotton Faust, A. III*, fol. 103[9].

(See p. 176.)

Eadward kyng grét Wlsy biscop, and Gyrð erl, and alle míne þeignes on Oxnefordesýre fréndlíc; and ich cýðe oú ðat ic habbe gifen Crist and sainte

[1] Printed from Chron. D. Apparently wanting in all the others.

[2] Printed from Chron. E. All reference to Oxford omitted in C, D, and F, and the whole much summarized.

[3] Sceftesbyrig C. Scieftesbyri F.

[4] Hardecnute F. Cnutes sunu C, D.

[5] Denmarcan F.

[6] Westsexan F.

[7] Printed from Chron. E. Chrons. C, D and F do not mention Oxford, and only F mentions that Harold was buried at Westminster.

[8] Printed in Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, No. DCCLVIII, vol. iv. p. 56. Also in Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum, A.D. 624–1066, p. 4. 1878.

[9] Printed in Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, No. DCCCLXII, vol. iv. p. 215.

Petre into Westminstre ðat cotlif ðe ic was boren inne bi naman Giðslepe and áne hýde at Mersce scotfré and gafolfré, mid allen ðára þngan ða ðértó belimpað, on wode and on felde, and máde and on watere, mid chirchen and mid chirche sócne, suá ful swá forð and swá free swá it mesilfon on hande stód, and swá swá Ælgiue Imme mín móder on mínre firm-birde dage tó forme gife it me gæf and tó gekinde biquað.

§ 70. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno* 1065[1].

(See p. 181.)

ȝ þa wel raðe þaræfter wæs mycel gemot æt Norðhamtune · ȝ swa on Oxenaforda · on þon dæig Simonis ȝ Iude · ȝ wæs Harold eorl þar · ȝ wolde heora seht wyrcan · gif he mihte · ac he na mihte · ac eall hys eorldom hyne anrædlice forsóc ȝ geutlagode · ȝ ealle þa mid hym þe unlage rærdon · forþam þe [he] rypte God ærost · ȝ ealle þa bestrypte þe he ofer mihte · æt life ȝ æt lande · ȝ hig namon heom þa Morkere to eorle · ȝ Tostig for þa ofer sé.

§ 71. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno* 1065[2].

(See p. 181.)

.... Þer com Harold eorl heom togeanes · ȝ hig lægdon ærende on hine to þam cyninge Eadwarde · ȝ eac ærendracan mid him sendon · ȝ bádon þ hi moston habban Morkere heom to eorle · ȝ se cyning þæs geuðæ · ȝ sende æfter Haralde heom to Hamtune · on Sðe Symones ȝ Iuda mæsse æfen · ȝ kyðde heom þ ilce · ȝ heom þ ahand sealde · ȝ he nywade þær Cnutes lage.

§ 72. *Florentii Wigorniensis Chron., sub anno* 1065[3].

(See p. 182.)

Omnes dehinc fere comitatus illius in unum congregati, Haroldo West-Saxonum duci, et aliis quos rex, Tostii rogatu, pro pace redintegranda ad eos miserat, in Northamtonia occurrerunt. Ubi prius, et post apud Oxnefordam die festivitatis apostolorum Simonis et Judae, dum Haroldus et alii quamplures comitem Tostium cum eis pacificare vellent, omnes unanimi consensu contradixerunt.

§ 73. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno* 1065[4].

(See p. 183.)

ȝ þa Ryðrenan dydan mycelne hearm abutan Hamtune · þa hwile þe he fór heora ærende · ægþær þ hi ofslogon menn · ȝ bærndon hús ȝ corn · ȝ

[1] Printed from Chronicle C. There is no mention of the gemot under D and E, while F has ceased with the year 1057.

[2] Printed from Chronicle D. A, B, and F have ceased. The record of the year is given differently in C and E.

[3] Printed in *Monumenta Hist. Brit.*, p. 612.

[4] Printed from Chronicle D.

namon eall þ orf þe hig mihton to cuman · þæt wæs feola þusend · ⁊ fela hund manna hi naman · ⁊ læddan norð mid heom · swa þ seo scir · ⁊ þa oðra scira þæ ðær neah sindon · wurdan fela wintra ðe wyrsan.

Passages quoted from Chapter X.—Oxford during the Twenty Years after the Norman Conquest.

§ 74. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno* 1066[1].

(See p. 187.)

⁊ Wyllelm eorl for eft ongean to Hæstingan · ⁊ geanbidode þær hwæðer man him bugan to wolde. Ac þa he ongeat þ man him to cuman nolde · he fór upp mid eallon his here þe him to lafe wæs · ⁊ him syððan fram ofer sæ cóm · ⁊ hergode ealne þone ende þe he oferferde · oð þ he com to Beorhhamstede. ⁊ þær him com ongean Ealdred arceð. · ⁊ Eadgar cild · ⁊ Eadwine eorl · ⁊ Morkere eorl · ⁊ ealle þa betstan men of Lundene · ⁊ bugon þa for neode · þa mæst wæs to hearme gedón. ⁊ þ wæs micel unræd þ man æror swa ne dyde · þa hit God betan nolde for urum synnum · ⁊ gysledan · ⁊ sworon him aðas · ⁊ he heom behet þ he wolde heom hold hlaford beon · ⁊ þeah onmang þisan hi hergedan eall þ hi oferforon. Ða on midwintres dæg hine halgode to kynge Ealdred arceð. on Westmynstre · ⁊ he sealde him on hand mid Xpes béc · ⁊ eac swór · ærþan þe he wolde þa corona him on heafode settan · þ he wolde þisne þeodscype swa wel haldan swa ænig knygc ætforan him betst dyde · gif hi him holde beon woldon. Swa þeah leide gyld on mannum swiðe stð · ⁊ fór þa on þam Lengtene ofer sæ to Normandíge · ⁊ nam mid him Stígand arceð. ⁊ Ægelnað abb. on Gðf. · ⁊ Eadgar cild · ⁊ Eadwine eorl · ⁊ Morkere eorl · ⁊ Wælþeof eorl · ⁊ manege oðre gode men of Englalande.

§ 75. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno* 1066[2].

(See p. 187.)

⁊ þa hwile com Willelm eorl úpp æt Hestingan · on Sðe Michaeles mæssedæg. ⁊ Harold com norðan · ⁊ him wið gefeaht éar þan þe his here come eall · ⁊ þær he feoll · ⁊ his twægen gebroðra · Gyrð ⁊ Leofwine · and Willelm þis land geeode · ⁊ com to Westmynstre · ⁊ Ealdred arceð. hine to cynge gehalgode · ⁊ menn guldon him gyld ⁊ gislas sealdon · ⁊ syð ðan heora land obhtan.

§ 76. Ex *Florentii Wigorniensis Chron., sub anno* 1066[3].

(See p. 187.)

Interea comes Willelmus Suth-Saxoniam, Cantiam, Suthamtunensem provinciam, Suthregiam, Middel-Saxoniam, Heortfordensem provinciam

[1] Printed from Chronicle D.
[2] Printed from Chronicle E. Wanting in the others.
[3] Printed in *Monumenta Hist. Brit.*, p. 615.

devastabat; et villas cremare, hominesque interficere non cessabat, donec ad villam quae Beorcham nominatur, veniret. Ubi Aldredus archiepiscopus, Wulstanus Wigornensis episcopus, Walterus Herefordensis episcopus, clito Eadgarus, comites Eadwinus et Morcarus, et de Lundonia quique nobiliores, cum multis aliis ad eum venerunt, et datis obsidibus, illi deditionem fecerunt, fidelitatemque juraverunt. Cum quibus et ipse foedus pepigit; et nihilominus exercitui suo villas cremare, et rapinas agere permisit. Appropinquante igitur Dominicae Nativitatis festivitate, cum omni exercitu Lundoniam ut ibi in regem sublimaretur adiit. Et quia Stigandus primas totius Angliae, ab apostolico papa calumniatus est pallium non suscepisse canonice, ipsa Nativitatis die, quae illo anno feria secunda evenit, ab Aldredo Eboracensium archiepiscopo in Westmonasterio consecratus est honorifice.

§ 77. Ex *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis de Gestis Regum*, Lib. III. § 247[1].

(See p. 188.)

Sensim ergo Willelmus (ut triumphatorem decebat) cum exercitu, non hostili sed regali modo progrediens, urbem regni maximam Londoniam petit; moxque cum gratulatione cives omnes effusi obviam vadunt. Prorupit omnibus portis unda salutantium, auctoribus magnatibus, praecipue Stigando archiepiscopo Cantuariensi et Aldredo Eboracensi: nam praecedentibus diebus, Edwinus et Morcardus, amplae spei fratres, apud Londoniam audito interitus Haroldi nuncio, urbanos sollicitaverant ut alterutrum in regnum sublevarent; quod frustra conati, Northanhimbriam discesserant, ex suo conjectantes ingenio nunquam illuc Willelmum esse venturum. Caeteri proceres Edgarum eligerent si episcopos assertores haberent. . . . . Tunc ille, haud dubie rex conclamatus, die Natalis Domini coronatus est ab Aldredo archiepiscopo.

§ 78. Ex *Henrici Huntendunensis Historia:* Lib. VI. § 30[2].

(See p. 188.)

Willelmus vero tanta potitus victoria, susceptus est a Londoniensibus pacifice, et coronatus est apud Westminster ab Aldredo Eborancensi archiepiscopo.

§ 79. Ex *Guillelmi Pictavensis Gestis Guillelmi Ducis*[3].

(See p. 189.)

Præmissi illo equites Normanni quingenti, egressam contra se aciem refugere intra moenia impigre compellunt, terga cedentes. Multae stragi addunt incendium, cremantes quicquid aedificiorum citra flumen invenere ut malo duplici superba ferocia contundatur. Dux progrediens dein

[1] Printed from the edition by the English Historical Society, 1840, vol. ii. p. 421.
[2] Printed from the edition in the Rolls Series 1879, p. 204.
[3] Printed in Duchesne's *Historiae Normannorum Scriptores*, 1619, p. 205, and in Migne, vol. cxlix. col. 1258.

quoquoversum placuit, transmeato flumine Tamesi, vado simul atque ponte ad oppidum *Guarengefort* pervenit. Adveniens eodem Stigandus Pontifex Metropolitanus manibus ei sese dedit fidem sacramento confirmavit, abrogans Adelinum quem leviter elegerat. Hinc procedenti, statim ut Lundonia conspectui patebat, obviam exeunt Principes civitatis; sese cunctamque civitatem in obsequium illius, quemadmodum ante Cantuarii tradunt obsides, quos et quot imperat adducunt.

§ 80. Ex *Willelmi Gemmeticensis Monachi Historia Normannorum: Lib.* VII. cap. 37[1].

(See p. 189.)

Mane vero Dominicae diei illucescente, spoliis hostium distractis, et corporibus charorum suorum sepultis iter arripuit, quod Londoniam tendit. Deinde ad urbem *Warengefort* gressum divertit, transmeatoque vado fluvii, legiones ibi castra metari jussit. Inde vero profectus, Londoniam est aggressus; ubi praecursores milites venientes, in platea urbis plurimos invenerunt rebelles, resistere toto conamine decertantes. Cum quibus statim congressi, non minimum luctum intulerunt urbi, ob filiorum ac civium suorum plurima funera. Videntes demum Lundonii se diutius contra stare non posse, datis obsidibus se suaque omnia nobilissimo victori supposuere. Anno itaque ab Incarnatione Domini MLXVI. Willelmus Normannorum Dux, quem stylus noster extollere non sufficit, nobile trophaeum, ut supra dictum est, ex Anglis confecit. Deinde in die Natalis Domini, ab omnibus tam Normannorum quam Anglorum proceribus Rex est electus, et sacro oleo ab Episcopis regni delibutus, atque regali diademate coronatus.

§ 81. Ex *Guillelmi Pictavensis Gestis Guillelmi Ducis*[2].

(See p. 189.)

Egressus e Lundonia, dies aliquot in propinquo loco morabatur Bercingis dum firmamenta quaedam in urbe contra mobilitatem ingentis ac feri populi perficerentur. Vidit enim in primis necessarium magnopere Londonienses coerceri. Ibi veniunt ad obsequium ejus Eduinus et Morcardus maximi fere omnium Anglorum genere ac potentia Algardi illius nominatissimi filii, deprecantur veniam, etc.

§ 82. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno* 1067[3].

(See p. 196.)

Her com se kyng eft ongean to Englalande on Sče Nicolaes mæssedæge . . . . ȝ her se kyng sette micel gyld on earm folc · ȝ þeahhwæðre let æfre hergian eall þ hi oferforon. And þa he ferde to Defena [scire] · ȝ

[1] Printed in Duchesne's *Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores*, p. 287. The passage from William of Jumièges is given for the sake of comparison with that of William of Poitiers. How far they are taken one from the other, or both from a common original, it is difficult to determine.

[2] Printed in Duchesne, *Ibid.* p. 208; Migne, cxlix. col. 1262.

[3] Printed from Chronicle E. Wanting entirely in all the others.

besæt þa burh Exancester XVIII dagas · ȝ þær wearð micel his heres forfaren · ac he heom wel behet · ȝ yfele gelæste . . . . On þisan Eastron com se kyng to Wincestre · ȝ þa wæron Eastra on X Kł. Aprł. ȝ sona æfter þam cóm Mathild seo hlæfdie hider to lande · ȝ Ealdred arceb. hig gehalgode to cwéne on Westmynstre · on Hwitan Sunnan dæg. Þa kyðde man þan kyninge þ þ folc be norðan hæfdon heom gegaderad togædere · ȝ woldon him ongean standan · gif he come. He for þa to Snotingaham · ȝ worhte þær castel · ȝ fór swa to Eoferwic · ȝ þær worhte twegen castelas ȝ on Lincolna · ȝ gehwar on þan ende.

§ 83. Ex *Florentii Wigorniensis Chron. sub anno* 1067[1].

(See p. 196.)

Post haec, hieme imminente, rex Willelmus de Normannia Angliam rediit, et Anglis importabile tributum imposuit. Dein in Domnoniam hostiliter profectus civitatem Execestram, quam cives et nonnulli Anglici ministri contra illum retinebant, obsedit et cito infregit.

§ 84. *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis de Gestis Regum, Libro* III. § 248[2].

(See p. 196.)

Omnium deinde bellorum quae gessit, haec summa est. Urbem Exoniam rebellantem leviter subegit, divino scilicet justus auxilio, quod pars muralis ultro decidens, ingressum illi patefecerit: nam et ipse audacius eam assilierat, protestans homines irreverentes Dei destituendos suffragio; quia unus eorum, supra murum stans, nudato inguine auras sonitu inferioris partis turbaverat, pro contemptu videlicet Normannorum. Eboracum, unicum rebellionum suffugium, civibus pene delevit, fame et ferro necatis, &c.

§ 85. Ex *Rogeri de Wendover Chronicis*[3].

(See p. 198.)

Qualiter Rex Willelmus Exoniam obsedit, et cepit. Eodem tempore rex Willelmus urbem Exoniam sibi rebellem obsidione vallavit. Ubi quidam stans super murum nudato inguine sonitu partis inferioris auras turbavit, in contemptum videlicet Normannorum. Unde Willelmus in iram conversus civitatem levi negotio subjugavit. Deinde Eboracum petens eam penitus delevit.

§ 86. Ex *Registro de Oseneia*[4].

(See p. 208.)

Memorandum quod Robertus de Oleio et Rogerus de Ivreio fratres jurati, et per fidem et sacramentum confederati venerunt ad conquestum Angliae cum rege Willelmo Bastard.

[1] Printed from the edition by the English Historical Society, ed. 1849, vol. ii. p. 1.

[2] Ibid., 1840, vol. ii. p. 421.

[3] Ibid., 1841, vol. ii. p. 4. This is taken from the MS. in the BodleianLibrary, Douce, ccvii.

[4] Printed from Bodleian MS. Tanner Misc. xii. folio 72 b, under the heading 'Ex Registro Chartarum spectantium abbatiae de Oseney in Com. Oxon.' The

Iste rex dedit dicto Roberto duas Baronias quae modo vocantur Baronia Doylivorum et S. Walerici.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini 1071 aedificatum est castellum Oxon tempore Regis Willelmi predicti. Iste Robertus de Olleyo dedit fratri suo Rogero predicto Baroniam quae modo vocatur Sancti Walerici.

Anno domini 1074 fundata est ecclesia Sancti Georgii in Castello Oxon, a Roberto de Olleyo primo, et Rogero de Ivr' tempore regis Willelmi Bastard. Qui in dicta ecclesia canonicos seculares instituerunt et certos redditus de duabus Baroniis praedictis eisdem consignaverunt cum ecclesiis, decimis, terris, et possessionibus et rebus aliis.

Notum sit omnibus fidelibus sanctae ecclesiae tam presentibus quam futuris, quod ego Robertus de Olleyo, volentibus et concedentibus Alditha uxore mea et fratribus meis Nigello et Gilberto, dedi et concessi ..... Deo, et ecclesiae S. Georgii in castello Oxenforde et canonicis in ea Deo servientibus, et eorum successoribus quam ecclesiam pro salute Regis Henrici et columitate totius regni ..... omnes res, tenementa, decimas et possessiones subscriptas, videl. ecclesiam S. Mariae Magdalenae, quae sita est in suburbio Oxenforde, cum tribus hidis terrae in Walton, &c.

§ 87. Ex *Registro de Oseneia*[1].

(See p. 208.)

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Rogerus de Ivereio[2] pro salute Domini Regis et totius regni necnon pro salute domini mei Roberti de Olleyo et Aldithe uxoris suae et meorum salute, concessi et praesenti carta mea[3] confirmavi Deo et ecclesiae S. Georgii quae sita est in Castello Oxon, omnes terras, et tenementa, decimas, redditus, et possessiones quas dictus Robertus de Olleyo de Baroniis suis[4] dedit, et concessit, et assignavit, &c.

§ 88. Ex *Chron. Monasterii de Abingdon*[5].

(See p. 212.)

Ejus temporibus, et temporibus duorum regum, scilicet Willelmi, qui Anglos devicerat, et filii ejus Willelmi, erat quidam constabularius Oxoniae,

passages are printed in substance in Kennett's *Parochial Antiquities*, Oxon. 1818, vol. i. pp. 78 and 81, as from Sutton's transcript, Ch. Ch. and Glover's *Collectanea*. The early part of the Oseney Chartulary, whence no doubt the passages were transcribed before the fire, seems to be wanting.

[1] Printed from the passage as given in Kennett's *Parochial Antiquities*, 1818, vol. i. p. 83, and compared with the transcript in Bodleian MS. Tanner Misc. xii. folio 72 b. See note to previous extract, but the result from the various sources is not altogether satisfactory. The English version given in the text, however, shows how far these copies can be relied on, and where they are incomplete.

[2] Robertus de Iverey (erroneously). Tanner.

[3] 'et meorum . . . carta mea.' Omitted Tanner.

[4] 'de Baroniis suis.' Omitted Kennett.

[5] Printed in *Chron. Mon. Ab.*, Rolls Series, 1858, vol. ii. p. 12, from Cottonian MS. B. vi. The passage does not occur in Claud. C. ix.

Robertus de Oili dictus, in cujus custodia erat illo tempore provincia illa in praeceptis et in factis, adeo ut de ore regis proferretur illi actio. Dives enim valde erat; diviti nec pauperi parcebat exigere ab eis pecunias sibique gazas multiplicari. Sicut qui brevi versiculo de similibus comprehendit, dicens:

'Crescit amor nummi quantum pecunia crescit.'

Ecclesias vero cupiditate pecuniarum infestabat ubique, maxime abbatiam Abbendoniae, scilicet possessiones abstractae, et frequenter in placitis gravare, quandoque in misericordiam regis ponere. Inter caetera mala, pratum quoddam extra muros Oxoniae situm, consentiente rege, a monasterio abstraxit, et in usum militum castelli deputavit. Pro quo damno contristati sunt fratres Abbendonenses magis quam pro aliis malis. Tunc simul congregati ante altare Sanctae Mariae, quod dedicaverat Sanctus Dunstanus archiepiscopus et Sanctus Atheluualdus episcopus, cum lacrimis prostrati in terram deprecantes de Roberto de Oili, monasterii depraedatore, vindictam facere, aut illum ad satisfactionem convertere.

Interea, dum sic per dies et noctes Beatam Mariam invocassent, decidit ipse Robertus in aegritudine valida, in qua laborabat multis diebus impoenitens, donec videbatur ei quadam nocte in palatio cujusdam regis magni, &c.

§ 89. Ex *Chron. Monasterii de Abingdon*[1].

(See p. 215.)

Post praedictam autem visionem quam viderat, jussu Dei Genitricis se a satellitibus malis torqueri, non tantum ecclesiam Sanctae Mariae de Abbendonia curabat erigere, verum etiam alias parochianas ecclesias dirutas, videlicet infra muros Oxenefordiae et extra, ex sumptu suo reparavit. Nam sicut ante visionem illam depraedator ecclesiarum et pauperum erat, ita postea effectus est reparator ecclesiarum et recreator pauperum, multorumque bonorum operum patrator. Inter caetera pons magnus ad septemtrionalem plagam Oxoniae per eum factus est. Qui mense Septembris obiens in capitulo Abbendonensi in parte aquilonis sepulturam meruit; uxor autem ejus in sinistra ejus condita requiescat.

§ 90. *Carta Willelmi Regis.* Per Inspeximus[2].

(See p. 217.)

W. Rex Anglorum T. Vicecomiti, omnibusque vicecomitibus episcopatis Remigii episcopi, salutem. Sciatis me transtulisse sedem episcopatus Dorchacestrensis in Lincolniam civitatem, auctoritate et consilio Alexandri papae et legatorum ejus; necnon et L. archiepiscopi, et aliorum episcoporum regni mei; ac ibidem terram ab omnibus consuetudinibus solutam et quietam sufficienter dedisse, ad construendum matrem ecclesiam totius episcopatus, et ejusdem officinas. . . . . Testibus L. Archiepiscopo, et E. Vicecomite.

[1] Printed in *Chron. Mon. Ab.*, Rolls Series, 1858, vol. ii. p. 14.

[2] Printed from the copy in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, ed. 1846, vol. viii. p. 1269, but compared with the Inspeximus in the Patent Roll. 8th Hen. VI. Pt. ii. memb. 10.

§ 91. Ex *Chron. Abbatiae de Evesham*[1].

(See p. 218.)

Quum praedicti fratres ad Oxinefordiam fulti reliquiis sancti Ecgwini laetabundi pervenissent, et verbum Dei, populo spectante, praedicassent, quidam vir magnae, ut postmodum claruit, fidei, ad feretrum sancti Ecgwini inter caeteros humiliter accessit, ternas orationes coram cunctis devotissime complevit, et per singulas preces manum ad marsupium mittens indeque triplicem oblationem sumens, sancto Dei fideliter obtulit.

Passages quoted in Chapter XI.—The Description of Oxford in 1086 as given in the Domesday Survey.

§ 92. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno* 1085[2].

(See p. 222.)

After þisum hæfde se cyng mycel geðeaht and swiðe deope spæce wiþ his witan ymbe þis land hu hit wære gesett · oððe mid hwilcon mannon. Sende þa ofer eall Englaland into ælcere scire his men · ȝ lett agan ut hu fela hundred hyda wæron innon þære scire · oððe hwet se cyng him sylf hæfde landes ȝ orfes innan þam lande · oððe hwilce gerihtæ he ahte to habbanne to xii. monðum of þære scire. Eac he lett gewritan hu mycel landes his arcebiscopas hæfdon · ȝ his leodbiscopas · ȝ his abbotas · ȝ his eorlas · ȝ þeah ic hit lengre telle · hwæt oððe hu mycel ælc mann hæfde · þe landsittende wæs innan Englalande · on lande oððe on orfe · ȝ hu mycel feos hit wære wurð. Swa swyðe nearwelice he hit lett ut aspyrian · þ næs an ælpig hide ne an gyrde landes · ne furðon · hit is sceame to tellanne · ac hit ne þuhte him nan sceame to donne · an oxe · ne án cú · ne án swin næs belyfon · þ næs gesæt on his gewrite. ȝ ealle þa gewrita wæron gebroht to him syððan.

§ 93. Ex *Libro Censuali de Domesday*[3].

(See p. 225.)

Tempore Regis Edwardi Reddebat Oxeneford
pro theloneo et gablo et omnibus aliis consuetudinibus per annum
regi quidem xx libras et vi sextarios mellis. Comiti vero Algaro
x libras adjuncto molino quem infra civitatem habebat.
Quando rex ibat in expeditionem burgenses xx ibant
cum eo pro omnibus aliis, vel xx libras dabant regi ut omnes essent liberi.

[1] Printed from the edition in the Rolls Series, 1863, p. 55, and this chiefly from MS. in Bodleian Library, Rawlinson A. 287.

[2] Printed from Chronicle E. (i. e. the Peterborough Chronicle, Bodl. Laud. 636), the only one of the series continued to this date.

[3] From the Domesday Survey, folio 154 a, cols. 1 and 2. See frontispiece to the present volume.

Modo reddit OXENEFORD lx libras ad numerum de xx^{li} in ora.
In ipsa villa tam intra murum quam extra sunt cc et xliii domus reddentes geldum et exceptis his sunt ibi quingentae domus xxii minus ita vastae et destructae quod geldum non possunt reddere.
Rex habet xx mansiones murales quae fuerunt Algari [comitis] Tempore Regis Edwardi,
reddentes tunc et modo xiv solidos ii denarios minus.
et unam mansionem habet reddentem vi denarios pertinentes ad Sciptone, et aliam de
iv denarios pertinentes ad Blochesham et terciam reddentem xxx denarios pertinentes ad Riseberge et ij alias de iiij denariis pertinentibus ad Tuiforde in Buchingehamscire. Una ex his est vasta.
Propterea vocantur murales mansiones quia si opus fuerit et rex preceperit murum reficient.
Ad terras quas tenuit Albericus comes pertinent j ecclesia et iij mansiones.
harum ij jacent ad ecclesiam Sanctae Mariae reddentes xxvlij denarios, et tercia jacet ad Bureford reddens v solidos.
Ad terras quas W. comes tenuit pertinent ix mansiones reddentes vij solidos.
Ex his sunt iij vastae.
Archiepiscopus cantuariensis habet vij mansiones reddentes xxxviij denarios. Ex his
iiij sunt vastae. Episcopus Wintoniensis ix mansiones reddentes lxij denarios. Ex his
iij sunt vastae. Episcopus Baiocensis xviij mansiones reddentes xiij solidos et iiij denarios
Ex his iiij sunt vastae. Episcopus Lincolniensis habet xxx mansiones reddentes [sis
xviij solidos et vi denarios. Ex his xvi sunt vastae. Episcopus Constantienhabet ij mansiones reddentes xiiij denarios. Episcopus Herefordensis habet iij mansiones
reddentes xiij denarios. Ex his una vasta est.
Abbatia de Sancto Edmundo habet i mansionem reddentem vi denarios pertinentes ad Tentone.
Abbatia de Abendonia habet xiiij mansiones reddentes vij solidos et iij denarios.
Ex his viij sunt vastae. Abbatia de Eglesham habet i ecclesiam et xiij.
mansiones reddentes ix solidos. Ex his vii sunt vastae.
Comes Moritonensis habet x mansiones reddentes iij solidos. Omnes sunt vastae preter unam. Comes Hugo habet vij mansiones reddentes v solidos.
et viij denarios. Ex his iiij sunt vastae. Comes Ebroicensis habet i.
mansionem vastam et nil reddit.
Henricus de Fereires habet ij mansiones reddentes v solidos.
Willelmus Peurel iiij mansiones reddentes xvij denarios. Ex his sunt vastae.
Edwardus Vicecomes ij mansiones reddentes v solidos.

Ernulfus de Hesding iij mansiones reddentes xviij denarios. Ex his i vasta est.

Berengarius de Todeni i mansionem reddentem vi denarios.

Milo Crespin ij mansiones reddentes xij denarios.

Ricardus de Curci ij mansiones reddentes xix denarios.

Robertus de Oilgi xij mansiones reddentes lxiiij denarios. Ex his iiij^{or} sunt vastae.

Rogerus de Iuri xv mansiones reddentes xx solidos et iiij denarios. Ex his vi sunt vastae.

Rannulf Flammard unam mansionem nil reddentem.

Wido de Reinbodcurth ij mansiones reddentes xx denarios.

Walterius Gifard xvii mansiones reddentes xxii solidos. Ex his vii sunt vastae.

Unam ex his habuit antecessor Walterii dono regis Edwardi ex viiij^{to} virgis quae consuetudinariae erant Tempore Regis Edwardi.

Jernio habet i mansionem reddentem vi denarios pertinentes ad Hamtone. Filius Manassae habet unam mansionem reddentem iiij denarios ad Blecesdone.

Hi omnes prescripti tenent has praedictas mansiones liberas propter reparationem muri.

Omnes mansiones quae vocantur murales Tempore Regis Edwardi liberae erant ab omni consuetudine excepta expeditione et muri reparatione.

Presbyteri Sancti Michaelis habent ij mansiones reddentes lii denarios.

Canonici Sancti Fridesuidae habent xv mansiones reddentes xi solidos. Ex his viii^{to} sunt vastae

Coleman habuit dum vixit iii mansiones de iij solidis et viii^{to} denarios.

Willelmus habet unam de xx denarios. Spracheling i mansionem quae nil reddit.

Wluuius piscator i mansionem de xxxij denariis.

Aluuinus habet v mansiones de xxxvii denariis. Ex his sunt iij vastae.

Edricus i mansionem quae nil reddit. Harding et Leueua ix mansiones reddentes xij solidos. Ex his iiij sunt vastae.

Ailric i mansionem quae nil reddit. Dereman i mansionem de xii denariis.

Segrim i mansionem de xvi denariis. Alius Segrim i mansionem de ii solidis.

Smeuuinus i mansionem quae nil reddit. Golduinus i mansionem nil reddentem.

Eddid i mansionem nil reddentem. Suetman i mansionem de viij denariis.

Seuui i mansionem nil reddentem. Leueua i mansionem vastam de x denariis Tempore Regis Edwardi.

Alueua i mansionem de x denariis. Aluuardus i mansionem de x denariis.

Aluuinus i mansionem vastam. Brictred et Derman i mansionem de xvi denariis.

Aluuius i mansionem de qua nil habet. Dereuuen i mansionem de vi denariis.

Aluuinus [presbyter] i domum vastam quae nil reddit Leuric i^{am} similiter nil reddentem.

Wluric i mansionem vastam et tamen si opus fuerit murum reparabit.
Suetman monetarius i domum liberam reddentem xl denarios.
Goduinus i. Vlmarus i. Goderun i. Godric i. Aluui i. hae v.
nil reddunt. Suetman ii mansiones muri habet reddentes iii solidos.
Alter Suetman i mansionem liberam pro eodem servicio et habet ix denarios.
Sauuoldus ix mansiones reddentes xiij solidos. Ex his vi sunt vastae.
Lodouuinus i domum in qua manet liberam pro muro.
Segrim iii domos liberas de lxiiij denariis. Harum i vasta est.
Aluuinus i domum liberam pro muro reficiendo; de hac habet xxxii denarios per annum. Et si murus, dum opus est per eum, qui debet, non restauratur, aut xl solidos regi emendabit aut domum suam perdit.
Omnes burgenses oxeneford habent communiter extra murum pasturam reddentem vi solidos et viii denarios.

§ 94. Ex *Libro Censuali de Domesday.—Terra Roberti de Oilgi*[1].

(See p. 226.)

Idem Robertus habet xlii domus hospitatas in OXENEFORD tam intra murum quam extra. Ex his xvi reddunt geldum et gablum.
Aliae neutrum reddunt quia prae paupertatem non possunt; et viii mansiones habet vastas, et xxx acras prati juxta murum, et molinum x solidorum.
Totum valet iij libras et pro i manerio tenet cum beneficio S. Petri.

Ibid.[2]

Ecclesia Sancti Petri de Oxeneford tenet de Roberto ij hidas in Haliwelle.
Terra, i carucata. Ibi est una caruca et dimidium; et xxiij homines hortulos habentes.
Ibi xl acrae prati. Valuit xx solidos. Modo xl solidos.
Haec terra non geldavit nec ullum debitum reddidit.

§ 95. *Carta Regis Willelmi.* Ex *Registro Eynshamensi*[3].

(See p. 242.)

Willelmus rex Anglorum episcopis et omnibus fidelibus suis per Angliam salutem. Sciatis me confirmasse donationem quae Leofricus comes et Godiva sua conjux ecclesiae sanctae Mariae Stowensi dederunt, scilicet....
Praeterea concedo praedictae ecclesiae, deprecatione Remigii episcopi,

[1] Domesday Survey, folio 158 a, col. 2. The rest of the sentence after *S. Petri* appears to be wanting.
[2] Ibid. folio 158 b, col. 1.
[3] Printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. iii. p. 14. From the Eynsham Register in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church. Catalogue No. XXXVI, folio 10.

Egneshamensem ecclesiam cum terris quas modo possidet, tali pacto, ut ibi abbas per meum consilium ordinetur, qui res ecclesiarum semper tractet...

Et hoc facio consilio et testamento L. archiepiscopi. Testes E. vicecomes et R. de Oili.

§ 96. *Item Carta Regis Willelmi.* Ex eodem Registro[1].

(See p. 242.)

Willelmus rex Angliae, hominibus abbatiae de La Stou salutem. Praecipio vobis omnibus, ut ita sitis obedientes domino vestro Columbano abbati sicut fuistis Remigio episcopo in omnibus rebus. Teste Ricardo de Curci.

§ 97. *Confirmatio Remigii Episcopi.* Ex eodem Registro[2].

(See p. 243.)

.... Addo etiam praeterea eidem gloriosissimae Dei genitricis ecclesiae, sibique famulantibus monachis, augmentum quoddam insigne Egnesham-ensem, cum eodem pago in quo antiquitus construitur, caeterisque sibi membris adhaerentibus, Scipfort scilicet et Rollendricht, necnon Aerdin-tona atque Micletuna, quadam quoque ecclesiola sanctae Aebbae in urbe Oxenefordensi consita, cum reculis sibi devotione pia fidelium collatis, atque etiam duobus molendinis secus ejusdem urbis aquarum decursus pridem erectis, cum universis quoque jure sibi appendicibus, supradicto modo perpetualiter optinenda annuo, strictimque connecto.

§ 98. *Carta Regis Henrici senioris de omnibus terris nostris.* Ex eodem Registro[3].

(See p. 243.)

Et in Oxeneford ecclesiam sanctae Aebbae et omnia quae ad eam perti-nent. Et duos molendinos juxta Oxeneford et prata, et Aerdintonam, et quicquid Robertus Lincolniensis episcopus dedit pro commutatione Newerchae et Stowe; .... Willielmus filius Nigelli unam domum apud Oxeneford dedit. Hardingus de Oxeneford, qui in Hierusalem ivit et ibi mortuus est, duas domus apud Oxeneford dedit, unam intra burgum, aliam extra. Gillebertus de Damari unam domum dedit extra burgum, excepta consuetudine regis. Willielmus filius Bernardi decimam suam dedit eidem ecclesiae.

§ 99. Ex *Libro Censuali de Domesday.—Terra Canonicorum de Oxeneford et aliorum Clericorum*[4].

(See p. 262.)

Canonici Sanctae Fridesvidae tenent iiij hidas de rege juxta OXENEFORD. Ipsi tenuerunt. Tempore Regis Edwardi. Terra v carucatae. Ibi xviii villani

[1] Printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. iii. p. 14, MS. folio 11.
[2] Ibid. p. 15, MS. folio 11. [3] Ibid. pp. 15–16.
[4] Domesday, folio 157 a, col 1.

habent v carucas; et cv acras prati et viij acras spineti. Valuit et valet xl solidos.

Haec terra nunquam geldavit, nec alicui HUNDREDO pertinet neque pertinuit.

Siuuardus tenet de ipsis canonicis ij hidas in Codeslam[1].

Terra ij carucatae quae [carucae] modo ibi sunt. Valuit et valet xl solidos De aecclesia fuit et est[2].

§ 100. Ex *Chron. Monasterii de Abingdon*[3].

(See p. 264.)

De Domo Infirmorum.

Quia infirmi fratres et qui opus habebant minui sanguine, igne carebant, idem abbas Faritius consensu totius capituli concessit omnes redditus eis mansionum subnotatarum, quas in Oxenefordia ipsemet emerat; quatenus, cum necessarium foret, ignis exhibitio domui infirmorum praesto adesset. Et hoc concessit pro suae animae redemptione, et infirmorum compassione, et quicumque hoc irritum faceret anathematizavit.

Hae sunt illae mansiones cum redditibus.

Terra Wlfwi piscatoris, v solidos et viii denarios.

Terra Rualdi, v solidos et ii denarios.

Terra Dermanni presbyteri, vii solidos et ii denarios.

Terra Colemanni, viii solidos.

Terra Eadwini monetarii, et fratris Ejus v solidos.

Deo itaque alienus et regno Ejus exsors in perpetuum habeatur, qui collatum hoc beneficium infirmis auferat.

§ 101. Ex *Libro Censuali de Domesday*[4].

(See p. 280.)

Pax regis manu vel sigillo data siquis infregerit. Ita ut hominem cui pax ipsa data fuerit occidat: et membra et vita ejus in arbitrio regis erunt si captus fuerit. Et si capi non potuerit; ab omnibus exul habebitur et siquis eum occidere praevaluerit spolia ejus licenter habebit. Siquis extraneus in oxeneford manere deligens et domum habens sine parentibus ibi vitam finierit; rex habebit quicquid reliquerit. Siquis alicujus curiam vel domum violenter effregerit vel intraverit ut hominem occidat, vel vulneret vel assaliat; centum solidos regi emendat. Similiter qui monitus ire in expeditionem non vadit; c. solidos regi dabit. Siquis aliquem interfecerit intra curiam vel domum suam; corpus ejus et omnis substantia sunt in potestate regis praeter dotem uxoris ejus si dotatam habuerit.

[1] The name *Codeslam* is so written, but no doubt is an error of the copyist for *Codeslaw*.

[2] It has not been thought necessary to print the account of the land of the *Clerici*, as it does not concern Oxford.

[3] Printed in *Chron. Mon. Ab.*, Rolls Series, vol. ii. p. 154.

[4] Domesday Survey, folio 154 b, col. 2.

§ 102. Ex *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis de Gestis Regum*[1]. *Lib.* II. § 215.

(See p. 289.)

Mildritha in Taneto insula Cantiae, quam matri suae in solutionem necis fratrum suorum, Ethelredi et Egelbirthi, dederat rex Egbertus, coelibatui dans operam, ibidem vitae metam incurrit. Sequenti tempore, ad coenobium sancti Augustini Cantuariam translata, eximia monachorum sedulitate honoratur, pietatis fama et dulcedinis juxta vocabulum suum in cunctos aeque praedicabilis. Et quamvis ibi pene omnes monasterii anfractus pleni sint sanctorum corporibus, nec eorum parvi nominis aut meriti, sed quorum singula per se possent illustrare Angliam, nullo tamen illa colitur inferius quin immo amatur et commemoratur dulcius.

§ 103. Ex *Chron. Monasterii de Abingdon*[2].

(See p. 302.)

Wuillelmus, rex Anglorum, Petro de Oxeneford, salutem. Sciatis quod volo et praecipio ut abbas Rainaldus de Abbendona, et monachi ecclesiae suae, ita bene et honorifice et quiete habeant et teneant omnes consuetudines suas ubique in omnibus rebus, sicut melius habuerunt tempore regis Eadwardi, et tempore patris mei, et nullus homo iis inde amplius injuriam faciat. Teste Rannulfo capellano.

Et fac abbati praedicto plenam rectitudinem de Eadwi, praeposito tuo, et de aliis ministris tuis, qui monachis suis injuriam fecerunt.

[1] Printed from the edition by the English Historical Society, 1840, vol. i. p. 369.
[2] Printed in *Chron. Mon. Ab.*, Rolls Series, 1858, vol. ii. p. 41.

APPENDIX B.

The Name of Oxford.

It has been thought well to add here a few words upon the supposed origin of the name of Oxford, since it has not been found convenient to discuss the question in the course of the previous pages.

There are two views, for each of which there is something to be said; and it is proposed here rather to set down the various considerations which suggest themselves, in dealing with the question, than to press either view unduly forward to the disparagement of the other. We do not know, nor can we know how or when the name was applied; all that can be done is to arrange the evidence and weigh the probabilities.

It is a good rule in considering the derivation of the name of a place, to begin by strictly observing the earliest form in which the name occurs, and next the several variations which have been adopted by writers who immediately succeed the one who first names the place, noting how far they support, or tend to qualify, the earliest reading[1]. Afterwards analogies may be brought to bear upon the question, and if the case demands it, further considerations as to whether the earliest form met with may or may not have been preceded by some other.

It has already been said that the earliest mention of Oxford is to be found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 912, and two of the chronicles which give the name were actually written before the close of the tenth century. The earliest form is *Oxnaforda*[2], and the other chronicles follow the same reading when recording the same event, except a late Chronicle F, which has *Oxanaforda*. Under the year 924, one Chronicle D

[1] As an example of the opposite mode of procedure by which the merest guesswork comes to be introduced into a work otherwise of real value, the explanation of Shotover hill, near Oxford, as given in Isaac Taylor's recent work on Words and Places may be adduced. First, it should be observed that in the Domesday Survey, at the end of the king's lands in Oxfordshire, a list of the '*Dominicæ Forestæ Regis*' is given, viz. those in *Scotorne*, *Stauuorde*, &c. Following the repeated mention of these forests through the Close Rolls, Patent Rolls, and others, we have the varieties of Scotore, Shotore, Shothore, Shotovre, Schotore, Shottovere, &c. throughout King John's and Henry III's reign, and so throughout documents of various kinds into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. (The introduction of the *n* in Domesday, it may be remarked by the way, is probably due to an erroneous reading by the scribe, as that letter does not appear again in any of the numerous later instances observed.) Though there may be difference of opinion as to the meaning of the two syllables *Scot* and *ore* or *ovre* (cf. Comen-ore on the other side of Oxford), nothing can justify the following:—'As might have been expected, French and Norman names in England have been peculiarly liable to suffer. *Chateau-vert* in Oxfordshire has been converted into Shotover Hill.' *Words and Places*, 2nd ed. 1865, p. 390; 3rd ed. revised, p. 267.

[2] See *ante*, p. 116, and Appendix A, § 35.

has *Oxanforda*, the others all *Oxnaforda*. Under 1009, the form *Oxenaforda* is adopted in three chronicles, Oxneforda in one, E, and Oxanaforda again in F. Under 1013 it is the same, but E has gone back to Oxnaforda, while F continues as before. Under 1015 it is the same, but we get the form of *Oxonaforda* in E, for the first time, D and F continuing as before. Under 1018, C and E have *Oxnaforda*, D has Oxanaforda. Later on Oxnaforda seems to become the rule[1]. Passing from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles to other sources we cannot be sure whether the copy of Ethelred's Charter to S. Frideswide's in the Ch. Ch. Chartulary follows the original, but there it is written Oxenford, and the same apparently in the Oseney transcript, and in the C. C. C. copy, Oxeneford. The copies 'per inspeximus' are of little or no value as evidence in the matter of the exact spelling of a place. The Domesday Survey, it will be observed, has always Oxeneford.

The various readings on coins are also interesting; we have Ox and Oxna of Eadgar (959), Oxa, Oxna, and Oxne of Eadweard (975), Ona, Ox, Oxn, Oxan, and Oxna of Aethelred (979), Ox, Oxcen, Oxe, Oxen, Oxn, Oxsa, Oxsen, Oxsena, and Oxsn of Eadmund (1016). With Cnut's name appear Ocx, Ocxe, Ocxen, Ocxene, Ox, Oxa, Oxsa, Oxse, Oxsn, Oxsen, Oxsena, and one having O, which is ascribed to Oxford. To Harold Harefoot (1035) are given Oc, Ocx, Ocxe, Oxan, and to Harthacnut (1040) Ocxenf and Oxana. To Edward the Confessor (1042) have been ascribed coins with the names of Ocx, Ocxa, Ocxe, Ocxen, Ox, Oxe, Oxene, Oxenex, Oxne, Oxnef, and Oxni, while Harold's coins have Ox, Oxenfo, and Oxenca[2]. Though coin nomenclature, on account of the abbreviations being left as a rule to the individual moneyer who makes the die, is not of any value as to the origin or meaning of a name, the general consensus of these forms of the name are worthy of consideration, and in this case they point very clearly to the fact that the word Ox was understood to be an essential element in the first half of the name of Oxford from the middle of the tenth century onwards. The suffix of 'ford' does not so clearly appear on the coins, but about that there is no question at issue. One earlier type of coin with the inscription of *Orsna* and *forda* will be noticed in the next Appendix.

The variations of the twelfth century chroniclers are based on the forms of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and include *Oxeneforda*, *Oxineford*, and *Oxenforda*, and in one case *Oxeforda*, as well as the same with the varied terminations of *fordia* and *ford*.

The form Oxonia which superseded the others is not found till much later[3]. Other forms might be quoted due to careless writing, bad reading,

[1] No notice is taken of the termination which, though generally *da*, is sometimes *de*, and in one or two cases *dan*, according to grammatical requirements.

[2] These are taken from the lists supplied by Ruding in *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain*, 1840, pp. 131–145, to which have been added those from the Stockholm collection, catalogued by Hildebrand (Anglosachsiska mynt i Svenska Kongl. Myntkabinettet funna i Sveriges ford: Stockholm, 1846.)

[3] There seems a tendency in the twelfth century to adopt the form Oxoneford, and in all the rolls and legal documents it appears almost invariably in the contracted form of *Oxon*. Sometimes Oxonia occurs, which seems to be merely an

or perhaps dependence on the sound; and an instance of the last has been already given from the Norman Life of Edward the Confessor, viz. Axone-vorde [1].

There can therefore be no question that the earliest form of the word, whether regarding sound, or spelling, distinctly represents 'the ford of the Oxen [2].' Hence it might be thought that the question was settled. It would be urged that at a particular spot oxen were frequently passing over the river, and that the circumstance would naturally have given the name to the spot, and the village or town which grew up adjoining the road which led from the ford, would be called after the name of that ford.

Before, however, passing on to the other theory it must in fairness to it be pointed out that, though a few cases in the boundaries attached to early charters occur, in which the spot of ground is called from the Oxen, it is not frequent. The following seem to be all that can be adduced: the oxna-*leah*, the oxan-*ers* [3], the oxna-*iea* (or island), the oxena-*feld*, the oxena-*gehaeg* (or paddock), the oxna-*dune*, the oxna-*mere*, the oxe-*lacu*, evidently signifying certain portions of land set apart for oxen, or the pools near them. Two other instances perhaps better illustrate the name of Oxford, viz. an oxen-*gaet* and an oxene-*brieg*, because it is not easy to see why a gate [4], or a bridge, or a ford, should be set apart for oxen only, so as to give the name as would be the case of a field. None of the above landmarks, however, seem to have left their name behind in the places to which they belonged, with the exception of the Isle of Oxn-ey, which is still so called on the southern confines of Kent, and the Oxena-gehæg which probably exists in Oxhey in Hertfordshire [5].

extension of the above contracted form. In one case, in a close roll of King John's reign, the clerk has perhaps written it as the name was called out to him '*Hoxonia*.' It may be useful to add that want of attention to the fact of the late form of Oxonia stamps the introduction of the interpolated passage in Asser as a forgery, for the name Oxonia, as will have been seen (*ante*, p. 46), is introduced several times.

[1] See *ante*, p. 182. A Frenchman may well have pronounced Oxenford after that manner. The ways in which Waurin, a French chronicler of the close of the fourteenth century, treats the name may be noted. He has imported into his work much of Geoffrey of Monmouth's romance, and in following that he refers to Bessonus, i. e. Boso, of Exincefort. Elsewhere Oxenfort, and in one case Xenfort. In referring to a tournament held in his own time, he says it took place at Asquesuffort, and this possibly may be meant for Oxford. The Chronicle is printed in the Rolls Series, 1864-69. It may perhaps also be to the purpose to note the following illustrations of spelling Oxford by foreigners from letters duly received through the post by the author. *Oxfort* (frequent), *Oxforth* (also frequent), *Auxford*, *Auford*, and one from Madrid, and written very plainly *Ordox*. The form *Oxforthe* is that given in the *Promptorium Parvulum*, a glossary compiled circa 1440.

[2] *Oxa*, an Ox, gen. sing. *Oxan*, genitive plural *Oxena*. Contracted Oxna.

[3] *Ers*, written also Yrse, but generally erse, explained by Kemble to signify ground on which grass is allowed to grow after corn crops.

[4] It is possibly used as applied to the pass over a hill (=Fr. *col*), e.g. Corfesgate in Dorset.

[5] The above list is taken from the index to Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*.

The Domesday Survey does not supply many combinations with the word Ox. Oxe-*cumbe* in Lincolnshire, an Oxen-*done* in Northants, and another in Gloucestershire, an Oxene-*clif* in Yorkshire, an Oxe-*lei* in Hants, and another in Stafford, an Oxe-*landa* in Suffolk as well as an Ox-*a* (which now has become Hox-ne), an Oxe-*tune* (or *tone*) in Yorkshire, Nottingham, and Lincoln; an Oxe-*wiche* in Hertford, an Oxen-*burh* (now Oxborough), Norfolk, an Oxen-*edes* also in Norfolk, and an Oxi-*bola* in Shropshire complete the list. In most of these cases there seems to be good reason to suppose that their names were derived respectively from the combe, the hill, the cliff, the meadow, the land, the island, the enclosure, and the wick (or farm), appropriated especially to Oxen. For the last two on the list no derivation can be satisfactorily assigned [1].

Such reasonings, however, it must be borne in mind, are purely conjectural. All that is shown by the list is that there is good ground for supposing that the word Ox entered sometimes into the nomenclature of places. The medieval and modern names would add some few additions to the above, but not many, while most of the Domesday names have survived with but little change. No other Oxenford has been observed except a small property in Wittley parish in Surrey. It seems that Richard de Aquila, who died in 1176, and who was lord of Wittley, gave the manor of that name to the monks of Waverly [2]. Situated some little distance from the upper tributaries of the river Wey, there is reason to suppose that the name must have been given it from a ford over one of the little burns which supplied this district with water and which was used by oxen passing to and fro, perhaps from their meadow in which they grazed to their stalls in which they were sheltered. This reasoning however would scarcely apply to the ford over so important a river as the Thames.

The other theory is that the name is a corruption of Ouse-ford or Ousen-ford, or some similar form of the word, that is 'the ford over the *river*.' There is no doubt that the rivers in a large number of cases, and the hills in some few cases, retained, at the time of the Saxon conquest, and retain still their original Celtic names, though the British language generally was stamped out on the advent of the Saxons in these parts in a very remarkable degree. There are many objections which may be raised against such an hypothesis as 'the river ford,' and as those objections have mainly to be answered by analogies, it will be attempted, however imperfectly, to supply some few examples which may perhaps tend to support the theory.

The first objection to the theory may be that it involves the combination of a Celtic affix with an English suffix; the answer is that this combination is by no means rare, e.g. the Exe or the Axe has given rise to an Exminster and an Axminster, and an Exmouth and an Axmouth in Devonshire, and above all the Eaxan-ceaster of the Chronicles, and Exeter of our own day.

[1] The *edes* may possibly be the *edisc*, a name which still survives for the aftermath in some districts. Oxi-*bola* is spelt Oxi-*bold* in the Close Rolls.

[2] See the brief account in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. vi. p. 1624. The name does not appear on the maps, nor has it been observed amongst the places named in the public records.

Besides these there is an Axbridge, and Exmoor, and Exford, in Somerset, and an Axford[1] in Wiltshire, and these may perhaps be sufficient without going into cases where the Celtic name of the river might be disputed: and it must further be remembered that Axe and Exe are dialectic forms of the same word which includes Ouse.

It may be objected again that the form Ouse-ford would not be likely to be changed into Oxna-ford or Oxena-ford, and to this it may be answered first, that in all probability the foreign word would be adapted to the English ford by some adjectival form, or still more likely by the use of the genitive, and would probably have been *Ousen-ford* or *Ousan-ford* (just as the Exe was made Eaxan-ceaster[2]). And next that Ouse being a name unknown and 'Oxena' a name as well known as any word in the English language, there would be the natural tendency for one to give way to the other.

But there is a further consideration, namely, that the dialectic forms are so numerous for the river's name, that it would be dangerous to determine any definite sound for any one of them, at any particular spot, or even to suppose that if the river divided one province from another, e. g. the Belgae from the Dobuni, that the people on both sides would necessarily call the river by the same name, or at least with the same pronunciation. Names must have been handed down orally in Britain, since no trace of British records, apart from the very rude inscriptions on coins, &c., have been found to have existed; and as long as it can be shown that the general character of the word is such as might have been transformed into Oxena, that is sufficient for the theory.

The westermost and perhaps truest Celtic form of water or river is Uisge, which Ireland has retained in the spirit Uisge-baugh, i. e. fire-water or whiskey[3], and Wales in Usk, i. e. the river on which Caerleon stands. Amongst the Damnonii of Devon and Cornwall the name must have had much the same sound; for while in Wales, it has kept its softer sound of Usk, the word was, either before or after the advent of the English, on the south of the Bristol Channel, i. e. in Devon and Somerset, hardened into Exe, and Axe, and the rivers retained those names throughout the middle ages, and retain them still. As already mentioned, the towns also about them retain the names of the rivers in their formation to the present hour. Asser, at the close of the ninth century, in describing the ravages of the Danes in the south, mentions that:—

[1] This Axford may perhaps be ascribed to some other name, as it is a ford over the river *Kennet*, which is a good Celtic name. Still, parts may have been called the *axe* by the inhabitants.

[2] There seems to be great latitude in the formation of the words when joining the affix to the suffix; e. g. it is sometimes Exan-ceaster, at others Exa-ceaster. So again with the river Afn or Avon, we find Afene-mutha and Afena-mutha; but Exan-mutha; Tama-weorthige, as well as Taman-weorthe, for Tamworth; Taem-ese-forda, as well as Tem-es-an-forda, for Tempsford (see *post*, p. 360). The above are readings taken from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

[3] In Cobbett's Geographical Dictionary of England (1832) among the Yorkshire rivers *Wiske* is given. No doubt meant for the *Esk*.

'They thence went to Devonshire (*Domnania*) to a place which is called in the Saxon tongue *Eaxan-ceastre*, but in the British tongue *Cair-wise*; in Latin *Civitas* [*Exæ*], which is situated on the eastern bank of the river *Wisc*[1].'

Under the year 1050, one of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles has:—

'In the same year arrived in the Welsh *Axe* (*Wylisca Axa*) from Ireland thirty-six ships, and thereabout did harm with the help of Gryffith the Welsh King[2].'

This must undoubtedly be the Usk[3], and the passage proves the identity as to name between that and the Axe of Somerset and Devon.

It is not easy to show on what principle or at what time the soft sound of Usk or Isc came into the harder sound of Exe and Axe, but it is certain that it did so[4]. We know that once the two had a similar sound, because the Romans have left the names of Caerleon and Exeter in the Antonine Itinerary as *Isca Silurum* and *Isca Dumnuniorum*[5] respectively, proving that

[1] Asser, *Ælfredi Magni Vita*, sub anno; printed in *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 479. The word *Exæ* seems not to have been in the original MS. It is quite possible that Asser left a blank not knowing the Latin name, or he might have intended only to explain that Caer meant Civitas. Simeon of Durham, however, writing early in the twelfth century, and possibly having had access to the original copy, gives this passage thus: 'Ad Exancestriam diverterunt, quod Britannice dicitur *Cair-wisc*, Latine *Civitas Aquarum*. *De Gestis Regum*, sub anno 876' (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 681).

[2] Anglo-Saxon Chronicle D, *sub anno*. In describing events of the previous year the Chronicle E has occasion to refer to the sailors forcing Swegen into their vessel and running it into Axmouth (*to Axa-muðan*), i. e. Exmouth in Devonshire; hence it was necessary to distinguish the two Axe rivers.

[3] Henry of Huntingdon, in giving the list of British cities attributed to Nennius in referring to 'Kaer-legion,' writes, 'Nunc autem vix mœnia ejus comparent ubi *Usca* (v. l. *Asca*) cadit in Sabrinam' (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 692).

[4] We find the two forms shown on the continent, e. g. the Ἴσαρ of Ptolemy and Strabo and Isara of mediæval writers (mod. Isère, France; also the Isar, a tributary of the Danube); the Oesia, or Oisa, of the *Antonine Itinerary* (mod. Oise, France): on the other the Escamus and Oescus of Pliny and Ὄσκιος of Thucydides (now Ischa and Isker, tributaries of the Danube); and the Axona of Cæsar (mod. Aisne, a confluent of the Oise, France). By taking in names of places derived from the rivers a long list might be made. It may be noticed as an example that the Abbey of Essay in Normandy is written in the charters Axa, and Axiacum. The word Ax, however, in some cases seems to be derived from the Latin *Aquae*, or rather *Aquis* (e. g. Dax, Aix-la-Chapelle, Aix-les-bains, &c.), and not from the hardening of the Celtic word.

[5] The *Antonine Itinerary* may be of any date between the early part of the third century and the close of the fourth century. The Iter No. XII, which describes the journey from Winchester into Wales, gives *Isca Dumnuniorum*, and then, after some three or four stations, gives Iscae Leg. II. Augusta (v. l. *Iscaeleia Augusti*, *Iscalegi Augusti*), which must be identified with Caer-leon on Usk. The Iter No. XV. is practically a repetition of the above, ending with *Isca Dumnuniorum*. There can be little doubt this must be identified with Exeter. Ptolemy in his geography (*circa* A. D. 120) seems to have confused the two, having under 'the cities of the Dumnonii,' added after the name *Isca* words which belonged to the other, as if the two cities were in one part of Britain. His list runs, Ἴσκα,—

at the time when their arms reached these parts the names of the two rivers had, as spoken by the inhabitants, the same sound. But the *Isc* could only have been one of the dialectic forms amongst the Britons, because we find both in the east of Britain and the north the form Ouse[1].

The analogy then is something of this kind. It is clear that the soft Isc or Uisc[2] was hardened into Exe and Axe, when the English named their Exeter and Axminster, and therefore not improbable that the soft Ouse, or some word with a sound between the Usk, on the west, and the Ouse on the east[3], may have been hardened for similar reasons into Ox when they named their Oxford; while in the latter case there would be the additional reason of the natural substitute of a known word, with a meaning which was in accordance with its use, instead of an unknown one[4].

It is difficult, perhaps, to determine whether the river-name had already changed from a soft form to a harder form resembling more nearly Ox before it was combined with ford, or whether, after it was combined with ford, the *Osan* became by degrees *Oxen*; and in bringing analogies to bear we are met with historical difficulties[5]. Few names of places now remain beginning with Ouse or Ose. We have beside *Osen-ey* Abbey, which will be referred to later on, the well-known instance of the two *Ouse-burns* in Yorkshire, which have retained their name, and *Ouse-thorpe* and *Ouse-fleet* in the same county, which probably derive their names from the river.

Λεγίων δευτέρα σεβαστή. Ptolemy, it may be added, also gives as one of the cities of the Dobuni, together with Venta (i. e. Winchester) and the Hot Springs (i. e. Bath), Ἴσχαλις, which may perhaps be identified with Il-chester in Somerset, and which thus seems also to contain the root word for river.

[1] The name *Wusa* is given in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles under the year 905 to the East Anglian Ouse. And the name *Usa* under the year 1010 to the same, with special reference to the upper part near to Bedford. Both Florence of Worcester and Simeon of Durham employ the term Usa for that river as well as for the Yorkshire Ouse.

[2] The discussion of the root form of the Celtic word for water would be beside the purpose of these remarks, though Us or Use may be noted as common to both Usk and Ouse, and in all probability the *Isca* of the Romans was a latinization of *Uisk* rather than of Ise. Further, it is possible that Esk was intermediate between Uisk or Isk, though it must be confessed that no trace of it can be produced in the south of Britain. The numerous cases in which Æsc appears in the southern districts are all more readily traceable to the Teutonic for the mountain-ash tree.

[3] The name of *Ock* for the river will be considered later on. See p. 363.

[4] 'Teutonic nations inhabiting a county with Celtic names have unconsciously endeavoured to twist those names into a form in which they would be susceptible of explanation from Teutonic sources. The instances are innumerable.' Isaac Taylor's *Words and Places*, second ed., 1865, p. 466; third ed. revised, p. 265.

[5] The classical writers do not help us much. Besides the river Isca, Ptolemy gives Ὀξέλα as a town of the Dumnonii, and just before Tamare and Isca; while the geographer of Ravenna gives *Uxela* and an *Uxelis*. Possibly the former is represented by Exeter, and Lostwithiel, on the Fowey, in Cornwall, occupies the site of the latter, but it seems to show a hardening of the sound of the river word before the advent of the Saxon. Further, the latter geographer has given *Axium* in his list of rivers, but as he did not compile his geography till the middle of the seventh century, he may have had opportunities of hearing of a later nomenclature. At the same time he keeps *Isca*, intending it for a different river.

The names of Ous-den, Suffolk; Ous-ton, Durham and Leicester and Northumberland; and Ous-by, Cumberland, may have nothing to do with the river at all.

In Domesday we find only one or two names which have the prefix *Ous*, namely an Ous-torp in Yorkshire, and another in Lincolnshire, an Oustewic (now spelt Owst-wick), and an Oustre-feld in Yorkshire (which does not appear to have survived); also an Ouse-ton in Bedfordshire, but this is elsewhere in Domesday spelt Houstone, and is now Houghton Conquest. It is doubtful therefore if any of these throw light on the survival of the river-name Ouse; but while possibly under other forms the name has survived, the consideration of the cases would only lead for the most part into a field of guesswork[1].

When, however, we go back to documents before the Conquest, here and there traces are found of the Ouse, e.g. in *Osan-ige* and *Osan-lea*. To weigh the bearing of the former of these some historical considerations are necessary to be taken into account, because at first sight it appears to give certain evidence of the change of Osan-ige into Oxn-ey, and would therefore distinctly support the change of Osanford into Oxanford.

A copy of the will of Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury (*ob.* 1005) is preserved in the Abingdon series, and judging from internal evidence the Abingdon chronicler has transcribed the original accurately, and he has added to it a Latin translation. By his will the Archbishop bequeaths certain lands to Abingdon but more to S. Alban's, and amongst the latter he gives land at Great Tew (*apud Tiuuan*) and *Osan-ig*, with land in London which he had purchased[2]. According to the *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani*, the early portion of which is supposed to have been compiled by Matthew Paris himself, a record is introduced of a certain abbot Ælfric, who is made to succeed Leofric his brother, who died in 1006. Here, however, there is abundant reason to suppose that Matthew Paris has confused the order of the two brothers, and that when the S. Alban's chronicler narrates the good deeds of Abbot Ælfric, he is practically relating what Archbishop Ælfric had done for the abbey, and amongst them he says that he purchased from the king for a thousand marks *Oxon-age* and Eadulfintona, which had been put in pledge[3]. Here we have mention of land which

[1] In the Domesday of Kent there is an *Os-pringes*, which name still survives near to Faversham. And in that of Yorkshire there is an *Os-princ*, which is now called Ox-pring (near the source of the Don). This apparently provides an instance of the change of the *Os* into *Ox*.

[2] *Chron. Mon. Ab.*, Rolls Series, i. p. 418.

[3] *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani*, Rolls Series, 1867, vol. i. p. 33. See also the note by Mr. Riley, p. 30, in which he shows that this Ælfric was the tenth abbot and was made archbishop, and that Leofric his brother was the eleventh. Further it may be remarked that the bequests of the will and the benefactions recorded agree in other particulars; e.g. as regards Eadulfinton, the following appears in the will, in the Latin translation: 'Et hoc apud ipsum suum dominum erat interveniens ut concederet loco Sancti Albani terram apud Cingesbiri et ipse in commutatione reciperet Eadulfingham.' Further than this, the S. Alban Chronicles refer to the gifts, both of Tew and Kingsbury. Other points show that the lands referred to in the different documents are identical.

in the tenth century, as shown by the original will of the Archbishop of Canterbury, had still the name of *Osan-ige*; when, however, the thirteenth century chronicler puts together his notes he spells the name *Oxon-age*. But later still, and throughout the S. Alban's Registers, it is spelt *Ox-ey*[1], and on the Ordnance map *Ox-bey*[2].

But concurrently with this we find in a volume of thirteenth century transcripts of documents relating to S. Alban, that of a charter of Ethelred, dated 1007[3], mentioning certain lands then granted or confirmed by the King, and amongst them *Oxan-gebæge*, and from the general contents of the charter there is no reason to doubt that it refers to the same land mentioned in the will of Archbishop Ælfric. So that we are met apparently by the difficulty of two different names for the ground at the same time, supposing of course that the transcribers have each followed the original copy. For it is not simply a change of a few letters. The *Osan-ige* of the will is the 'Ouse island.' The *Oxan-gebæge* of the charter is the 'Ox-paddock.' The form ending in *ige* or *ey* or island is followed through all the medieval documents, as *Ox-ey* seems to be the name by which their manor was known to the monks at S. Alban's. The *Ox-bey* of the map, however, seems to reflect the *bæge* of the charter.

The argument, therefore, rests upon the priority of the name in the will of Archbishop Ælfric, and on the assumption of it being rightly copied. It is another question whether the name was derived from the name *Ouse* having been once applied to the stream which now bears the name of Colne, and which is the next important tributary to the Thames, after the Thame on its northern bank: but it may be added that on this same Colne *Ux*-bridge is situated, the origin of which is open to question, since no early documents have been observed in which the name occurs.

On the whole, then, while it cannot be proved that *Osan-ige* was the only name of the place in the tenth and eleventh century, it does appear the place had that name. How far *Oxan-gebæg* was a contemporary name, or how far it is possibly due to the gradual change going forward from the 'Ouse island' to 'Ox paddock,' there are not sufficient data on which to arrive at a definite conclusion: but in either case we have a precedent for an interchange of *Ouse* and *Ox*.

With respect to Osan-lea[4], though the charter which grants the land to Abingdon Abbey in the year 984 has the boundaries of the land attached,

[1] In one place in the Register (p. 476), under Abbot Rogers' additions to the monastery 1260–90, it is spelt *Ok-ey*, i. e. 'villis de Crokeley, Okey, et Mykelfield.'

[2] The identification of the district to the south of Watford and on the left bank of the river Colne, which is marked in the Ordnance Survey in one or two places Oxhey, is not certain, but no trace of any other is found. It would appear to have been broken up into more than one manor. In Abbot Rogers' time (1260–90) we find Oxey Walrand, and in Abbot Thomas' time (1349–96) we find Oxey Richard.

[3] This will be found printed in Kemble's *C. D.* vol. vi. No. 1304, p. 158.

[4] It consists of a piece of land of two hydes, 'ubi vulgus relatio dicitur æt *Osan-lea*,' given to Abingdon in 984 (*Chron. Mon. Ab.*, i. p 393). It may perhaps best be referred to one of the two manors of *Ose-lei* mentioned in the Domesday Survey, fol. 51 a, col. 1, in Hampshire. The Yorkshire Domesday has an *Ose-le* (fol. 316 a, col. 2), but this is less probable. The modern names of neither of these have been identified.

it has been found impossible to identify it satisfactorily. The abbey does not seem to have retained it long or it would have appeared again in their records, but no trace of any sale or exchange, or even the slightest reference to it, is found beyond this single document, so that any argument to be derived from it would be valueless. Still, it exists as an early example of the name Ouse being retained to that date.

These solitary instances rather go to show how much the name Ouse had been superseded in all compounds in which the name entered. There are, moreover, only two charters in which the *Use* appears named as the river bounding the properties granted; unfortunately they do not admit of the site of the land referred to being with certainty identified[1].

Next it may be objected that there is no evidence that the river at Oxford ever bore the name of Ouse; and further that this river from its first appearance in history has borne the name of Thames. To meet these objections it will be necessary to enter into one or two considerations which may at first sight appear to be somewhat of a digression; but it must be borne in mind that the nature of the discussion is a peculiar one, inasmuch as we are considering historical facts, relating to the district at a date before we have any historical records of that district; hence the case must inevitably rest upon the evidence which can be obtained by, as it were, reflected light—reflected, that is, from events and circumstances belonging to a much later period.

The objection arising from the known name of the river being the Thames, and therefore that the name Ouse is excluded, is met at once by the consideration that the name Thames or Tem-ese is composed of two words, the latter, as has been noticed, being a dialectic form of the river-names amongst which also the Ouse is included. The form in which the name Thames first comes before us does not militate against this view. In the two places[2] where it is mentioned by Caesar, in his Commentaries, written B. C. 55, it is always spelt in the MSS. as Tam-esis. In the annals of Tacitus[3], written *circa* A. D. 80, it is written Tam-esa. In the Geography of Ptolemy (*c.* A. D. 120) several rivers are given, but unfortunately the arrangement he has followed involves his omission of the Thames, though

[1] In the grant of King Æthelred to a certain Elfhere in 979 of land at Ollan-ege, it would perhaps appear that Olney in Bucks must be meant, since it lies on the banks of the Ouse. Amongst the boundaries occur 'Andlang broces inon Use; andlang Use on Wilinford; of tham forde andlang Use to Kekan were; of Kekan were andlang Use on Caluwan wer' (Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. iii. No. 621). But no traces of these names now exist. In the case of Niwantun, there are so many Newingtons it is impossible to say whether there is a river near the place still bearing the name or whether the word is meant for a river at all. The boundaries run, 'And than to Use stæthe on Ealferthes hlæw' (Kemble, *C. D.*, vol. v. No. 1114). The form Usan-mere and Us-mere are also found, which probably refer to the river.

[2] *Caesar de Bello Gallico.* 'Cujus fines a maritimis civitatibus flumen dividit quod adpellatur Tamesis' (Lib. v. § 11). 'Caesar cognito consilio eorum ad flumen Tamesin in fines Cassivellauni exercitum duxit' (ibid. § 18).

[3] *Taciti Annales.* 'Visamque speciem in aestuario Tamesae subversae coloniae' (Lib. xiv. cap. 32).

he names amongst those on the southern shore of Britain both the Tamar and the Isc or Exe[1].

In the third century we have Dion Cassius copying Tacitus and spelling the word *Tam-esa*. But few other classical writers name the Thames[2], and with these, as well as with our own early writers, we find much the same spelling adopted. We cannot trust, perhaps, the MS. copies of Gildas and Nennius, each of whom once mention the Thames; the best MSS., however, give respectively Tham-esis and Tam-isia. In Beda we have in one passage Tam-esis, but in all others the adjectival form of Tamensis fluvius. Probably, however, the earliest and the first actual English form is that given by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the account of Caesar's invasion, where it is spelt *Tæm-ese*. Two of the later copies make this Temese, and throughout the rest of the earliest copy of the Chronicle, and in most of the others wherever the word occurs (and it occurs about twenty times), it is written *Tem-ese*. In this it would appear that the two component parts of the word as understood by the people of the country are clearly set forth, i. e. *Tem* and *ese*.

If we turn to the Charters we find the more common form of the *Tem-ese* sometimes *Tæm-ese*, rarely *Tem-is*, and its Latin representative *Tam-isia*. The medieval historians adopt mainly Tamesis, and very frequently the adjectival form of Tamensis.

The first word of the compound, namely *Tam*, is found preserved in other rivers throughout the country, i. e. the Tamar[3], the Teme, the Thame, &c., and they have left their names in towns such as Tamborn and Tamworth in Staffordshire, a Tamworth in Warwickshire, and a Tamerton both in Devonshire and in Cornwall. There has been some discussion about the meaning of the word, but probably 'wide spreading' is the simplest as well as the most accurate interpretation, the name being derived from the large expanse of meadow land which is laid under water in flood time, when the river overflows its banks.

The suffix of *ese*, however, is the most important. Neither *ese* nor *ise* are known to exist as distinct names of rivers in this country, but, as already pointed out, they must belong to the same class as the Uisk and the Ouse, and if we go across the Channel we find the *Oise*, which gives its name to two Departments, and which must be a member of the same family. Further, the *Isca* of the Antonine Itinerary and the Ἴσακα of Ptolemy, as already pointed out, prove the existence of a form approaching Ise.

The direct evidence now for the Thames at Oxford having been called the Ouse lies in the circumstance that one of the islands, which may well have received its name as early as Oxford itself, became, in the year 1129,

[1] *Claudii Ptolomaei Geographia*, Lib. ii. cap. 3. Ταμάρον ποτ. ἐκβολαι.—Ἰσάκα ποτ. ἐκβολαι.

[2] *Paulus Orosius*, writing in 417 of Caesar's invasion, according to the MSS., has Thamesis as the name of a river, but the anonymous Geographer of Ravenna, who wrote *circa* 650, puts Tamese amongst his list of cities next after London.

[3] The Tamar is found noted as a river by Ptolemy (see above, note 1). He also amongst the cities of the Dumnonia gives the names Ταμαρή and Ἴσκα. The anonymous Geographer of Ravenna (*circa* A. D. 640) gives amongst cities Tamaris. Possibly Tamer-ton occupies the site.

the site of an important monastery, and that form of the name was at once stereotyped, so to speak, in the Abbey of *Osan-eia*, that is the island of the Ouse[1], so that the form has been retained to the present day, without having been corrupted into any other. The variations of the name itself amongst the charters and chronicles are very limited, seldom departing from *Osan* or *Osen* for the affix, and when written in full either *ea* or *eia* or *eye*[2], for the suffix. This is not only shown throughout the large number of charters which are found in the cartulary of the abbey itself, but from the frequent reference to Oseney in other cartularies, as well as from the entries in Rolls of various kinds. One exception has been observed, namely in a single charter in the Bodleian Collection[3], in which the 'Abbot of *Oxen-ea*' is named; the charter is not dated, but internal evidence shows it to be about the middle of the thirteenth century[4]. No other charter in the same collection (and there are several with Oseney mentioned in one way or another) has this form, nor has it been observed in others; so that a late solitary exception amongst perhaps a thousand instances, dating from the early part of the twelfth century onwards, must be attributed to the error of the scribe rather than any chance survival of an earlier form of the name. That it might represent what the scribe had heard the place sometimes called in his time is possible, but then this would rather point to that tendency, already described, of the substitution of a known name for an unknown; in other words the occasional corruption of Ousen-eye into Oxen-eye would rather illustrate the growth of Ox-ford from Ousen-ford. That it has even been called Oxeny in modern times would have been doubted, were it not that on the Ordnance map of 1830 *Oxny Mill* appeared[5]. The evidence taken as a whole, therefore, points to the fact that an '*eye*' or island in the river at this point bore the name of Ousen-eye from the earliest time when it comes into history; and as it is contrary to the order of the corruption of names that a known English word should be corrupted into an unknown of the same length, it must be assumed that the name *Ousen-eye* was given at the time when and for the sole reason because the river there was called the *Ouse*.

Another singular piece of evidence may here be adduced which seems to show the connection or rather the identity of the *Ese* and the *Ouse*, that is to say, the same river may have been called sometimes one, sometimes the other. There is an important river now bearing the name of Ouse, which

[1] Isaac Taylor, however, in *Words and Places*, finds in the *n* in Ose-n-ey not the Saxon genitive, but 'probably a relic of the Celtic *innis* or island' (ed. 1865, p. 204).

[2] In one case, in a Close Roll of King John's reign (anno 15, memb. 9), the form Osen-heye has been observed.

[3] For this important example the writer is indebted to E. B. Nicholson, M.A., Bodley's Librarian.

[4] The charter runs, 'Sciant omnes gentes quod ego Aeliz Ghernio quondam uxor Henrici de Tomelee defuncto dedi, etc. ij solidos redditus quos abbas Oxenee reddit ibi annuatim.' No. 439, Original Charters, Oxfordshire: described in Turner's Bodleian Charters, 1878, p. 372.

[5] In later editions of the map, since the railways were inserted, it appears to have been omitted. In the 25-inch scale map it is spelt Osney.

rises near the southern borders of Northamptonshire. It flows past Buckingham, Stony-Stratford (where the Watling Street crosses the stream), and Olney; but before it reaches Bedford it is joined by a tributary called the Ousel, which rises at the northern extremity of the Chiltern Hills, near to Dunstable[1]. The main stream, after passing Bedford, flows by a town named Tempsford[2], and then passes Huntingdon and St. Ives, soon after which it receives the waters of the Cam, and then passes Ely, and draining the great fen country of Cambridgeshire and Norfolk flows into the Wash. In this part of England it must have appeared as important as the Tam-ese itself. It is therefore at first sight a very singular fact that a river which must have once borne the name of *Ouse*, and bears it still, should ever have borne at any time, with any settlers, the name of the Tam-ese. And yet it was so, for at the place where the river was forded a town grew up which bore the name of Tam-esan-ford, i. e. the ford of the Tam-ese.

Under the year 921, in describing the ravages of the Danish army about Bernwood and Aylesbury, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle narrates:—

> 'At the same time the army from Huntingdon and from the East Angles, went and wrought the work at *Tæm-ese-ford*, and inhabited it, and built, and forsook the other at Huntingdon[3].'

Nearly a century later on—that is, under the year 1010—and in describing the ravages of the Danish army belonging to that period of their invasion, the same Chronicle has the following:—

> 'And *Theod-ford* (Thetford) they burned and *Granta-bricge* (Cambridge), and afterwards went again southwards to the *Tem-ese*; and the horsed-men rode towards the ships, and then again quickly turned westward to *Oxena-ford-scire*, and thence to *Buccinga-ham-scire*, and so 'andlang *Usan*' (along the Ouse), till they came to *Bede-forda* and so forth as far as *Tem-esan-ford*, and ever burned as they went[4].'

The two passages are given in full in order to show that there can be no doubt whatever as to the place meant, and as we have the chronicles written nearly a hundred years apart, there is no reason to suppose that it is a chance spelling.

[1] The Ousel is also crossed by the Watling Street at Fenny Strat-ford, to be distinguished from the ford over the main stream of the Ouse at Stony Strat-ford.

[2] At Tempsford the Ouse is joined by the Ivel, which rises just within the border of Bedfordshire due south of Tempsford; and this seems to have something of the Celtic form remaining (cf. Wivels-field, Sussex; Wivil-is-combe, Somerset; and Wivels-ford on the Avon in Wiltshire). The Ivil (on which the chief place is now called Biggleswade—Bicheles-wade in Domesday) is joined a little higher up by a considerable stream, called on the map the Wiz, on which lies Ickle-ford. Hitchin is spelt Hiz in Domesday, and gives its name to the Hundred.

[3] From the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A. *sub anno* 921.

[4] From the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle C, *sub anno* 1010 (Chronicles A and B, as already pointed out, have practically ceased). Chronicle D follows very closely, also Chronicle E. The passage is wanting in F. The various readings are but few. Theotford D, Grantabrycge E, Oxenafordascire D, Oxnafordscire E, Bucinghamscire E, Bedanforda, D, E.

Nor does this passage stand alone, for we trace the gradual change. The place is four times mentioned in the Domesday Survey, and each time Tam-ise-forde[1], and when we turn to the Chartulary of St. Neot's we find a charter as late as 1129 containing the name *Tam-ise-ford*[2], and when we turn to the Valor Ecclesiasticus of Henry VIII we find the property entered as Tem-ys-ford[3]. In these three cases we find the name spelt precisely as the River Thames may be found spelt at the respective ages; that is, the Ouse was called the Thames. It would appear, therefore, that *Ouse* and *Ese* were alternative names for the same river, and the affix *Tam* sometimes used, and sometimes omitted; probably omitted by the people of the county who knew only of their own Ouse, but with the affix by strangers who had knowledge of other rivers called by the name of *Ouse* or *Ese*.

But there is another singular circumstance which still further shows the uncertainty of river nomenclature. It has been mentioned that while one of the chief branches of the Ouse rises near to Banbury, the other rises near to Dunstable, and bears the name, for the sake of distinction, of Ousel. In the same district as the latter, and apparently with the tributaries of the one interspersed amidst the tributaries of the other, as shown on the map, rises another river[4], which with considerable windings flows southward into the Thames, and which bears the name of, and has given its name to the town of, *Thame*[5]. Thus we have an instance of one river bearing the name of the affix by itself, while the other bears the name of the suffix by itself. The *Thame* flows southward, and joins the *Tham-ese*, the same name which the northern stream, i. e. the Ouse, bore previously in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Names of course being given for distinction their varieties must be attributed to that cause; but how the Northfolk and Southfolk, and West Saxons and East Saxons came to any agreement as to distinctive names for the rivers which passed through rather than bounded[6] their several provinces it is of course impossible to determine.

[1] Domesday, folio 210 a, col. 2; 212 a, col. 2; 216 a, col. 2; 218 b, col. 1.

[2] Printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. iii. p. 473. 'Millesimo c°. xxix. ab incarnatione Domini anno XVII Kal. Maii . . . Rob. de Carun . . . dedit Deo et Sanctae Mariae Becc. et Sancto Neoto . . . unam insulam in manerio suo de Tamiseford.

[3] Ibid. p. 481.

[4] The easternmost stream, and that which rises nearest the source of the Ouse, bears on the map the name of 'Thistle' brook, which appears very suggestive of a corruption of 'The Ousel brook.' Indeed it is quite possible, bearing in mind the connection between the Ouse, Ese, or Ise. that the original name might have been 'The Issel' brook. This is perhaps the chief of the two sources of the Thame.

[5] The river Thame is mentioned in the boundaries of the land belonging to Wynchendon, which was given or confirmed to S. Frideswide by King Æthelred in 1004 (see *ante*, p. 143), '*into Tame-streme;* andlang *Tame-streme* . . .' &c. There is also mention of the *Tamu* villa in charters in the Chertsey Cartulary; and though they may be spurious as regards the grant, yet so far as the names are concerned they are valuable. (Kemble, *C. D.* vol. v. 988.)

[6] The Little Ouse which joins the great Ouse a little below Ely, it should be added, forms the boundary for a considerable distance between Norfolk and Suffolk,

The argument to be derived from these considerations is that a part of the river bearing now the name of *Ouse*, having originally borne the name of Tam-ese, both being Celtic names of the same family, there is nothing *a priori* improbable that the Tam-ese in places once bore the name of Ouse. In the one case, *Tam-esan-ford* or Tempsford on the Ouse points to the old name, in the other *Ousen-eye* or Osney, on the Thames, may reasonably point to the old name also.

The fact of the Thames being composed of the two Celtic words *Tham* and *ese*, and that the latter was a word applied especially to the upper part of the Thames proper, has been more or less frequently laid stress upon by older writers. The theory that the word Isis was a fanciful name given by Camden to the upper part of the river will not hold good. He probably gave currency to the name, but the view had been put forward as early as the fourteenth century by the anonymous author of the *Eulogium Historiarum*.

> 'Tama-isa is a river dividing the eastern part of England, and flows by London, and falls into the North Sea; but it takes its rise from a little spring near Cirencester, and is there called *Isa*; then flowing as far as the town (? *vicum*) which is called Tame, there the name is composed of two streams, and is called *Tam-ise* from the compound [1].'

Elsewhere the same writer says:—

> 'Thamisia seems to be composed of two rivers which are *Thama* and *Isa*; but *Tham* runs by Dorcestria and there falls *into* 'Ysia,' whence the whole of the river from its source as far as the sea is called *Tamys*. For it rises from a certain little spring by Tettebury near Circestria [2].

Leland perhaps follows this when he writes:—

> 'Tame and *Ise* metith aboute half a Mile beneth *Dorchestre* Bridg in the Medowis [3].'

Leland also frequently speaks of the Isis as the name of the upper Thames, e. g.:—

> 'A litle a this side the Bridge over the *Ise* at *Abbingdon* is a Confluence of 2 Armes that brekith aboute the Est Ende of *Abbingdon*-Abbay out of the hole streame of the *Ise*, and make 2 litle Isles or Mediamnes.

the Waveney forming the remainder. Another stream which runs parallel to the little Ouse and falls into the great Ouse just before it reaches Downham Market, is named in the map 'The Wissey.' This seems again to be a dialectic form connected with the Ise or Wisc.

[1] Printed from the *Eulogium Historiarum*, Rolls Series, 1860, vol. ii. p. 8. The author seems to have been writing this part of his work between 1360 and 1366.

[2] Ibid. p. 147.

[3] *Lelandi Itinerary*, Hearne's edition, 1745, vol. ii. pp. 12–24. See also *ante*, p. 15, note 1. Also frequently in the *Cygnea Cantio*, e. g.

> 'Mox cerno Hydropolim [Dorchester] sacram, Birino
> Quondam praesule, confluentiamque
> Tamae ac Isidis: insuper vetusti
> Castri culmina lapsa Sinnoduni.'

'The greath Bridge at *Abbingdon* over *Ise* hath a 14 Arches.

'A very litle beneth *S. Helenes* cummith *Och* Ryver thorough the Vale of *Whit-Horse* into *Isis*.

'Ther cummith a litle bek by *Pulton*, that after goit at 2 Mille a litle above into the *Isis*.

'Then cummith *Amney*-Broke into *Isis*.

'The Hed of *Isis* in *Coteswalde* risith about a Mile a this side *Tetbyri*.'

Camden also treats the matter in a poetical strain as follows:—

'Below this the Tame and Isis uniting do as it were join hands in wedlock, and with their streams unite their names; and as the Jor and Dan in the holy land, and the Dor and Dan in France form the Jordan and Dordan; so these rivers go by the compound name of Thamisis.'

In later editions a poem attributed to Bishop Gibson is printed[1]. But while the theory that the junction of the Isis or Ouse and Thame made Tamisis is fanciful, and has nothing to support it, it contains, as has been pointed out, a truth that the two names are combined in the one river. Though the whole river in all historical documents has borne the name of the Tam-ese and never that of the Ouse or Ise, enough has probably been adduced to show that a part of the river probably once bore the name of Ouse; possibly of Ese or Ise[2]. It is doubtful too if the name Isis was locally given to this part of the river till the sixteenth century, and then in consequence of the etymological notes of the author of the Eulogium or of Leland or of Camden, coupled perhaps with the poetical effusions which they called forth[3]; but for all that it was only the bringing to light a hidden truth.

One other form of a river-name still exists in the neighbourhood, which may perhaps bear upon the discussion, and that is 'the Ock.' Its whole course is shown in the map which accompanies this volume, and we have, in consequence of the existence of the Abingdon Cartulary, several copies of charters which give the name as it was written in this century In charters of this century we find the stream frequently mentioned amongst the boundaries of those manors which border the Ock. In those of Scaringford (*Shillingford*) we find 'eft on *Eoccen*'; of Gosige (Goosey) 'andlang *Eoccen*': of Linford (Lyford) 'betweox *Ebcene* and *Cilla ritbe*'; of Cyngestun (Kingston Bagpuize) 'Ærest of *Eoccene*': of Fifhide (Fyfield) 'Ærest of *Eoccan*': of Garanford (Garford) 'anlang *Eoccen*[4].' Close to Abingdon itself the Abbey property was naturally very extensive, and we find amongst the boundaries 'eft ut on Temese; thæt up be

[1] Printed in Camden's *Britannia*, London, 1789, vol. i. p. 291.

[2] There is however an *Eis-ey* still existing in Gloucestershire, a mile to the north-east of Cricklade, which may be so called from this part of the Thames where the 'ey' is formed, having borne a name the sound of which was expressed by *eis*.

[3] The idea of the marriage of the Thame and the Isis has been a frequent subject with poets, e. g. Spenser, Pope, Drayton, &c.

[4] *Chron. Mon. Ab.* vol. i. pp. 65, 15, 107, 350, 324, 95.

streame on *Occenes* grestundic; thæt a be dic on *Eccen*; thæt ther up eft on *Eccenforda*[1].'

Here is careless writing, but there can be no question that the proper way of spelling the name was *Eocce*. As the Chronicle proceeds, medieval additions of the twelfth and thirteenth century are made, so that we find various spellings. The mill near to Abingdon (which still exists and is called the Ockmill) we find referred to as 'Molendinum contiguum ponti fluminis *Eoche*'; elsewhere 'Molendinum de *Okke*.' While in their accounts we find 'Molendinum de *Occha*' and 'super *Eocha*.' In the narrative in the *De Abbatibus* of what Abbot Athelwold did, we read that he made a 'ductum sub dormitorio usque ad aquam quae dicitur *Hokke*[2].' From these entries we obtain tolerably sure evidence as to how the name was pronounced.

Whether or not the word *Eoc* is an early dialectic form of the general river-name is open to discussion. No evidence from the Roman names left to us has been observed which implies that in Celtic times this variation had taken place; and perhaps taking all into account the form in which it is found may, with more probability, be referred to the sound which the followers of Cerdic and Cynric gave to the word. This affluent, it will be observed by the map, flows for a short distance parallel with the main stream, so much so that there were one or two manors in the tenth century, bounded on the north by one, and the south by the other. If the theory of the dialectic form of Ock be admitted, it directly points to some common form from which the two names *Osen-ey* and *Eoccenford* have resulted. The hardening of Osen-eye would have produced naturally Occen-ey, and so the ford might have been called Occen-ford; and though we have no direct evidence of this, in consequence of the Osen-eye having retained its original soft sound, and the ford near it having obtained the more intelligible form of Oxenford, still by the tributary acquiring the name some light seems to be thrown upon the changes which had taken place before the eleventh century in the names of the rivers of the district[3].

It has not been thought necessary to discuss further the name of *Rhydychen*, since there is little doubt it owes its origin to the ingenuity of Geoffrey of Monmouth (see *ante*, pp. 18–19). At the same time it has come to be accepted very generally as a real name[4].

Viewing then the whole by the reflected light which existing river-

[1] *Chron. Mon. Ab.* vol. i. p. 126. Elsewhere in the cartulary, when these boundaries are given, the names are written Eoccenes and Eoccen. Ibid. i. p. 176.

[2] *Chron. Mon. Ab.*, vol. ii. pp. 10, 291, 306, 322, and 278.

[3] The form *Ock* was not however confined to the south of the Thames. Amongst the boundaries of S. Frideswide attached to King Ethelred's charter of 1004 occurs the following: 'From the acre to the *Ock*-mere, from that mere to *Zeftele* (Iffley); from Iffley to the brook, from the brook to the Cherwell.'

[4] To take the latest work of any credit on names of places, we find:—'Camboritum, the ancient name of Cambridge, gives us the Celtic root *rhyd*, a ford, which we find also in *Rhedecina*, the British name of Oxford.' Isaac Taylor's *Words and Places*, 2nd ed. p. 254.

nomenclature throws upon the ancient river-nomenclature where it has been lost, we seem to obtain very strong evidence for the probability of the name of Ouse or some cognate form of the river-word having been applied at one time to the Thames as it flows past Oxford. That a ford over that river should be called from the river, is more likely to have been the case than from certain cattle which may have crossed the river. It has been shown that the Thames itself has one of the dialectic forms of Ouse within it, and it has been shown also that these forms seem to have been used indifferently. The addition of the prefix *Tam* also, both by its being retained now by itself without a suffix for one stream, while it has been lost in another not far off in which it was once an essential part, seems to prove that the use of the prefix was arbitrary. And lastly, the Osen eye, close by the ford, has retained its softer sound, while a tributary stream has acquired a hard sound very similar to that which was acquired in Oxford.

It must be admitted that all this amounts only to circumstantial evidence; but then, it is a case in which only circumstantial evidence can be obtained. What has been attempted here is to put that evidence before the reader. Though it may perhaps appear that a disproportionate number of pages has been given to the second theory as compared with those given in the first, the quantity must not be allowed to weigh in favour of the second nor yet the reverse. The easy and so more concise statement of the evidence in favour of the first theory is due to the nature of the case; we are then treading on historical ground: the difficulties which apparently have to be met as regards the second, and the necessity of occupying a considerable space with illustration, are due to the fact that we are treading ground comparatively prehistoric; but the difference of treatment ought to have no weight in the conclusion.

APPENDIX C.

On the Coins supposed to have been struck at Oxford during King Ælfred's reign.

Some stress has been laid in the argument for the early importance of Oxford on the fact that it had a mint in Ælfred's reign. For instance, Dr. Ingram, under his account of New Inn Hall, has the following:—

> 'The mint in this city is of very high antiquity. It can even boast of a specimen, remaining to this day, of money struck here by King Alfred [1].'

And there seems to be a notion prevalent that, since certain coins which are supposed to have been struck in Oxford have the name of Alfred upon them, therefore King Ælfred had a residence here. The argument, however, to be derived from the existence of this coin, with the name of the moneyer, and supposed to be struck at Oxford, is stated with more historical precision by the late Mr. Green in his *Conquest of England.*

> 'Coinage in the old world was the unquestioned test of kingship, and a mint which Ælfred set up at Oxford within the borders of the Mercian Ealdormanry proves even more than the submissive words of Witan or Ealdorman the reality of his rule. In fact, Wessex and Mercia were now united, as Wessex and Kent had long been united by their allegiance to the same ruler [2].'

Whether regarded, then, as sustaining the theory of Alfred's direct connection with the city of Oxford, or implying a more definite rule over the district than would perhaps be otherwise warranted by the evidence derived from the chroniclers, the coins in question deserve attention; and it has been thought well to devote one of the appendices to a few words respecting their discovery, and to the nature of the evidence which they are supposed to afford.

It must be premised, however, that it is not intended in this, more than in the previous appendix, to enter upon the general history of the Oxford coinage, which, as already said, requires a treatise to itself.

There is only one type of coin, though many varieties bearing the

[1] Ingram's *Memorials of Oxford*—New Inn Hall, p. 8. Ingram adds, 'King Athelstan, who began his reign in 924, appointed two mints for Oxford; from which an inference may fairly be drawn of its increased prosperity.' But on turning to Athelstan's laws (printed in Thorpe, vol. i. p. 207), as regards the appointment of mints the name of Oxford does not appear, nor can it be guessed at all what authority Dr. Ingram had for his statement.

[2] *The Conquest of England*, by John Richard Green, 1883, p. 144.

letters (more or less accurately represented), ORSNA-FORDA; and there appear to have been two discoveries only, so far as have been recorded, in which this type of coin has been met with.

The circumstances attending the first discovery are as follows: 'As far back as 1611 a hoard of coins was found in Lancashire, the description of which is best taken from the engraved plate which represents thirty-five of them:—

> 'A true purtraiture of sundrie coynes found the 8 of Aprill and other daies following in the yeare 1611 in a certaine place called the Harkirke within the lordship of litle Crosbie [in ye parish] of Sephton in the countie of Lancaster wch place—William Blundell, of the said litle Crosbie Esquire inclosed from the residue of the said Harkirke for the buriall of such Catholick recusantes deceasing either of the said village or of the adjoyning neighbourhood as shoulde be denied buriall at their parish church of Sephton [1].'

No very accurate account of the circumstances attending the find has been met with, and it is more than probable that the workmen, as is usually the case with finds of this sort, got rid of several before the notice of responsible persons was drawn to the discovery. Mr. Hawkins, in an account of another find, which will be referred to immediately, says that thirty-five coins only were noted[2], of which all, excepting those of S. Peter, were common in type to the later Cuerdale find. Only one is noticed of the Orsnaford type, and it is possible this is the one which eventually found its way to the Bodleian Library; but it is difficult at this distance of time, and with the careless descriptions and statements of writers and inaccurate drawings of artists, to trace objects of this kind. It is also difficult to discover when the letters ORSNA-FORDA were first attributed to Oxford; for it does not appear that in the seventeenth century any writer suggested the application. So far from it, Spelman, in his life of Ælfred, when engraving the coin, and that in a work in which he brings together all evidence he can respecting that king and especially as regards Ælfred's connection with Oxford, makes the remark:—

> 'What is meant by No. 14 I do not know; I imagine, however, that it was a coin of Ælfred of Northumbria, since the letters seem to be of an ancient kind [3].'

[1] A copy of the plate is preserved at the end of Harleian MS., No. 1437. Sephton is six miles south-west from Ormskirk, in Lancashire.

[2] This small find is said to have consisted of the following: eleven coins of S. Peter, one Archbishop Plegmund, six Ælfred of ordinary type, one Ælfred of the Oxford type (fig. 22), eight Eadweard, four S. Eadmund, one Cunnetti, one Berengarius, one Hludovicus, and one Carlus Rex. (Fr. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1842, vol. v. p. 98.)

[3] Ælfredi Magni Anglorum Regis, a Johanne Spelman, etc., Oxonii: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1678. His words are: 'Quid per No. 14 significetur, ignoro; conjector vero fuisse Ælfredi Northumbrensis, cum literae illae ex antiquis fuisse videntur.' At the commencement of the description of Pl. III, which contains the coins in question, he writes, 'Nummi in hac Tabula descripti reperti sunt Aprilis 8. anno 1611. in loco Harkirk dicto in paroecia Sephtoniae Comitatu Lancastriae, & habentur tum manu descripti in Bibliotheca C. C. C. Oxon. tum aere incisi & excusi.

In Bishop Gibson's translation of Camden's 'Britannia,' 1695, the same coin appears on a plate (Tab. vi. No. 14) to illustrate the account of the Anglo-Saxons, and with notes by the well-known Obadiah Walker, evidently based on those of Spelman; the note in question runs thus:—

> 'Of the fourteenth I understand neither side. The reverse seems to be Bernwaled, unknown to me who he was[1].'

Perhaps the earliest writer who makes the suggestion that the letters are intended for Oxford is Sir Andrew Fountaine. He, in 1705, contributed a treatise upon Saxon coinage to Hickes's Thesaurus[2]. He figures in his first plate, No. 7, a fair representation of this type of coin, and he writes thus:—

> 'No. 7. ORSNA ÆLFRED FORDA. I do not know what the letters placed above and below the king's name mean except *Oxonium*, or, as commonly called, Oxford, for this city at that time was customarily written *Oxnaforda*. As to the letters RS, they may well be an error of the moneyer for X. On the reverse BERN FALD MO netarius[3].'

He does not say whence he derived the coin, but it appears to be different in several respects from that engraved by Spelman, which came from the Harkirk Collection.

In a second edition of Camden's *Britannia* (1722), the whole plate was reproduced, but some additional notes were added from the pen of Ralph Thoresby, F.R.S., one of which runs as follows:—

> '14. ÆLFRED below ORSNA and above FORDA, as it is by Sir Andrew Fountain more correctly described; it seems designed for Oxford, which was sometimes writ Oxnaford, as appears by the Saxon Chronicle *anno* 912. Reverse: BERNFALED or BERNFALD Regis Monetarius, D and R being interwoven in the true draught of it[4].'

Somewhat later (1750) Wise, in his catalogue of the coins in the Bodleian Library, engraves a specimen of this type at the end of his Pl. XVII., and in describing the Anglo-Saxon coins which the plate illustrates, he makes no mention of the specimen in the text (p. 97), but in his notes, printed afterwards (p. 231), he refers to it as having been given, together with

[1] *Britannia*, or a Chorographical Description of Great Britain, written in Latin by William Camden, translated, etc., by Edmund Gibson, D.D., Bishop of London. fol. 1695, p. cxliii.

[2] *Numismata Anglo-Saxonica et Anglo-Danica* breviter illustrata ab Andrew Fountaine Eq. Aur. Oxoniae MDCCV. (forming a portion of Hickes's *Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Thesaurus, etc.*), Part III. p. 169.

[3] The words in the original run: 'Nescio quid Literae supra et infra Regis nomen positae denotent nisi Oxonium seu vulgo Oxford: oppidum enim illud tum temporis scribi solitum est Oxnaforda. Quod attinet ad literas R S erratum haberi possint opificis pro X. In aversa parte, BERN FALD MO netarius.'

[4] *Britannia, etc.*, second edition, fol. 1722, Plate II. No. 14, p. cxc. It is curious how the D in BERNVALD came to be read as R, and it is so on Fountaine's plate which Thoresby must have seen, though not on Walker's plate. The two letters being united must be a guess, as no example warrants it; in all the coins there is but one letter, and that plainly a D.

another coin, to the Bodleian Library while his work was in the press, by John Drake, the York antiquary, and he thus describes the two coins:—

> 'One of Edward the Confessor, . . . the other of our founder Alfred, and likewise stamped with the name of the University ÆLFRED OKSNAFORDA *Ælfredus Oksnaforda* + + + BERNFALD MO. *Bernfaldus Monetarius*[1].'

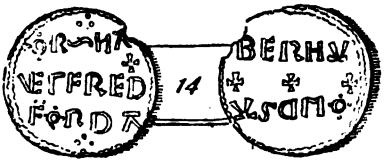
Wise does not admit his obligation to Sir Andrew Fountaine's notes, and leaves it to be inferred that what he gives is his own interpretation of the coin. Yet there is little reason to doubt he has based his statement on those notes. But Sir Andrew does not say the R is a K, nor does his engraving show it; nor do any of the coins of this type in the Bodleian Collection warrant the statement, or the broken R as he represents it in his plate and in his text. It appears to be based only on a misconception of Sir Andrew Fountaine's theory.

Still a little later (1773) we find a development of the myth in the following passage in Sir John Peshall's edition of Anthony a Wood's *Antiquities of Oxford*:—

> 'Money was coined here in this King's Name, called Ocsnafordia, or as others will, Oksnafordia. Ks vel cs for X being often used[2].'

But while his work professes to follow Anthony a Wood, it may be remarked that this passage, like many others, is absolutely an interpolation on the part of Sir John Peshall; no intimation whatever is given to the reader that it is such, leaving it to be inferred that Anthony a Wood was acquainted with the discovery, and that he acquiesced in the theory that the coins were struck at Oxford.

There seems no reason to doubt that the engravings given both by Fountaine and Wise are intended for the one coin now in the Bodleian, catalogued No. 90. An engraving of the coin is given in Ruding's admirable work on the coinage of Great Britain. It is figured and described thus[3]:—



> '14. Obv. ÆLFRED ORSNAFORDA, Oxford. Rev. BERHV VSD MO, 17¾ Bodleian Lib.' [it should be BERNV VIDMO.]

[1] 'Priusquam autem hanc diatribam claudam gratias agendas esse duco Cl. Jo. Drake Antiquario Eboracensi ob duos Sterlingos, post schedas nostras prelo liberatas, armario Bodl: donatos: Unum Edwardi Confessoris . . . . alterum fundatoris nostri Ælfredi, simulque Academiae nomine insignitum,' etc.—*Nummorum Antiquorum scriniis Bodleianis reconditorum catalogus.* Oxon. 1756, p. 231.

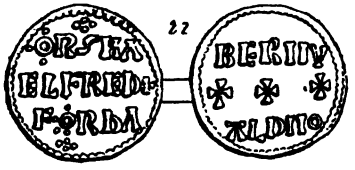
[2] Peshall's *City of Oxford*, London, 1773, p. 10. Wood's original MS. is preserved in the Bodleian Library, and an examination of this part of the work shows that no trace of the passage exists, nor indeed of many other passages which Sir John Peshall has inserted, at the same time tampering with the text in order to introduce them.

[3] Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain*, third ed. 1840, vol. ii. p. 288, and Plates of Anglo-Saxon Coins, Pl. XVI. fig. 14. Ruding, in commenting on the D being changed into R, says 'Wise seems, with unpardonable negligence, to have relied upon Sir A. Fountaine's representation instead of inspecting the coin itself.'

In 1840 one of the largest finds of Saxon coins which has ever occurred took place at a village called Cuerdale[1], also in the county of Lancaster, some twenty-one miles from Sephton before mentioned. This hoard consisted of nearly 7,000 silver coins, together with silver ornaments, most of which had been purposely broken up into fragments, as if intended for the melting-pot[2]. And since this discovery affords a considerable amount of evidence, not only as to the character of this type of coins themselves in respect of the varied spelling and other details, but also in respect of the coins with which the type is associated, it is necessary to consider some of the circumstances under which the coins were collected together.

The collection has been very minutely described by the late Edward Hawkins in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, from which the following particulars are derived[3]. In the find, amongst those coins which had not been dispersed before the necessary precautions were taken, there were sixty-four[4] specimens of silver pennies, which are ascribed to what may be called for convenience the Orsnaford type, though almost all varying from each other in some slight particulars. As will be shown, in nearly all cases the letters are displaced, sometimes very much so, reading partly backwards and partly forwards, and not always the right way upwards.

A representation of the coin numbered 22 in the series of engravings accompanying Mr. Hawkins's paper on the subject is here given. He observes that it is one of the very few which reads correctly, and it would appear to be one struck with a very similar die, though not the same die as the Bodleian coin before referred to.



The legend, it will be seen, runs: *Obverse* ORSNA; then in another line ELFRED+, and in the third line FORDA. *Reverse* BERNV+++ ALDN° (i.e. for M° or Moneta[5]).

[1] Cuerdale is situated near Blackburn, Lancashire, and is about five and a half miles distant to the west of it.

[2] For an account of the silver ornaments found, see Mr. Hawkins's paper in the *Archaeological Journal*, 1847, vol. iv. pp. 111, 189.

[3] The *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. v. 1842, pp. 1–48 and 53–104.

[4] Mr. Hawkins states fifty-four in the text, but in the appendix he mentions that ten more came to hand afterwards. He also refers (p. 4) to a report made by Mr. Hardy to the Duchy of Lancaster on the discovery; but so far as has been ascertained the report does not appear to have been printed. In the accounts presented for the year 1840 there are several items of payment respecting the find, e. g. 'To Mr. Hopkins, of Preston, for services in the matter of the coins found at Cuerdale, 37*l.*' 'To Mr. William Miller, for survey and map of that part of the River Ribble near Cuerdale in which the coins were found, 24*l.*' 'Sundry expenses attending the holding the commission at Preston for prosecuting Her Majesty's title to the said coins found at Cuerdale 46*l.*, besides 33*l.* to the solicitor and record clerk. Also to Mr. Thomas Smart for an oak cabinet to hold the coins found at Cuerdale, 5*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*'—*Parliamentary Papers*, 1841, vol. xiii. No. 124. pp. 36–38.

[5] A set of specimens, containing this and most of the types here figured, and others exhibiting the same kinds of varieties, are deposited in the British Museum.

Had it not been for some specimens of this type apparently more perfect than the rest, the reading of the legend on many of the coins would have been hopeless. For instance, in Nos. 23 and 24 given by Mr. Hawkins,

the letters are so jumbled that it is very hard to conceive that any regular moneyer could have been so unskilful in making his die. So far as they can be read at all, the following appears to be the result:—

23			24		
ANꝺ AS		ONDLA	VDDOF		BIERIV
ꝺERLÆ	=	+ + +	ŒLFRED	=	+ + +
VIIRVO		ANRED	VIIZIIo		AIDIIo

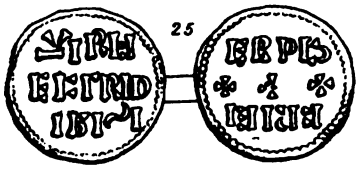
It will be seen that not only the spelling is often reversed, but that some of the letters themselves are so, that is, the moneyer has made the punch for his die the wrong way: several letters also are upside down. Still it may be imagined that on each of the coins the moneyer was trying to produce on the obverse the name of ÆLFRED and on the reverse the name of the moneyer BERNVALD. That he was trying to produce also on the obverse of each the name of ORSNA FORDA is not quite so certain. In No. 23 he may have copied the FASNA from a type coin with FORDA, but it shows a considerable divergence; and at the top of No. 24 he has given in reverse order the letters comprising FORDA, and the other line in this might be read backwards as ONSNA (the S or Z being made of three pieces), though the last two letters may be noted as having a marked resemblance to the NO or MO of the reverse [1].

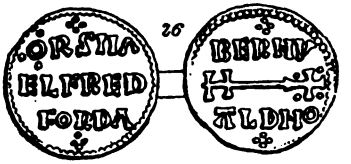
Mr. Hawkins figures also an example (No. 25) belonging to this type of coin which, while it has ELFRID across the middle of the obverse and is in other respects very similar in general character to the rest, has certainly something very far removed from Orsnaforda on that side, and on the reverse something very different from the name of Bernwald [2]. The engraving

[1] As to Orsnaford it will be found that of the ten letters which comprise the word only seven are common to the original and the supposed copy; they are in no order, except that the first three give S, N, A backwards; while the moneyer has inserted A, N, V, instead of O, R, D. As to the Bernvald it is the same; seven letters are common to each (but in worse order than the last), and A, N, D instead of V, M, B, inserted.

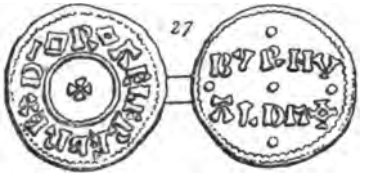
[2] In *Silver Coins of England*, by Edward Hawkins, revised by R. Ll. Kenyon, 1876, p. 128, the following note occurs on this coin: 'The legend on the reverse of the two coins found at Cuerdale is certainly not an imitation of this (i. e. of BERHV ALDHO), but a comparison of figs. 23, 24, 25 makes it, I think, pretty clear that the letters above and below the king's name on the obverse of 25, which look like VIRIF IRISI, are intended for the same as those on 23 and 24, and that they

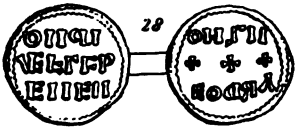
fig. 26 is given partly because it affords another example of what is supposed to be the correct reading of ORSNUFORDA and of BERNVALD MO, and partly because it has on the reverse, instead of the three ordinary crosses,


25


26

a long cross, with two cross bars at the base possibly intended for steps, making what is heraldically termed a cross Calvary, and a pellet for ornament in each of the four corners of the cross. There are other examples of this treatment of the reverses of coins, but they are rare.


27


28

Mr. Hawkins gives another example. No. 27 exhibits the name AELFRED in the usual way around the coin instead of across it, and instead of Orsnaforda it has a more common form REX DORO, giving to Ælfred the title of King of Kent; this is found on coins which there is little reason to doubt were struck by the king's authority. It has also BVRNVALD MO on the reverse very clearly.

Lastly, Mr. Hawkins figures a silver halfpenny (No. 28) which he attributes to the Oxford Mint, one single specimen only of the kind having been found[1]. The letters are not easy to be deciphered, but the following are probably what they were intended for by the moneyer.

Obverse.	OIIꓷI ;	then Vꓘꓶꓘꓷ ;	then EIIEII.
Reverse.	ONSN ;	then + + + ;	then EODRA.

Here what is intended for Ælfred's name stands in the midst of letters which appear to defy any interpretation. The first two letters look as if intended for NO (though to be read backwards) and MO, implying that we had the name of the moneyer[2]; but read forwards or backwards no name can be suggested[3]. On the reverse, however, we have what must

must not therefore be forced into the name of some other mint. . . . It is possible, however, that these and the other blunders of this type may have been coins struck by the Danes; or they may have some connection with a coin of Eadward the Elder, which reads IIDRCIRICI on the reverse.'

[1] Another halfpenny was found, but this resembled the ordinary penny type with Ælfred and Orsnaforda on the obverse, and Bernvald on the reverse.

[2] If, however, it is ON (which in later coins frequently precedes the name of the place), we have here ON DIENEN (wherever that may be), and something other than a place must be found for the ONSNEODRA.

[3] See *ante*, p. 116.

be another form of the name Orsnaforda. The second and fourth letters may both be intended for an N, while the third seems to be composed somewhat after the manner of a letter in the last line of the obverse of No. 24, and may be intended for S but has more the appearance of a Z. The name would therefore reads ONZNEODRA. Such then are some of the chief forms of the word which the Cuerdale find affords, and on which reliance is placed to prove that the coins in question were struck in Oxford.

When we come to consider the date of the deposition of the hoard we have the following facts to help us. Speaking in round numbers, of the 7000 coins, only 2750 can be definitely assigned to English origin, and of these the following are the chief.

23. King Æthelstan 870–890.	1. Abp. Ceolnoth 830–870.
857. King Ælfred 872–901.	59. Abp. Plegmund 891–923.
1770. Saint Eadmund	45. King Eadward 901–925.

To these, two of Æthelred (possibly the East Anglian King, circa 860), and one Ciolwulf (probably the King of Mercia in 874) have to be added. The result as to date is that the collection and deposition of the coins must have been after the year 901, and judging by the ratio of the coins to the respective reigns of Ælfred and Eadward, soon after—that is, before the year 910. It will be observed that the bulk of the coins, viz. 1770, or over three-fifths of the English coins, have the name of S. Edmund. The occurrence of the letter A frequently in the centre of the obverse seems to imply that this large number were not probably the coinage of the tributary King of East Anglia, martyred Nov. 20, 870, but were issued from the Abbey of S. Edmund at Bury, named in his honour. The peculiarity of these coins is that they have the most extraordinary varieties of spelling imaginable both as to the obverse and reverse. Mr. Hawkins gives some 460 varieties, including some few which may be intended for S. Edmund or may not[1]. Still the number is very large, and why so many in the collection found in Lancashire should have been struck in East Anglia, supposing that the legend implies this, it is most difficult to determine.

To these seventeen hundred coins, therefore, no definite date can be assigned. On examining the eight hundred Alfred coins (nearly a third of the whole number) there are one or two which are supposed to have the

[1] There are variations, such as SCEADMUNDR, SCEADIOIVNDE, SCECADMUNI, and the like, of which there are some three hundred varieties, depending mainly on the transposition of the letters; the remainder, like SCEANIYIO, H. SRCAIIVII:E, ESDANEMRVNE EISINIXIVDCI, ERDIIVIDAFCI, FIↃCIVMCIAƎↃS, present, besides transposition, the insertion of several letters not belonging to the inscription at all. The variety of the reverses is still more puzzling. Here are one or two examples taken hap-hazard, which are supposed to contain the names of the moneyers: — AENOIINƎOM, DƎOIYIE VIONET, ERATINOFINO, EYRIVIOBIADT, IOOƎIIIONEAIIAI, IYIRECCNDTIOI. There are, however, specimens with similar letters a little more correctly placed, which enable the numismatist to group them in some sort of order, and here and there surmise at least what the moneyer was attempting to produce, in spite of the conspicuous failure of his production. Had the monks of S. Edmund been amusing themselves by trying their unaccustomed hands at coinage, they would scarcely have produced a more extraordinary series.

place of coinage named upon them. A single specimen has on the reverse the three letters EXA arranged one above the other and forming the whole of the inscription, and these letters are supposed to imply that the coin was struck at Exeter. Another coin with ELFRED REX has the letters CVITREN forming a kind of monogram, and Mr. Hawkins writes:—

> 'The workmanship is very rude, and they can scarcely be considered genuine coins of Alfred, struck by his authority, but the fabrications of some false coiner; but we are not sufficiently acquainted with the practices of such persons in those days to be able to explain the mode of manufacturing or the motive of issuing unauthorized pieces of a value scarcely inferior to those of the general currency of the country; and yet it can scarcely be admitted that coins so barbarous in execution as the above two pieces, and so blundered in the inscriptions as some hereafter to be noticed, could have issued from the established royal mints. The meaning of the letters upon the reverse have eluded explanation: they are copied from French coins, which have hitherto been of extreme rarity, but of which the present deposit contains many hundreds, noticed in a future page [1].'

There are also twenty-three specimens which contain the London monogram, and may therefore be reasonably supposed to have been struck there; this monogram, it may be mentioned, occurs only on the coins of King Alfred. The coins with DORO on the obverse, as already said, were not necessarily struck at Canterbury, as the full inscription is ÆLFRED REX DORO. There were but forty-five coins of Alfred's successor Eadward, and the most noticeable point is that one specimen has the letters BAD on the reverse, and therefore is supposed to have been struck at Bath. The coins with Archbishop Plegmund on the obverse instead of the name of the king are fifty-nine in number [2], and though in no case does DORO appear on the reverse as the place of mintage, it may be presumed that the archbishop had the coins struck in the metropolis over which he presided. One point with regard to this may be noted, and that is that the name BIRNVALD appears as the moneyer, the same name [3] which appears on the reverse of the Orsnaford type.

With respect to the three thousand coins which have been supposed to have been collected on the continent, and which are found mixed with the others, there seems to be no hint given in the chronicles how the coins should have come to be so, except that here and there we read of the raids which the Danes made up the Seine and other rivers in France. It is possible, however, the silver may have been exported into England in exchange

[1] *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. v. p. 14. At the same time, may it not be that this monogram is of the same type as several others, more or less in the form of monograms, in which E N · C R stand for 'In Christo,' and that their devices are a bad imitation of the inscriptions on coins of the Lower Empire, in which E N X ω and E N Θ E ω are frequent. The presence also of an attempt at an A and Ω is often apparent.

[2] In one case the names of both the king and bishop occur on the obverse.

[3] It should be noted, however, that the variations seem to imply that the name of Plegmund's moneyer was correctly written BIRNVALD, and that of the Orsnaford coins constantly BERNVALD.

for iron or copper or other produce. The consideration of these questions, however, would perhaps throw no special light upon the origin of the Orsnaford type. At the same time it must be observed that the dates of the English series are practically corroborated by the foreign series. Some fourteen of HLUDOVICVS PIUS must be ascribed to a date previous to 840. While those of Eudes or Odo, of Lambert and of Berengarius, bring the dates of others down quite to the end of the ninth century. But besides those with the names of known kings on the obverse and the places of mint on the reverse, including names of many well-known cities in France, such as Toulouse, Limoges, Orleans, etc., a considerable number have names of kings which cannot be identified with any certainty, and others which cannot be identified at all. Nearly five hundred have on the obverse letters which read EBRAICE CIVITAS (and some have this on the reverse). It has been supposed to be Evreux by some, by others York, but there seems to be a considerable difficulty in accepting either[1]. Again, eighteen hundred have CUN : NETI in various forms on what is presumed to be the reverse, the obverse being of much the same character as those which have EBRAICE CIVITAS. Again, some three hundred have the text *Mirabilia fecit;* and lastly, twenty-six are distinctly oriental.

There is one point which seems to come out more clearly, perhaps, in considering the foreign examples than the English ones, and to this attention is drawn by Mr. Hawkins in the following words:—

> 'The monogram of Charles, and the lozenge-shaped ◇ in the legend DNS DS ◇ REX are surely derived from coins of Charles and Odo; but it is not therefore necessary to suppose that either of those kings sanctioned their issue.
>
> 'Under all these circumstances it may be contended, with much show of probability, that these coins derive from France many of the peculiarities which attach to them; that they were not issued by any personages of permanent and acknowledged authority, but by some of those northern warriors who by violence and force of arms obtained a temporary possession of some portions of France, and had also so much connection with England as to render probable the employment of English workmen in the fabrication of some of these coins, thereby introducing some peculiarities of the English mint with the blundered imitations of French names, types, and legends. These coins may be considered as imitations rather than originals, substantially French, but marked by some English peculiarities[2].'

Whether or not the circumstances are best explained by the theory of the employment of English workmen in France, it is important to the question at issue to take note of the evidence for the imitation which seems to have gone forward without the consent of the king whose name and

[1] From the character of the obverse on some, DNS DS. REX, on others a peculiar monogram consisting of a cross with letters at the ends and the letters EN . CR variously placed, and what may be intended for A and Ω (see *ante*, note 1, p. 374), one would be almost inclined to think the *ebraica civitas* might be intended for Jerusalem, and that the coins partake rather of the character of medals.

[2] *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. v. p. 94.

monogram appear. And the evidence derived from the French coins illustrates and confirms also the remark made previously by Mr. Hawkins respecting certain coins of Alfred[1]. In speaking of the Canterbury type of coins found in the Cuerdale series, Mr. Hawkins had written:—

> 'Some of these have the legends so utterly unlike the usual coins that they can with difficulty be believed to have issued from any authorized mint. They appear, however, to be of the proper weight and fineness, and the transition from the correct reading to the most blundered is so gradual and imperceptible, that there does not appear to be any possibility of drawing a line of demarcation between the genuine coins and supposed imitations.'

The consideration, then, of the foreign series, while it tends to confirm the date arrived at from the evidence of the English series, seems rather than otherwise to increase the difficulties in coming to any satisfactory conclusion as to the origin or purpose of the hoard.

Next, it is most difficult to account for the deposition of the hoard at this particular place; and when it is borne in mind that the only authenticated specimens of this type of coin professing to be struck in Oxford have been found on or near the banks of the Ribble in Lancashire, it will be seen that this difficulty ought to be met before assuming that the coins in question were struck by the direct authority of King Alfred, and at Oxford. There can, however, be no question that the bulk of the 2,300 English coins represent types belonging to the southern counties, and profess to be struck there, and therefore it may be concluded that the hoard had been transported northwards as a whole. As already said, the discovery was made at Cuerdale, close to the river Ribble; in fact it was while the workmen were engaged in repairing the river banks that they found them. Associated with the 7000 coins there were nearly 1000 ounces of silver ingots and of fragments of silver ornaments, evidently broken up for the purpose of melting. So far it would appear that it was some treasure which had been collected for a certain purpose, and as the spot on the river Ribble where they were found is not far from the mouth of that river, it might reasonably be supposed that it was money collected and paid to the Danes, who were about to carry it away by sea, and that, perhaps, being surprised, they may have landed and buried the treasure on the bank, and no one of the party having an opportunity of returning, it lay buried for centuries till it was accidentally discovered in 1840. So large an amount of metal of so great variety of shape could not well have been the collection of any one individual. It must have been some public payment, and probably, therefore, one of those payments made to the Danish marauders so frequently referred to by the chroniclers. Metal of all kinds would be collected; coins which had been issued, as well as coins which from their blundered spellings the moneyers had not issued at all. Still, this is only supposition; the evidence is not sufficient to determine the matter: all that can be said is that the bulk of the coins do not appear as if they had ever been in circulation.

Before concluding the evidence, there are one or two peculiar circumstances which have to be noted in respect of the Orsnaford coins

[1] See *ante*, note p. 374.

themselves—namely, the arrangement of the inscriptions; and these circumstances go some way to confirm the evidence derived from the general aspect of the hoard as a whole, that is, to render it highly improbable that the bulk of the coins in question were struck by the regular moneyer of the several kings, and in the ordinary way.

It should be observed first that all those of the true Orsnaford type have the name of the king inscribed transversely across the coin instead of around the border. It cannot be said that there are no other instances of this arrangement amongst the English coins of the period; but they are exceedingly rare. Besides one or two instances amongst the coins of the Mercian kings[1], three later examples may be given. One of King Alfred's coins, three specimens of which were found in the Cuerdale series, but hitherto unknown, has +AELFRED REX SAXONUM in four lines. Another coin, also a new type and found in the same series, has EADVVEARD REX SAXONUM in four lines. There is also figured in Ruding one of Harthacnut (A.D. 1039), which has on the obverse HARDACNUT REX IN DANO. The irregularity of these three examples is due probably to the fact that it was required for some reason that the king's title should be given in full.

When we look at the Orsnaford inscription, no such reason can be assigned, since the name, supposing it to be that of the place where the coin was struck, could not be part of the title and does not belong to the obverse. In looking through several hundreds of coins which are figured or described in the works of Ruding, Hawkins, etc., and especially through the series of the Cuerdale find, no instances have been observed in which the place of mint is distinctly given on the obverse with the name of the king[2]. If Bernwald is the moneyer and Orsnaford the place of mint, they ought both to be together, and both on the reverse. In this case there would have been ample room. Since then, arguing from analogy, the only reason for the name being placed across the coin would be the extent of the inscription, and the only reason for the additional words to the king's name, would be that it was desired to give some definite title to the king, it follows, in order to bring the cŏin into conformity with the rule of the coins of the ninth, tenth, or early part of the eleventh century, that we ought *a priori* to interpret the letters as containing, or at least as intended to contain, something of the nature of a title; not the name of a place, still less the place of coinage.

[1] Some one or two coins ascribed to Ethelbald (A. D. 716), and reading EADVALD REX, and some also of Offa (A. D. 755) reading OFFA M[erciorum] REX, and one of Coenwulf (A. D. 821) reading COENVVLF M[erciorum] REX, have the inscription written across the coin on the obverse, seemingly on account of the large letters, for which there would not have been sufficient space round the edge.

[2] Elfrid's name occurs with DORO for Canterbury, but the correct coins all run AELFRED REX DORO, and amongst some forty varieties, including many jumbled versions of the above, the R is always repeated—that is, one belongs to Rex, the other to Doro, e. g. ETERÐEVOROE, ELEDRNVORO, etc.; often the Rex itself can be found, e.g. RLEX + FROEDOR, REFDVRHA, EDRE, etc. Possibly they may have been struck at Canterbury; but this does not affect the question at issue. So, in the same way. DORO occurs on the obverse in Archbishop Plegmund's coins, but that because he was Archbishop of Canterbury and the name is part of his title.

Again, in another way the form ORSNAFORDA in itself militates against the theory that it is the place of mintage. In the early instances of coinage the names of places are as a rule excessively abbreviated. A glance at the variations of the word Oxford itself, given in the previous appendix[1] is sufficient. Of some thirty varieties, including O and OX, it will be seen how only one reaches even Oxnef. Not one reaches even Oxnefo or Oxneford, and this fairly represents the mode of treating most names of places. In looking through all those ending in ford, the last syllable is very rarely expressed. Bedford, which is very frequent, and is found as Be or Bdfo, only rarely reaches Bedafo and Bedafor, never Bedeford. And though in the case of Herford (qy. Hertford or Hereford) a single instance is found, and one in the case of Theotford (Thetford), no instance whatever has been found of the addition of the case ending, as in *forda*; and this spelling, it must be remembered, occurs on all the coins where the word Orsnaford is readable.

And even if these inconsistencies are allowed to be of no value, there still remains the fact of the invariable introduction of the letter R in the form ORSNA; this is inconsistent not only with any known spelling of Oxford, but any probable spelling of Oxford. No variations of spelling of OX, or even of Osen, could have been ORS[2]. The answer to those who contend for the R being possibly a K, and that the moneyer might have been guided by the sound, is first that no analogous case of the spelling X by KS on a coin has been observed; and next, that the R appears to have been struck throughout with the same die as is employed for the same letter in *forda*. The theory of the K seems to have originated through a blunder of Wise[3], with whom the desire of connecting the name with Oxford seems to have outweighed his caution, for the coin which he evidently used does not bear out his theory, nor, so far as has been observed, do any of the other specimens.

These then are the several points in the evidence of which account must be taken before arriving at the conclusion that the name signifies Oxford. It has been shown that, so far as evidence is forthcoming, the only place where the Orsnaford coins have been found are near the Ribble, in Lancashire. No recorded specimen has ever been found in Oxfordshire or in the south of England. The general character of the coins with which the Orsnaford type is associated is that which, according to Mr. Hawkins, implies that the coins were struck without the authority of the king whose name they bear, and by moneyers who had no authority and who

[1] See *ante*, p. 349.

[2] Horsaford, however, would have been a good name of a place. There is one spelt in Domesday Horseford (fol 301 a, col. 2), now Horseforth, five miles north-west of Leeds in Yorkshire; and, in the same county, Hoseford (fol. 332 b, col. 2), the name of which does not seem to have survived. In Norfolk also there is a Hosforda (fol. 155 a, col. 1), now Horsford, four miles north of Norwich. The omission of the H on the inscription would surely be more reasonable than the insertion of an R where it did not exist; and so those who argue on the theory that the word represents the name of a place ought to choose one of those here named rather than Oxford.

[3] See *ante*, p. 369.

imitated other coins, blundering the inscriptions to a considerable extent; so that, while a very large portion is rendered unintelligible, no confidence can be placed upon the readings even of those where the letters seem to form intelligible words.

It will perhaps, before concluding, be convenient to exhibit a series of the readings of this type of coin, so far as they can be represented by ordinary Roman letters, in order that some idea may be formed of the variety. There are four specimens in the Bodleian Library of the true Orsnaford type, of which one only is authenticated to have come from Cuerdale, the remaining three very possibly, in the absence of any direct information obtainable about the coins, from Harkirk[1]. As has already been pointed out, Wise mentions a coin given by John Drake, of York, to the Bodleian, which is the same as that figured by Sir Andrew Fountaine; but there is nothing to connect this, or indeed any of the Bodleian coins, with that engraved by Spelman, and re-engraved by Bishop Gibson[2]. It has been thought well also to give the two next coins in the Bodleian Collection, since they contain both the name of Ælfred and the moneyer Bernvald, and are very similar to the others in general appearance.

No. 89.	ORSIIA	ÆLFRED	FORDA	BERIV + + + ALDMO.
„ 90.	OR∽NA	ƎꟻIFRED	FORDA	BERNV + + + VꟻDMO.
„ 91.	OA∽NA	ƎꟻIFRED	FOIIA	ꓭƎRNV + + + VꟻDIIO.
Ad.	ORSIIA	ÆLFRED	FORDA	BEꓘIV + + + ALDIIO.
„ 92.	+ EFD◇R◇NVDED[3]			BAERN · EDEM◇.
„ 93.	AEIFREDREXDORO			BARNV · · ALDM◇.

To the British Museum were presented a very large series of the Cuerdale Collection, and amongst them thirty-two of the Orsnaford type[4]. They possess no examples of the Orsnaford type, except those which came from that hoard.

[1] There is some reason to suppose that most of these coins came from the Ashmolean Museum. How or when they were given has not been ascertained, though by the courtesy of the Keeper, the writer of this has had access to the registers and catalogues of that collection. The search is rendered somewhat more difficult by the circumstance that the Ashmolean Collection, the Ingram Collection, and the Bodleian Collection were mixed together when the coins from the former were removed to the latter.

[2] See *ante*, pp. 368–9. Both Spelman and Bishop Gibson, as well as the Harkirk engraving, have FIRDA instead of FORDA. In some specimens (notably No. 5 of the B. Mus. series) the letter has much the appearance of an I, more so than in any Bodleian specimen. Spelman also gives the S lengthways instead of upright, and has ALED MO instead of ALD MO: probably therefore, Sir Andrew Fountaine had access to the one which eventually came to the Bodleian, and Spelman to some other of which a duplicate of the obverse occurs in the Cuerdale series; but where the original coin has been deposited has not been ascertained.

[3] The two coins 92, 93 have the obverse inscription in the usual way round the edge, and not in three lines across as all the others have which are here noted.

[4] Thirty-one only were presented at the time. They acquired after, by purchase, the last, which is here numbered 32, but there is no doubt it came from Cuerdale. The coins have no number affixed, but they are numbered here as they occur in the drawer of the cabinet which contains them.

A selection is here given[1] from that series.

1.	oRSNA	ÆLFRED	FORDA	BERIV + + + ALDIO.
2.	OR∽IIA	ELFRED+	FORDA	BERV + + + ALDNO.
3.	ORNA	EFRED+	FORDA	BERIIA + + + ALDIIO.
5.	OR∽IIA	ÆLFRED	FIRDA[2]	BERNA + + + ALDEIO.
6.	ORSIIA	ELIRED	EoRDA	BERIIA + + + AIIDNO.
9.	OR∽NA	ELFRED	FORDA	BERNV + + + ALIIO.
11.	ORsIIA	ÆFRED+	EORDA	BERNV + + + ALDIIO.
18.	OISNA	ÆLFRED	FORAΓ	BERIIV + + + ALDIIO.
20.	OII · ZNA	ÆLꓶED	FoRDA	BERNV + + + ALDNO.
22.	OR∽IIA	ÆLFRED	F:RDA	AIIRƎB + + + oIIꓷI∢.
25.	ONI NA	∀FLRID	ꓕORDA	BERIIV + + + ∀LDIIO.
26.	ONZNA	ÆLFRED	ORDA	BERNV + + + ALDMO.
27.	· SIIA	ELFID+	FORDA	BERNV · · · ALDNO.
28.	OA∽IIA	∀ꓶFRED	FOIIA	BƎRNV + + + AꓶꓷIIO.
29.	OISNA	ÆLFRED	EORDA	BERNV + + + ꓘLDMO.
32.	∀IRIꓕ	ELFRID	IRISI[3]	BERNV + + + ALDNO.

The three following probably came from Cuerdale, and were presented by the Rev. John Griffiths to Wadham College[4]:—

1.	OA∽IIA	ƎꓶFRED	FORDA	BERNV ∴ ∴ ∴ AIꓷIIO.
2.	OR∽IIA	ELFRED	FORDA	BERNV + + + ALDIIO.
3.	OR∽∽	AꓶFRED	FORDA	BERNE + + + ∀FꓷIIO.

The next is from the private cabinet of Arthur Evans, M.A., Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, and probably also belonged to the Cuerdale series:—

ORSIIA ÆFRED+ EORDA BERNV + + + ALIƆIIO.

To the above varieties have to be added the further varieties already given on pp. 371, 372.

In holding the view that ORSNAFORDA stands for Oxford, it is not only that one or two slight exceptions to the rules, gathered from analogy, are assumed, but, as has been shown in the previous pages, several, and some important ones; and these, as will be seen above, are combined in all the examples. Moreover, these coins are associated with others the readings of which show that they are bad copies of other types, of which in many cases what the originals were can only be conjectured. And the

[1] Those omitted are very similar to others which are given, though very few cases have been observed where there is reason to suppose the same die has been used for two coins, and none in which it has been used for more than two. The same forms, however, of individual letters frequently occur, showing that the same punch was employed.

[2] The I in FIRDA is really a small O crushed, with a pellet above it, so that it has the appearance of an I. This obverse may have been from the same die as the one engraved by Spelman, but the reverse is not the same.

[3] The obverse of this coin is figured by Hawkins. See *ante*, p. 372, fig. 25.

[4] These specimens were presented just before his death. So far as the writer gathered from conversation they had been purchased from London dealers, and were therefore most probably from the Cuerdale series. Their appearance is just the same as the others—that is, they look as if they had been lying beneath a weight, and had never been in circulation.

question is whether the chance similarity of the mere sound of the letters which some moneyer has stamped on his coins, and other moneyers have more or less exactly or more or less erroneously copied, is sufficient to warrant the assumption that in this coin we have evidence of Alfred having authorized a moneyer at Oxford to strike coins with his name thereupon, and the name of the place where they were struck. It is not required, nor would it be of any purpose to suggest counter-theories as to what the letters may have been intended to mean[1]. The variations, it will be seen, are so many, even in specimens of this one type of coin, as to lead one to be cautious in accepting any one reading as the original from which the others were derived, and any one variation might, from falling into the hands of an ignorant moneyer, become the type of another series of variations. This is the only theory which can possibly account for the very divergent varieties which are found associated with several types. A few specimens of the S. Edmund type have already been given in a note[2]. It is the same with the Alfred Rex Doro, one or two examples of which have been given in another note[3]; and in the two Oxford specimens it will be observed how No. 93 reads almost correctly, and how No. 92 diverges both in the reading of the obverse and reverse. But to take the first three of the forty-one examples of blundered readings given by Mr. Hawkins of the ALFRED REX DORO from Cuerdale and with BERN VALD MO on the reverse type :—

EΓERDEVOROE	BVRLI ED MO.
EDRNEDAΓIORO	BRVN ED MO.
ÆΓꓤRDEVNORO	BERΓV EDI MO[4].

Here we see the kind of variations which take place. It may be said that there is no more variation in any one from the original than there is one from another; it is merely a shifting of letters, and perhaps here and there a change from misreading, or from misrepresentation caused by unskilful handling of the punches with which the moneyer made the die.

Supposing, however, we take exactly the letters as they exist in the third and only change their order, as moneyers so often do; we have

ORΓENÆFORDA BERIV IED MO.

Now the third and fourth letters are frequently found 'made up'—that is, each is composed of marks made by more than one punch; and this is

[1] The view that an unsatisfactory assumption must be accepted until a better one is given is hardly tenable. Some of the points given in the above notes were sent by the writer to the late Mr. Vaux, who read them at a meeting of the Numismatic Society. The following is an extract from his letter to the writer on the question:—

'44, Cornmarket, Oxford, Dec. 20, 1873.

'..... I read the paper as I promised on Thursday, but the meeting (as they knew nothing of the question) followed ******, who maintained that Orsnaford must be Oxford till we could find another place in the N[orth] to answer for it, a mode of reasoning which I said was no reasoning at all! ..... We must sift this question to the bottom.—Ever yours, W. S. W. VAUX.'

[2] See *ante*, p. 373, note 3.

[3] See *ante*, p. 377, note 2.

[4] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1842, p. 20.

found sometimes to be so with the S in the Orsnaforda, especially in those cases where the letter in the preceding list is represented as Z, and of which a specimen will be found in figures 24 and 28[1]. Allowing for the omission of the E or F (which in the variation selected was redundant), and varying the punch marks of the one letter only, we have actually the word Orsnaford. But why should this be taken as a type, which is really much closer to an existing variation of 'Alfred Rex Doro' than that variation is to its own type?

It is not at all intended to insist upon this being the origin of the name Orsnaforda, but to show that under the circumstances it would be most rash to assume that we have in such a word a type, and not a variation[2]. If there was really good ground for supposing the letters were intended for the name of a place, it might be possible to imagine some accidental variation from some form of that place, no specimen of which exists; but as it does not appear, from what has been said, to be capable of being the name of a place, and does seem to be closely alluded to the name of a king and his title, of which there are many examples, it seems more likely that it is an unauthorised and much blundered copy of that name and title added to the name itself.

However, as already said, the object of these notes has been not to put forth any definite theory, but rather to lay fairly before the reader the evidence on which the existing theory rests, leaving it to his judgment to decide whether it is sufficient to warrant the theory that the coin was struck at Oxford.

[1] In No. 20 of the B. Mus. coins, the letter is singularly made up of four marks, the same which go to make up the E's and F's.

[2] Still it is very generally assumed to be so. Mr. Haigh, in a very valuable article on the Coins of King Alfred, in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1870, p. 37, gives one or two examples of the Orsnaford coin in his plates with the first R as plain and as clear as the second R in that word. Yet when he comes to the description of the coins he prints all the legends as OKSNAFORDA, adding this note, 'The reading of the name Oksnaforda is due to our regretted friend the late Mr. Sainthill, and is certainly right. The R and K were easily confounded one with another.' Surely in such a case he should have put the real reading of the coins in the text, and the emendation in the note; nor would it have been out of place to have made good his assertion by giving some examples of the K on coins to show how they might be mistaken; and better still to have given an instance of such occurring.

APPENDIX D.

THE PLATES.

I. The Domesday Survey relating to Oxford.

(As Frontispiece.)

The frontispiece to this volume is a facsimile of the first leaf of that part of the Domesday Survey which contains Oxfordshire. Being produced by the photozincographic process, the original document is not even handled or touched by the copyist, and the reader is enabled to refer to an exact representation. Of course the writing in the MS. is somewhat brighter and clearer than the copy, since, from the nature of the process, the finer lines do not always come out so firmly as they should; still, for all practical purposes it serves the purpose of the original.

A few words may perhaps be given here with respect to the volume from which the page is copied. It is in folio, of about the same size as the page on which it is here printed, and consisting of 380 leaves (= 760 pages) of vellum closely written throughout in a small handwriting of the end of the eleventh century, as the specimen from Oxfordshire well exhibits. The volume commences with Kent (Chenth), and the shires follow in series, first running from east to west, then from west to east. In the first series, from Kent to Cornwall, the coast counties are all included, as well as Berkshire; then, starting from Middlesex, the next takes in Hertford, Bucks, Oxon (that being No. 14 of the whole series), Gloucester and Worcester, to Hereford. The third series begins with Cambridge, and embraces Huntingdon, Bedford, Northampton, Leicester, Warwick, Stafford, and Salop; and the fourth, Chester, Derby, part of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Lincoln. The four northern counties, Northumberland Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham, do not appear in the volume. There is another volume of large octavo size, containing 450 leaves (= 900 pages), which gives the survey of the three counties, Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk. No doubt the book which is preserved is but an abstract of the original return, and it is thought that the Book of Ely and the Book of Exeter, as they are termed, are exact copies of the original fuller returns. Distinct from, but of the same character, as the Domesday Survey are the Book of Winchester, made A.D. 1148, and the Boldon Book (or Book of Durham), made A.D. 1183.

It will be observed that besides the portion relating actually to Oxford itself, the page contains the Table of Contents to the whole volume. This Table of Contents appears in all the other counties at the beginning, and frequently, as in the Oxford Survey, some special particulars are given with respect to the chief county town or towns, apart from the entries under

the holdings of the king and those of the several tenants *in capite*. As there has been no occasion to print this Table of Contents (since it refers more especially to the county than to the city), a transcript of the remaining portion of the page is given here. Many of the names however, it will be observed, are the same as those who held mansions in Oxford, and these have been pointed out in commenting on the Oxford list. At the same time, the following list gives the remainder of the names of persons who, though connected with the county, had no direct connection with Oxford. It is here printed, like portions given in the appendix, in extended Latin, and as it is practically only a list, no translation is needed :—

HIC ANNOTANTUR TENENTES TERRAS IN OXENEFORD SCIRE.

I. REX WILLELMUS.
II. Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis.
III. Episcopus Wintoniensis.
IV. Episcopus Sarisberiensis.
V. Episcopus Execestrensis.
VI. Episcopus Lincoliensis.
VII. Episcopus Baiocensis.
VIII. Episcopus Lisiacensis.
IX. Abbatia Abendoniensis.
X. Abbatia delabatailge.
XI. Abbatia de Wincelcumbe.
XII. Abbatia de Pratellis.
XIII. Ecclesia S. Dyonisii parisii.
XIIIJ. Canonici de Oxeneford et alii clerici.
XV. Comes Hugo.
XVI. Comes Moritoniensis.
XVII. Comes Ebroicensis.
XVIII. Comes Albericus.
XIX. Comes Eustachius.
XX. Walterius gifard.
XXI. Willelmus filius Ansculfi.
XXII. Willelmus de Warene.
XXIII. Willelmus peurel.
XXIIIJ. Henricus de fereires.
XXV. Hugo de bolebech.
XXVI. Hugo de Iuri.
XXVII. Robertus de Stadford.
XXVIII. Robertus de Oilgi.
XXIX. Rogerius de Iuri.
XXX. Radulfus de Mortemer.
XXXI. Rannulfus peurel.
XXXII. Ricardus de Curci.
XXXIII. Ricardus puingiand.
XXXIIIJ. Berenger de Todeni.
XXXV. Milo crispin.
XXXVI. Wido de Reinbodcurth.
XXXVII. Ghilo frater Ansculf.
XXXVIII. Gislebertus de gand.
XXXIX. Goisfridus de Mannevile.
XL. Ernulfus de Hesding.
XLI. Eduuardus de Sarisberie.
XLII. Suain vicecomes.
XLIII. Aluredus nepos Wigot.
XLIIIJ. Wido de Oilgi.
XLV. Walterius ponz.
XLVI. Willelmus Leuric.
XLVII. Willelmus filius manne.
XLVIII. Ilbodus frater Ernulfi de hesding.
XLIX. Reinbaldus.
L. Robertus filius Murdrac.
LI. Osbernus gifard.
LII. Benzelinus.
LIII. Judita comitissa.
LIV. Cristina.
LV. Uxor Rogerii de Iuri.
LVI. Hascoit musard.
LVII. Turchil.
LVIII. Ricardus ingania et alii ministri regis.
LIX. Terra Willelmi comitis[1].

[1] Domesday Survey, fol. 154 a, col. 2.

II. Map of Neighbourhood of Oxford to illustrate the Early History of Oxford.

The primary object of this little map is to show the relative position of the site of Oxford in regard to the ancient Roman roads, so far as they can be traced, and to other evidences of Roman occupation, such as villas, etc.; the names of places therefore inserted on the map are chiefly those referred to in Chapter III of the present work[1].

It is very difficult, and indeed may be said to be impossible, to trace the exact lines of the Roman roads. That between Dorchester and Aldchester, thanks to the late Professor Hussey's labours, can be marked with tolerable accuracy, but the last few years have tended much to obliterate many parts of it: and the western portion of the Akeman Street—that is, between Aldchester and Cirencester—can be followed on the Ordnance map without much difficulty. For some few miles eastward of Aldchester also it is very plain; but as it approaches Aylesbury, amidst the upper confluents of the river Thames, its course seems to be lost, and modern roads appear completely to have taken its place. From Aylesbury to where it joins what may be a part of the old Icknield Way the line of the Roman road may well have followed the present high-road, which runs very straight. It appears by the Ordnance map to have then passed through the Chiltern Hills by the opening near to Tring, and continued its course down a small valley formed by one of the tributaries of the Colne[2], past Berkhampstead and Watford, and then joined the Wætling Street within a few miles of London; but the appearances may be deceptive. Messrs. Sharpe and Petrie, in sketching the map which accompanies the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, make the road to cease after it has joined the Icknield Way, and in the smaller diagram, which is inserted in the right-hand corner of the present map, the lines of road suggested by these editors has been put before the reader. It will be observed that they carry on the Icknield Way northward, till it joins the Wætling Street near Dunstable. This line has been omitted on the main map, since the writer could not find sufficient evidence on the Ordnance Survey to warrant the insertion. The discrepancy of the two maps requires this explanation, and the matter is just as far connected with the subject of the present work

[1] The Roman camps are marked ▣; the British camps ◎. The Roman villas ■; and Roman and other remains generally △.

[2] The small streams of this district are very imperfectly marked on ordinary maps. The little stream which rises to the east of Tring and flows down the valley in a south-easterly direction is the Bulborne; and between Berkhampstead and Watford, at a point due south of Hemel Hempstead, it is joined by the Gade. They both flow together till they reach the Colne. It is this line of valley which it is supposed the Roman road, in continuation of the Akeman Street, followed, and it is followed in part by the London and North Western Railway now.

that it affects the question of the way in which the Oxford district was made accessible from the chief city of the country in Roman times. The two great railway lines may be said, as regards the communication between Oxford and London, to represent in a certain measure the system of the Roman roads. The great Western road from London, it will be seen, swept down much further to the south than the modern Great Western Railway, which takes advantage of the opening in the range of chalk hills near Wallingford; consequently, the Roman Way led the traveller down to Silchester and Spene, some thirty miles to the south of Oxford. By the North-Western route, however, in Roman times the way was less circuituous than it is now *via* Bletchley; and if, as suggested, a road left the Wætling Street a few miles out of London, and branched off to the west, joining the Akeman Street a little way past Tring, it would have provided as direct an access to the Oxford district as possible without crossing directly over the highest parts of the Chiltern Hills.

It has been impossible on a map in so small a scale to give any idea of the contour of the hills generally. The great range of the Berkshire Downs has, however, been made prominent on the map, since it is so conspicuous a feature in many of the views from the neighbourhood of Oxford looking towards the south; while the great British track-way along the highest part of the ridge, and here and there the great British earthworks, are among the best preserved monuments of this early period to be found in the district. It is by no means certain how the track-way terminated at the eastern end when it left the high level; one branch seems to have led to Moulsford; one probably also to Streatley, and, having been used by the Romans, it gave the name to the latter place.

The map, though intended chiefly to illustrate Chapter III, will, from the introduction of this Berkshire range, with Cwichelmshloewe[1] in the midst, be found useful in illustrating Chapters VII and VIII, as it was the possession of this range which put the Abingdon and Wantage districts on the north of it at the mercy of the Danes. It has been also possible to include Reading within the limits of the map, so that it will illustrate the circumstances of the battle of Æscesdun in 871, referred to on pp. 114–15.

Here and there names of places have been inserted which are mentioned in other parts of the work, e.g. Bampton, Binsey, and Benson, which are connected with the story of S. Frideswide, the subject of Chapter V[2].

As to the few hills which have been marked, they have been much exaggerated, so also throughout have the rivers. At the same time, the courses of the streams and their several tributaries have been followed as accurately as the small scale will allow, the exaggeration being only in the thickness of the lines representing them. But drawn in this way, they better show the natural drainage, and so exhibit the general lie of the country.

[1] Marked on some of the Ordnance maps Scutchamfly, and called locally 'Scootchamly knob.'

[2] Kirtlington ought to have been inserted (mentioned p. 140). It lies near the left bank of the Cherwell, some three miles north of Kidlington, and so just to the south of the Akeman Street. It may be noted, too, that the draughtsman has accidentally changed Headington into Headlington.

III. A Plan to illustrate the Early History of Oxford.

This, like the last map, is rather of the nature of a diagram, the object of which is to give an idea of the extent of Oxford in the eleventh century, as shown by the line of the medieval wall; to exhibit the position of the Castle in respect to the rest of the town; and to mark also the relative position of the churches. As the former map was intended to illustrate Chapter III, so this is intended to illustrate especially Chapter XI.

For the matter inserted there is sufficient evidence, and it is intended rather to supply the data from which the general character of the town at the end of the eleventh century can be realised, than to attempt to make a plan as it was at that time. The material is so slight for sketching such, that the result would be only an imaginary plan after all.

The line of the city wall is given as it can be clearly traced by the remains. None of the actual masonry is earlier than Henry the Third's time, and there is probably but very little even of that; still, for a good part of the way the old foundations were no doubt followed in the rebuilding and repairs which took place in the fourteenth and fifteenth century.

For the line of the Castle fortification the material is not so satisfactory. We have to depend upon some rather inaccurate maps of the sixteenth century. Still there can be little question as to the general position of the ditch and the general course of the streams in the vicinity.

All the churches are inserted which are named in the list from the Abingdon and Oseney Cartulary and from the Domesday Survey (see *ante* p. 284), and also those in the later S. Frideswide's charter (see p. 285), which, as has been said, might imply the churches were in existence by the close of the eleventh century [1].

The parish boundaries have been inserted as they now exist. Such boundaries do not change much, and we may therefore consider that they represent somewhat the ecclesiastical divisions of the city at the close of the eleventh century. As there is no material in a practicable shape for drawing the boundary lines of the old parishes of S. Edward and S. Mildred, which have been incorporated with All Saints' and S. Michael's parish respectively, this has not been attempted.

For the same reason the chief streets have been inserted as they now exist. It is impossible to draw the smaller streets and lanes as they existed, with any approach to accuracy. It is necessary to imagine that New Inn Hall Street and Ship Street were once continued round the whole course of the wall on the inside.

All along the north side, and partially along the east side, excavations show that there was a tolerably deep ditch. Whether there was such on

[1] To these have been added S. Thomas's and the site of Rewley Abbey, though belonging to a later period. The limits of the map did not admit of the insertion of Holywell Church, which might belong to the close of the eleventh century, nor of the later church of S. Giles on the north, or of the twelfth century Abbey of Oseney on the west. Accidentally the draughtsman has called S. Peter in the Bailey 'S. Peter in the Castle'; but the form S. Petri *ad Castrum* is found.

the south side has not been ascertained, and therefore the shading has not been inserted.

The Castle Mill is shown at the west side of S. George's in the Castle, but it has not been thought advisable to fix definitely any spot for the two mills belonging to S. Ebbe's [1].

The plan will show also how Oxford is naturally surrounded by streams on the west, south, and east sides, illustrating what has been said on p. 118.

[1] The draughtsman has accidentally omitted the Holywell Mill, though the place was duly left on the river for its insertion in the north-eastern corner of the map. Accidentally, too, the name of Hythe Bridge has been omitted—namely, where the road, which is a continuation westward of George Street, crosses the first stream.

APPENDIX E.

Addenda et Corrigenda.

P. 19, line 25, *for* grown up *read* been added; and line 35, *for* § 1, *read* § 12.

P. 31, note 1, *for* MS. Lamb. 22 *read* C.C.C. Library, Cambridge MS. cxxxiii. The Lambeth MS., to which the title Scala Cronica has been applied, is not by Sir Thomas Gray.

Also *for* It has not been ascertained, &c. *read* Sir Thomas seems to have written his work in or about 1355. It may be added that he used Higden's *Polychronicon* largely in his compilation, and evidently derived thence all his statements respecting King Alfred.

P. 43, note 2. The passage which first appeared in Savile's edition of *Ingulph* (*Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam;* London, 1596, and Francfort, 1601, p. 903), making Ingulph a student at Oxford in the twelfth century is as follows:—'Ego enim Ingulphus, humilis magister Sancti Guthlaci, Monasteriique sui Croilandensis natus in Anglia, et a parentibus Anglicis, quippe urbis pulcherrimae Londoniarum pro literis addiscendis in teneriori aetate constitutus, primum Westmonasterio, postmodum Oxoniensi studio traditus eram. Cumque in Aristotele arripiendo supra multos coaetaneos meos profecissem etiam Rhetoricam Tullii primam et secundam talo tenus induebam.'

The form 'Oxoniensis,' the passing from Westminster up to Oxford, and the reading of Cicero, all stamp it as a very late interpolation. The passage occurs, however, in the Arundel MS. No. 178, which is said to have been used by Savile; but whether this be so or not, the MS. is not earlier than the sixteenth century. The original MS. could not be found in 1680, when Fulmer searched for it to print in his collection of historians (i.e. the same as is commonly known as by Gale). There was an earlier transcript in the Cottonian Library, but that was burnt in 1731. All evidence, therefore, which would show exactly what was in the original Croyland MS. and what was interpolated has unfortunately been destroyed. Gale prints the passage, but he admits he filled up from later editions, and the circumstances point to his having used Savile's edition for this passage, as he implies it was wanting in the Margham MS. he used for the greater part.

P. 51, line 11, *dele* which.

P. 55, note 1, *add* Appendix A, § 22.

P. 82, line 2. Although Æglesborough is usually ascribed to Aylesbury, it should be noted, perhaps, that there is a hamlet bearing the name of Edelsborough lying somewhat higher up the Chiltern Hills to the northward, and overlooking the line of the supposed Icknield Way. *See* Map.

P. 90, note 1, *for* A, § 3, *read* § 28.

P. 94, note 1, *add* Appendix A, § 30.

P. 95, note 4, *deel* De *before* Gesta.

P. 97, note 1.—With respect to the other instances of the name Alfgar the following should be added:—In Dugdale (vol. iii. p. 192), under the account of Coventry, a passage is printed with the title of 'Genealogia Fundatoris,' and with the reference to the MS. as follows:—'Ad calcem Florentii Wigorn. MS. penes Archiep. Armachanum an. 1649.' It has the following:—

> '1. Leofricus comes Leicestriae, tempore Ethelbaldi regis Merciorum [716–55] genuit filium nomine *Algarum*, et tunc comes Lincoln, dictus erat Egga. 2. *Algarus primus*, vel senior, tempore Offae [755–794], Kenulfi [794–819], et Withlafi regum [825–838], genuit filium nomine Algarum, et mortuus sepultus est apud Croyland. 3. Algarus secundus, tempore Bernulfi et Burredi [838–852], regum Merciorum genuit Leofricum secundum, et occisus est à Danis Ungar et Ubba in Kesteven apud Strekingham; sepultus erat apud Croyland.... Algarus tertius, tempore regis Edwardi [1041–1066], saepiùs exlegatur et toties strenuissimè cum rege reconciliatus, genuit Edwinum et Morcarum, postea comites, et filium nomine Luciam postea comitissam.'

The summary, a few paragraphs later on, refers to events of King John's reign, so the list must have been compiled after that date. No note, however, appears as to the date of the writing of the MS., or circumstances of its insertion in the MS. of Florence of Worcester, which must have belonged to Abp. Usher. Whether or not it is the one in Trinity College, Dublin, MS. 602, has not been ascertained; but that has a leaf of genealogies inserted. (See Hardy's *Descriptive Catalogue, &c.*, Rolls Series, vol. ii. p. 130). The internal evidence, however, seems to point to it being a compilation of the thirteenth century. Algar Primus, however, who seems to have lived on from Offa's reign into that of Withlaf (who came to the throne in 825), would not fit the Algar of S. Frideswide's story, much less Algar the Second, while Algar the Third is the Domesday Algar.

In *Ingulph*, also, mention is made of an Earl Algar who signalised himself in fighting against the Danes when they wintered at Nottingham in 866 [i.e. 868 A.S.C.]. It is added in Ingulph's Chronicle that he was a warm friend to the monastery of Croyland, and often visited the abbot, and a charter is given, probably spurious, recording gifts made to Croyland. [Gale's ed. p. 18]. The charter is in the name of Beorred, king of the Mercians, and he grants at the request of Earl Algar certain lands. It also confirms other lands, 'the gift of Earl Algar the elder,' his father, the charter being dated 868. He fights the Danes in 870, and is killed in the skirmish. The charter respecting the grant of the father is also given elsewhere in *Ingulph* [p. 95], dated 810, and in the name of King Kenulph (Cenwulph). It is impossible to say that all this is fictitious; but, it would appear that it is wholly on these charters and notes of *Ingulph* that the author of the passage before-named, i.e. the 'Genealogia Fundatoris' based his statements so far as they concern Algar.

It is of course possible therefore that the compiler of the S. Frideswide legend as it appears in the MS. of the twelfth century had heard of one or both of these previous Algars, and introduced hence the name into his story, although, as has been intimated, it was more likely, since his story relates to Oxford, he took the Algar of Domesday.

P. 99, note 2, *after* Acta Sanctorum *add* October.

P. 102, at foot of page. Notes 1 and 2 should read as one note, belonging to ref. 1. Note 3 belongs to ref. 2, and *add* as note 3, See *ante*, p. 97, note 1.

P. 107, line 27, *for* 773 *read* 733 (rightly printed in the line above).

P. 108, note 2.—It should have been added that, though Somerton is now only a hamlet, the name was known in Saxon times, as it is referred to in the Domesday Survey (folio 358 b, col. 2), as follows:—'In Bodeby et Sumertune habuerunt Aldene et Offerd 4 carucatas terrae.' It will be observed that the spelling of the name in the Domesday Survey agrees exactly with that given in the A. S. Chronicle, B, D, and F, viz. Sumertun (A, has Sumurtun, and C and E Sumortun).

P. 117, line 3.—There is a later reference to the Lady of the Mercians having built Bridgenorth, by Simeon of Durham under 1101, in recording the siege of Bridgenorth by Henry the First. He refers to the 'Arx quam in Occidentali Sabrinae fluminis plaga, in loco qui *Bricge* dicitur lingua Saxonica Agelfleda Merciorum Domina quondam construxerat fratre suo Edwardo seniore regnante[1].'

P. 127.—The general question as to Ælfred's sovereignty over Mercia (and, therefore, Oxford) receives some illustration from the passage in Asser, in which he speaks of the Welsh kings acknowledging the sovereignty of Ælfred to save them from the annoyance of their neighbours. He, however, commences the paragraph with the following somewhat sweeping statement:—'Illo enim tempore, et multo ante, omnes regiones dexteralis Britanniae partis ad Ælfred regem partinebant, et adhuc pertinent.' He then states that the Welsh king Hemeid, with the inhabitants of Demetia, had, in consequence of the attacks of the six sons of Rotri, submitted themselves to his sovereignty (regali se subdiderat imperio). That the kings Howel and Gleguising, and Brochmail and Fernail, in consequence of the attacks and tyranny of Earl Eadred (?) and of the Mercians, sought him for their king, so that they might have protection from him against their enemies. Also Helised and Anaraut, the latter abandoning the friendship of the king of the Northumbrians. Asser adds that Anaraut submitted himself with all his people to Ælfred, to be obedient to the king's will in all things, as Æthered was, together with the Mercians[2].

P. 138, line 19.—'Of none of these (i.e. Bishops Alheard, Ceolwulf, Winsy, and Oskytel) is there any mention in the chronicles.' This is not quite accurate, inasmuch as in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *sub anno* 897, Alheard's death is mentioned. William of Malmesbury mentions 'Chenulph' being made bishop over the Mercians, *ad civitatem Dorcestrae*[3] amongst

[1] Simeon of Durham, *De Gest. Regum*, apud Twisden, *D. S.*, col. 227.

[2] Asser, *Mon. Hist. Br.* p. 488.

[3] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, Eng. Hist. Soc., lib. ii, § 130, p. 204.

the seven bishops who, according to the story, were appointed to fill the vacant sees of the Gewissae in consequence of a letter from Pope Formosus. The original story is found inscribed on the few blank leaves which precede the MS. known as the Leofric Missal; this was given to the Cathedral of Exeter by Bishop Leofric (who died 1072), and is now preserved in the Bodleian Library (MS. Bodley, 579). Though there are difficulties in reconciling the dates, and the account of the transaction is blundered, there is in all probability some basis for the story. The letter must, however, have been written from Rome before 896 if Pope Formosus had anything to do with it.

When speaking of Bp. Escwin—also more accurately, perhaps, written Æscwig—it might have been added that in 992 King Æthelred committed the forces to the leadership of an ealdorman, an earl, and two bishops, one of the bishops being Æswig. Florence of Worcester, in compiling from the chronicle, speaks of him as Æscwi 'Episcopus Lincolniensis,' evidently forgetting that the see had not yet been transferred. On the authority of Florence, also, the bishop assisted, together with Oswald archbishop of York, at the consecration on November 8, 991, of the monastery of Ramsey, in Huntingdonshire, which the archbishop and Æthelwine, ealdorman of the East Angles, had built[1].

P. 140.—The death of Bishop Sideman. One of the Abingdon chroniclers (viz. in *Claud.*, c. ix., fol. 121*b*) has practically the same passage, but rather more concisely. It runs:—'De Sidemanno Episcopo. Anno tertio hujus regis, concilio apud Kirtlincgtun Paschali tempore constituto, Sidemannus, unus eorum qui intererant, Defnescire episcopus, subitanea arreptus aegritudine ibidem defungitur. Cujus corpus, jussu regis ac Dunstani archiepiscopi, Abbendonam defertur, et in porticu Sancti Pauli apostoli illic decenter humatur[1].' Probably each account was derived from the same original source, as Chronicle B is supposed to have been compiled at Abingdon.

P. 140. Two more incidents might have been referred to before the close of the tenth century which have incidentally a connection with Oxford. The first is so connected simply from the fact that Winsige, the Reeve at Oxford (praepositus on *Oxnaforda*) is named, and this is probably not the Reeve of the shire but the Reeve of the port or town. In one of the Abingdon charters a curious story is found recited illustrating the strict law existing as to burials. King Æthelred (c. A. D. 995) is made to say:—

> 'And how the present land came into my possession I will tell in a brief story. Three brothers were stopping at a certain inn (*convivio*) and their 'man,' whose name was Leofric, at the instigation of the devil, stole a bridle. When it was discovered hidden in his bosom, those who lost the bridle commenced pursuit, and the three brothers, who were the thief's masters, also giving pursuit attacked in return the pursuers. Two of the brothers, however, were killed in the affray, that is to say Ælfnoth and Ælfric, but the third, Athelwin, together with the aforesaid thief took refuge in S. Helen's Church [i. e. at Abingdon].

[1] *Chron. Mon. Ab.*, Rolls Series, vol. i, p. 356.

When the neighbours heard of the matter, Athelwig my *praepositus* of Bucingaham, and Winsige my *praepositus* of Oxonaforda, buried the aforesaid brothers amongst Christian folk. When therefore Earl Leofsige heard this account he brought before me an accusation against the two *praepositi* aforesaid, that the brothers who had been slain were illegally buried amongst Christian folk. But being unwilling that Athelwig should be vexed, since he was dear and precious to me, I permitted both that those buried should rest where they were among Christian folk, and I granted the aforesaid land (of Eardulfeslea) to him in perpetual inheritance[1].'

The last clause was necessary because it is presumed Athelwig's lands were at the mercy of the king. Unfortunately, we have not the rest of the story, and we are not told how Winsige, the Oxford *praepositus*, was punished for his part in the illegal action. That the Reeve of Buckingham and Oxford were concerned implies that the affray took place on the northern side of the Thames, and that when two of the party were killed the remaining two crossed the river and took refuge in S. Helen's, at Abingdon.

The other story we obtain from a life of S. Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester, who died A.D. 984: the biographer's name was Ælfric. This Ælfric was possibly the same who became Archbishop of Canterbury; but if so, he must have written the biography immediately after his friend, Æthelwold's death, and before his promotion, as there is nothing in the biography to imply that the author was an archbishop[2]. We may therefore fix the time of Ælfelm's visit to Winchester very soon after 984. The story is given as follows:—

'There was a certain *civis Oxnofornensis* by name Aelfelm, who had for many years been deprived of sight; he was admonished in a dream to go to the burial-place of S. Athelwold, and there was told to him the name of a monk of Winchester, whom as yet he had never heard of, who would lead him to the tomb of the holy Bishop.—What need of many words? He went to Winchester, and having called for the monk by name, as he had learnt it in his dream (that is to say a chanter of the name of Wulfstan) he asked him to become his conductor to the tomb of the saint, and he told him the circumstances of his vision. The monk then led him to the tomb of the saint blind, but without any help of his conductor he returned able to see[3].'

This may be looked upon in the light of a companion story to that of the Monks of Evesham (see *ante* p. 218), as an example of the piety of the people of Oxford.

P. 153. 1015. 'Swegen obliged the men of Oxford to obey his laws.'—In connection with the promulgation of the laws of Æthelred's reign

[1] *Chron. Mon. Ab.* Rolls Series, vol. i. p. 394.

[2] Ælfric was consecrated Bishop of Ramsbury in 990, and was translated to Canterbury in 995. He died 1006.

[3] *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, printed at the end of *Chron. Mon. Ab.*, Rolls Series, vol. ii. p. 266.

[978–1016], it might perhaps have been mentioned that two or three series are supposed to have been promulgated during that reign in the neighbourhood of Oxford, though not in Oxford itself. The title to the first runs:—

> 'This is the ordinance which King Ethelred and his witan ordained as frith bot for the whole nation at Woodstock (*aet Wudestoce*), in the land of the Mercians according to the law of the English[1].'

This series refers back to those which were made at a gemot at 'Bromdun,' the place of which has not been identified. (Qy. Brondene, Hants, of Domesday, fol. 496, and so written in charters, or Brumdun in Dorsetshire, K. C. D. 1322.) Another series mentions only 'the agreement made by Ethelred and his witan with the army that Anlaf and others were with,' and which may perhaps be dated 993[2]. A third series has the following title:—

> 'These are the laws which King Ethelred and his witan have decreed at Wantage (*aet Wanetinge*) as frith-bot[3].'

These again refer back to the gemot at Bromdun, but so far as has been observed there is nothing in their provisions which enables us to assign to them a date. Another series is entitled, 'Institutes of London,' and we only have a Latin version of them. Another series has no place mentioned. A sixth series, however, which appears to be very important, was promulgated at the 'Council of *Enham*[4].' They begin:—'These are the ordinances which the councillors of the English selected and decreed, and strictly enjoined that they should be observed.' The name of the place, from the similarity of the sound, is supposed to be meant for Ensham. As is the case with the others there is nothing in the laws themselves which confirms this interpretation nor yet provides a date. It is unfortunate, since the series of laws promulgated at Woodstock, Wantage, and possibly at Ensham, if we could have ascertained their dates and circumstances, would throw further light perhaps, not only upon the events which took place at Oxford in 1002, 1006, 1009, 1013, and 1015, which have all been recorded in the previous pages, but also upon the question of the obedience to Sweyn's law. In those of Ensham we seem to obtain no insight at all into the gradual subjugation of the English people to the foreign invaders, which was going on. Law No. 33, for instance, runs:—'And it will be prudent that every year, immediately after Easter, ships of war be made ready.' The Danes are not referred to except in one case, and that is (No. 37) in plotting against the king's life, the man is liable in his own life; 'and if he desire to clear himself he may do so with the most solemn oath or with threefold ordeal, by the law of the English; and by the law of the Danes, according as their law may be[5].' It is difficult to conceive these laws being promulgated so close to Oxford in the early part of the eleventh century, when we read of the disasters which were befalling the Oxford district.

P. 159, line 11.—'Rumour asperses Edric.' William of Malmesbury himself has more than once referred to the infamous character of Edric. He thus writes:—

[1] Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, 1840, vol. i. p. 280.
[2] Ibid. p. 285. [3] Ibid. p. 293. [4] Ibid. p. 315. [5] Ibid. p. 325.

'Nam praeter Elfricum, Elferii, qui superiorem regem occiderat, successorem, erat in talibus improbe idoneus Edricus, quem rex comitatui Merciorum praefecerat; faex hominum et dedecus Anglorum, flagitiosus helluo, versutus nebulo, cui nobilitas opes pepererat, lingua et audacia comparaverat [1].'

As it is hard to convey the force of the writer in an English version it is given only in the original.

P. 172, line 2.—It should be noticed that, amongst the signatures (p. 144) to the charter of foundation of S. Frideswide, the name of Bishop Ælfhelm of Dorchester is absent. This is very singular, since Oxford was in his diocese. There is a brief account preserved of the second Eadnoth, Bishop of Dorchester, namely, the one who, like his predecessor Æscwig, was a warrior. In the *Liber Eliensis*, Thomas of Ely, writing about 1150, and copying and extending what a certain Richard of Ely, a monk in the same monastery, had collected some few years before him, devotes a short chapter to Bishop Eadnoth. It seems that the bishop had been once a monk belonging to Worcester, and had been made Abbot of Ramsey. While here, a certain workman had a vision which he relates to the abbot, and the result was, they discovered the body of St. Yvo and conveyed it to Ramsey. Then he says that, the bishopric of Lincoln being vacant (the same error which Florence of Worcester makes), Eadnoth was promoted to the see. This must have been in 1008. On his promotion he is said to have built and restored churches, amongst which that of Chateriz (i. e. in Cambridgeshire) is mentioned. The Chronicler then describes his receiving the body of S. Ælfege at Greenwich. And then, in describing his death, he writes:—

'At length, however, when about to be honoured with a martyr's glory, while he was saying mass, he was killed, in the battle which was waged between King Edmund and Cnut at Assandun, as also was Abbot Wlsi, by the Danes who accompanied Cnut; and they first of all cut off his right hand, on account of the [episcopal] ring, and then mutilated his whole body. According to the Chronicle, they had come hither to worship God rather than as soldiers to fight a battle [2].'

P. 172, line 11.—Of Bishop Æthelric it should have been said that he was a benefactor to Ramsey Abbey, and it is supposed he had been originally a monk there [3], and if so, he would perhaps have been under Eadnoth, his predecessor in the bishopric of Dorchester. From the *Liber de Benefactoribus S. Albani* also we obtain the following:—'Ethelredus episcopus Dorkceastre dedit Deo et Sancto Albano villam quae dicitur Cirstiwa, Cyncumba Tiwa [4].'

P. 173, line 9.—It was to Bishop Wulfwi that the bull issued by Pope

[1] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, Eng. Hist. Soc., ed. London, 1840, lib. ii. § 165, p. 266.

[2] *Liber Eliensis*. Soc. Anglia Christiana, London, 1848, lib. ii. cap. lxxi. p. 188.

[3] See Dugdale, vol. ii. p 547.

[4] Printed from C. C. C. MS. VII. at end of Trokelowe's Chronicle in *Chronica Mon. S. Albani*, Rolls Series, 1866, p. 441. The name is probably meant for Church Tew—now Great Tew in Oxfordshire. See *ante*, p. 179, note 2, and p. 355, note 3.

Nicolas II., dated from the Lateran, May 3, 1061, was addressed concerning the privileges of the see of Dorchester. The chief point at issue on which an appeal seems to have been sent to Rome was the claim of the Archbishop of York to the churches of Lincoln, Stowe, Newark, &c.[1]

P. 175, last line, *for* the two monks *read* the monk. And note 4: *for* Appendix A, § 86, *read* § 68.

P. 189, line 10, to p. 190, line 6.—There should have been included in the summary of the various accounts of William's march, that of the local Chronicle of Oseney known as Wyke's Chronicle (*Annales Monastici*, vol. iv. p. 7), which makes William go first to Winchester on his way to London (see note 2, p. 188). The record or tradition of this would explain perhaps why Florence of Worcester (see p. 187) has included Southamptonshire amongst the counties ravaged by William during his march (p. 197, note 1).

Although the evidence given makes it quite clear that there was no authority for the reading of *Oxonia* in William of Malmesbury's History, another argument might have been noted, namely, that in all cases when he refers to Oxford, he uses the word *Oxenefordum* and *Oxonenefordensis*, never Oxonia. Indeed it is doubtful if any writer so early as the twelfth century ever uses Oxonia. This stamps both the passage of Asser (p. 46, and p. 313) as a forgery, as well as that of Ingulph (p. 43, note 2, and p. 387). See also Appendix B, p. 349.

P. 217, line 21.—Something more perhaps should have been added respecting Bishop Remigius, as his death took place before the close of the century. The little, however, that is recorded of him does not directly concern Oxford, since the see had been removed to Lincoln, and there is no direct evidence of his even having visited Oxford. Henry of Huntingdon, in speaking of the removal from Dorchester, writes thus in his *Historia Anglorum*:—

> 'But since this bishoprick was larger than all others in England, and extended from the Thames to the Humber, it seemed inconvenient to the bishop that his episcopal seat should be situated at the extremity of his diocese. It displeased him also that the town [of Dorchester] was of small size, while in the same diocese the most noble city of Lincoln appeared more worthy of the episcopal seat. Having therefore purchased some ground at the very summit of the city, next to the Castle, which, with its exceedingly strong towers, commanded the town, he built a church to the Virgin of virgins, strong, in a strong position, fair, in a fair spot, and which was agreeable to those who serve God, and also, as was needful at the time, impregnable to an enemy. . . . . Remigius indeed was small in stature, but great in heart; dark as to complexion, but bright in deeds[2].'

Again, when writing in 1135 to his old friend Walter, he says: 'But I speak only of what I have heard and seen; I never saw him (i.e. Remigius), but I have seen all the venerable clergy whom he first placed in his

[1] The document is printed (apparently from a Lambeth MS.) in Wilkins's *Concilia*, London, 1737, vol. i. p. 315. In *Mansi*, vol. xix. p. 875.

[2] Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, Rolls Series, b. vi. § 41, p. 212.

church[1].' Henry of Huntingdon then enumerates them, and amongst them he names the seven archdeacons whom Remigius appointed over the seven counties. He mentions that over Oxford Alfred was appointed, and to him there succeeded Walter, a splendid Rhetorician. Over Buckingham he put 'Alfred the Little,' to whom succeeded Gilbert.

P. 241.—It might be useful to give the names of the several bishops who held houses in Oxford in right of their see. Besides Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln, there were Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances; Robert de Losinga, Bishop of Hereford; Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury; Osbern, Bishop of Exeter; and Gilbert, Bishop of Lisieux.

P. 242.—In addition to the charter of Bishop Remigius might have been given the charter of William Rufus respecting the gift of S. Ebbe's Church, and the two mills to Ensham. It is given as an inspeximus on more than one Patent roll, and the portion relating to Oxford runs as follows:—

> 'Insuper concedo, sicut pater meus concessit, Egnesham, cum appendiciis suis, viz. Miltuna, Rollendriz, Erdentuna, Syfort, et ecclesia sanctae Ædbae, cum adjacente ei terrulâ, et duobus molendinis in Oxinefort, cum omnibus, consuetudinibus. Hiis aliisque elemosinis abbatia in episcopali manerio constructa in dominio episcoporum perhenniter maneat: has autem elemosinas omnes concedo regali dono, tam ecclesiarum, quam terrarum, sub ordinatione et dispositione Remigii episcopi, cujus interventu praedicta mater ecclesia coepit fundari, ut ipse disponat et dividat, sicut sibi visum fuerit, inter matrem ecclesiam suamque abbatiam; in quâ, viz. matre ecclesiâ, canonici Deo servientes justè et catholicè vivant, nullaque inter eos praebenda ematur vel vendatur depulsâ omni haeresi simoniacâ[2].'

The charter, it may be added, is dated 1090, that is, one year before the confirmation charter of Remigius already given.

P. 247, line 9.—It may be noted that Berenger of Todeni, of whom little is known, was a benefactor to S. Alban's Abbey. In the *Liber de Benefactoribus* occurs the following:—

> 'Beryngerius de Toteneya et Albreda uxor ejus dederunt huic ecclesiae Thorp et decimas de Siderynktone[3].'

P. 257, note 2.—As an example of the name Manasses borne by a Christian, might have been adduced that of Manasses de Arsi, a landowner in Oxfordshire and a benefactor to S. Alban's[4].

P. 258, line 8, *for* no reason to suppose, *read* no direct evidence.

P. 266, note 3, *for* Poeni, *read* Toeni.

P. 269, line 49.—Swetman the moneyer. It might perhaps have been noticed in illustration of this name being found on coins, that there is an

[1] *Epistola De Contemptu Mundi*, ibid. p. 302. Remigius, who had been consecrated to the see of Dorchester in 1067, died at Lincoln, May 7, 1092, the day before his new cathedral was to be consecrated.

[2] Printed in Dugdale, ed. 1846, vol. viii, p. 1270, from Patent Rolls, 8th Henry VI, part 3, memb. 10.

[3] Printed in Rolls Series at end of Trokelowe, *Annales S. Albani*, p. 445.

[4] Ibid, p. 447.

interesting paper by the late Edward Hawkins, F.R.S., etc., in vol. xxvi. of the *Archaeologia* (p. 1) and reprinted in Ruding[1]. It gives an account of a hoard of coins found at Beaworth in Hampshire, all of which were to be attributed to William I or William II. There appears to have been amongst them 197 which were struck at Oxford, that is, having on the reverse the letters OXI, OXNE, etc. Of these, 119 had the name of the Domesday moneyer on the reverse, spelt correctly on most, i. e. SPETMAN, but on five spelt SIPETMAN; and with the name of the place expressed OXI, OXN, and OXNE. There were also 64 which had on the reverse the name of BRIHTRED or BRIHTRIED (as many spelt in one way almost as in the other), together with the place, expressed thus—OXE, OXN, OXNE, and OXSI. It will have been perhaps observed that the name Brictred occurs in the Oxford Domesday (*ante*, p. 225); while in the grant of houses given to Oseney at the foundation in 1129 (p. 274) occurs the name of Brihtrec the moneyer as the tenant of one of the houses so given. If Brihtred and Brihtrec are the same, the coins may be those of the Domesday, and of the Oseney record, as the man may well have lived into Henry I's reign.

In the same collection, also, there were 14 with the name of Wulwi as the moneyer, thus, PVLFPI-OXNEF. It is singular that we find Wulwi named in the Domesday Survey as the fisherman at Oxford (*ante*, p. 224), and again so described amongst the tenants of the houses purchased by Abingdon (*ante*, p. 264), and nowhere as a moneyer. On one coin, seemingly struck at Oxford, the name of HARGOD occurs. On the other hand, in the same list we find the name of Eadwin the moneyer, and in the Oseney list (*ante*, p. 274) Godwine the moneyer, but, so far as has been observed, no coins have been found with their name on the reverse, struck at Oxford. Examples are known with the name of Eadwin, but they are struck either at Chichester or London. Also of Godwine, but they are struck at Winchester and London.

P. 286, line 2.—*For* St. Aldae *read* St. Aldate.

P. 293, line 27.—The name Aldate. The only example of anything like the name is found on the reverse of certain Sticas struck by the Northumbrian king Eanred, c. 808. The letters which form the supposed name of the moneyer read ALDATES (or ATESALD). The hoard in which they occur was discovered in the churchyard at Hexham in October 1832, the total being estimated to have consisted of eight thousand specimens; it contained the coins of several kings of Northumbria and one or two Archbishops of York, beginning with Eanred, who began to reign 808, to Archbishop Vigmuna, who died in 854. It is thought the date of concealment was 867. The name of Aldates occurs only amongst the moneyers of Eanred, while the moneyers of that one king found in the collection amount to some five and twenty names, with over sixty readings of those names in all. The name Aldates not occurring elsewhere, no light can be thrown upon it, and it has no various readings[2].

P. 296, note 5 (last but one on page).—*For* St. Budoc *read* St. Judoc.

[1] Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain*, third ed. 1840, vol. i. p. 151.

[2] For a full account of the find, see *Archaeologia*, vol. xxv. 1834, p. 279. The paper is contributed by John Adamson, Esq.

INDEX.

Chiefly of Persons and Places.

Abingdon, coins dug up at, 60; Bridge at, 218; district of, 85, 109, 115; on map, 386.

— Abbey of, Anglo-Saxon Chronicle compiled at, 124; S. Frideswide's said to have been given to, 166–8; extent of property round Oxford early in the eleventh century, 168; Bishop Sideman buried in (977), 140; site of the great church, *ibid.*; Robert D'Oilgi buried in (1090), 215; suits by, respecting tolls for boats (c. 1060 and 1111), 214, 267; William the Conqueror and William Rufus at, 303; Abbots of: *see* Æthelhelm, Æthelwin, Æthelwold, Ealdred, Faritius, Rainald, &c.

Abrincis, Hugh de, Earl of Chester (Domesday), 224, 244–5.

Ægelmar, Bishop of Elmham, charter (c. 1050), 197.

Ægelnoth (Abbot of Glastonbury) taken by William to Normandy, 187.

Ægelwin, Bishop of Durham, prisoner at Abingdon (c 1070), 204.

Ælfeah (Alphege), Bishop of Winchester, signs charter (1004), 144–5; afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, martyred (1012), 152.

Ælfgar, the Earl, succeeds Earl Leofric in Northumbria (1057), 178; his influence over the northern half of the kingdom, 179; Oxford in his earldom, 179; holds the land on the north bank of Thames, 213; (Domesday *bis*), 223, 238; held Oxford, 226; the mill held by, 227; held Odo's manors freely, 241. *See* also Algar.

— the monk, sent from Canterbury, attends on Harold (c. 1039), 175.

Ælfgifu, Emma, gives birth to Eadward the Confessor at Islip, 177; sent to Winchester (1036), 174; signs Æthelred's charter (1004), 144–5; signs Cnut's charter (1034), 165.

Ælfhelm, Bishop of Dorchester (c. 1002), 172; absence of signature, 395.

Ælfhere, ealdorman, expels the monks (975), 139.

Ælfhun, Bishop of London, secures the body of Archbishop Alphege, 152; signs a charter (1004), 144–5.

Ælfred, King, stated to be founder of the University of Oxford, 1, 3, 13. 15, 16, 27, 39, 49; evidence from Ralph Higden, Sir John Mandeville, and the Scala Chronica, 30. 31; omission of fact in Asser's Biography, 39, 52; according to Camden does not found, but restores the University, 51; theory opposed by John Caius, 32; said to be founder of the Great Hall of the University, 26; letter to Bishop of Worcester on grammar schools, 31; said to appoint three doctors to three halls, 50; possessed no personal property north of the Thames, 51; born at Wantage, 130; at the battle of Æscesdun, 114; passage in Asser relating to his sovereignty over the West of England, 391; coins struck at Oxford supposed to prove his sovereignty, 366; varieties of coins with his name, 368–73; his title 'Rex Doro' on his coins, 372–4.

Ælfred of Northumbria, coins attributed to, 367.

— Archdeacon of Oxford, 396.

Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, signs a charter (1034), 165; his will, 355; previously Abbot of S. Alban's, *ibid.*

— the Ealdorman, feigns illness, 148; slain at Assandun, 157.

Ælfstan (Alstan), Bishop of Wells, signs a charter (1004), 144–5.

Ælfthryth, Eadward's stepmother, 137; benefactress to Abingdon Abbey. *ibid.*

Ælfweard (Ethelward), Eadward's son, dies at Oxford, 135; said to be versed in literature, 136; and to have been educated at Oxford, 49.

Æscesdun, country laid waste as far as (661), 84; Offa extends Mercia as far as (777), 110; the Danes attempt to reach, 114; battle of (871), *ibid.*; Danes succeed in reaching (1006), 148; shown on the map, 386.

Æscwin, Bishop of Dorchester (c. 993), 138, 392.

Æthelbald's rule in Mercia (716), 101, 107, 127.

Æthelburga, Abbess of Liming (633), 88.
Æthelelm, Abbot of Abingdon (1071), 204, 212.
Æthelflæd, lady of the Mercians, fortifies Mercia, 116; death of (918), 125, 127, 132.
Æthelmar, an ealdorman of Devonshire, founds Ensham Abbey (1013), 170.
Æthelnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury, signs a charter (1034), 165.
Æthelred, King, the Unready, orders the Danes to be killed throughout the kingdom (1002), 92, 94, 101, 141; gives a charter to, and restores S. Frideswide's, 91–3, 142–5, 166; gives a charter to Ensham (1005), 170.
— king of Wessex, at the battle of Æscesdun (871), 114.
Æthelric, Bishop of Sherborne, signs a charter (1004), 144–5.
— Bishop of Dorchester (1016), 172; benefactor to Romney and to S. Alban's, 395.
Æthelstan, eldest son of Eadward, his policy in Mercia (925–940), 137; said to have had two mints at Oxford, 366.
— eldest son of Æthelred, signs a charter (1004), 144–5.
Æthelweard aids in the foundation of Ensham, 170.
Æthelwin, Abbot of Abingdon (1034), 165.
Æthelwold, Abbot of Abingdon, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, favours the monks, 139; begs of King Eadgar the monasteries, *ibid.*; may have turned out the secular canons from S. Frideswide, 167; a pilgrimage to his tomb from Oxford, 393.
Æthelwulf, the Berkshire Ealdorman, 114, 115.
Æthered, lord and under-king of the Mercians, dies (912), 125.
Ætla, appointed to see of Dorchester (680), 87.
Agelwin, Abbot of Ensham, 218.
Ailnoth's land at Oxford, 274.
Ailric (Domesday), 224, 267.
Akeman Street, 65, 68, 77, 383–4.
Akerman, Mr., excavations by, 78.
Albanactus made to fit Albania, 8.
Alberic, Earl (Domesday), 223, 239.
Albreda, wife of Berenger of Todeni, 397.
Albury, 'quae est in Oxenford,' 228.
Alchester, Roman camp at, 66; MS. account of, 77; Akeman Street at, 385.
Alcuin, said to have been at Cambridge, 14, 26; at Oxford, 60.
Aldgate suggested for Aldate, 294.
Aldith, wife of Robert D'Oilgi, 207.
Aldworth, Mr., Roman villa excavated by, 78.
Alfwold, Bishop of Crediton, signs a charter (1004), 144–5.
Algar, 'Rex Leicestrensium,' and S. Frideswide, 97, 103; various persons bearing the name, 97, 388; an Earl Algar *temp.* Buhred, 388. *See* Ælfgar.
Algiva, matron, governess to S. Frideswide, 96.
Alheard, Bishop of Dorchester, 138, 391.
Allington, Wiltshire, battle at, 111.
All Saints' Church, 285–6, 295.
Alward, of Seacourt, 99.
Alward (Domesday), 225, 269.
Alwi (Domesday) 225 *bis*, 266.
Alwi, or Alwin, Sheriff, 301.
Alwin (Domesday), 224 *bis*, 225, 266.
Alwin, the Priest (Domesday), 225, 266.
Alwine, held Odo's mansions freely, 241.
Arcisterium, a monastery, 92, 139.
Ardington (Aerdington, i.e. Yarnton), 242, 243.
Aristotle's Well, Oxford, 58, 61.
Armacan, Rd. (of Armagh), scholar of University College, 55, 56.
Arthur, King, and Boso Ridocensis, 18; his imaginary charter to Cambridge, 38.
Ashbury (Essebury), boundary of Offa's conquest, 109; boundary between the Wilsæte and Bearrucscire, 109–10.
Ashmolean Museum, antiquities in, 63, 64; line of city wall near, 238.
Asquesuffort (? Oxford), 350.
Assandun, battle at (1016), 157; Eadnoth slain at, 395.
Asser, controversy respecting passage, 39, 47, 52; made to be first Regent in grammar in Oxford, 45. *See also* the Table of Contents and Index Auctorum.
Aulus Plautius, campaign of, 71, 73.
Axe, or Exe, various forms of, 352–3.
Axonevorde, battle of (571), 81, 82.
Aylesbury, battle of (571), 81, 82.

Bacgan-leah (Bagley), 169; road beneath, 121, 214.
Baldon, coins found at, 75.
Bampton, name for Bentonia, 104.
Barbury (Beran-burh), fighting at (556), 80.
Barking (Bercingis), monastery at (677), 88; Eadwine and Morkere submit to William at, 189.
Bartholomew (i.q. Partholaim), 35.
Bath taken (577), 82.
Battle Abbey manors in Oxfordshire, 243; the charter of, 185.

Bayeux, Bishop of. *See* Odo.
Bayworth, 169; road past, 215.
Beadanhead, battle at (675), 85.
Bearrucscire, 130, 133; boundary of, 110.
Beckley, Roman villa found at, 76.
Beda, made to study at Greeklade, 60; at Oxford, 55, 56, 60; to found Grantchester, near Cambridge, 14.
Bedford, battle of (571), 82; on the Danelaw boundary, 134; gained by Æthelflæd, 134; burh built at, 132.
Belinus, made to build Billingsgate, 8.
Bellesitum, Belmount, Bellus Mons, 5, 6, 10, 17, 30, 32; road supposed to pass, 67.
Bensington (Benson), battle of (571), 81; battle of (777), 109.
Bentona, S. Frideswide reaches, 98, 103–4; the miracle of the blind girl at, 99.
Beorcham, William visits, 187; the name of, 192.
Berengar. *See* Todeni.
Beri meadow, near Iffley, 169.
Berkamystede (Berstead, Kent; and Bersted, Sussex), 192.
Berkhamstead (Beorhamstede), William goes to (1066), 186; King William and Lanfranc at (c. 1070), 192; mediæval castle at, 192; road past, to London, 192; in Roman times, 385.
Berkshire Downs, view from the, 109.
Bernvald, the moneyer, on coins of Ælfred, 370–74, 381.
Berroc or bearc (Bearrucscire), 130.
Beverley, John of, scholar at Oxford, 55, 56, 60; prior at Oxford (1333), 60.
Bicester, Roman road to, 65–6.
Binsey, road near, 68; supposed ford at, *ibid.*; near Wytham, 90, 103–5; chosen by S. Frideswide, 90, 92; S. Frideswide sojourns at, 98, 99; S. Margaret's Well, 104; fanciful derivation of name, 61.
Birinus, the missionary bishop, fixes his see at Dorchester, 86.
Bladon Hill, camp on, 64.
Bladud, King, Stamford founded by, 60.
Bletchingdon, mansion belonging to (Domesday), 224, 257.
Bloxham, Oxfordshire, mansion belonging to, 223–39.
Bodleian Library, the Orsnaford coins preserved at, 381. *See also* MSS. in, under Index Auctorum.
Bolles (Bullingdon) granted to S. Frideswide's, 143.
Bomy, near Therouanne, supposed to have been visited by S. Frideswide, 102.
Boso Devadoboum (Ridocensis), in King Arthur's army, 18, 30; connected with name of Ox, 19; commented on by Twyne, 58.
Botley, Causey and Road, 69, 119, 214; Mill, lawsuit about the, 214.
Brennius or Brennus, made to build Bristol, 8.
Brictred (Domesday), 225, 268, 398.
Bridgenorth, the burh built by Æthelflæd (912), 116, 391.
Bridges at Oxford, 215, 219, 274, 298.
Bridport, houses *destructae*, 234.
Brighthampton, excavations at, 64.
Brihtrec, moneyer, 274; coins with his name, 39.
British Museum, Cuerdale coins at the, 381.
Bromdun (?), laws promulgated at, 394.
Brutus, 7; made to fix on Greeklade, 11, 26.
Buckenham, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, 34.
Buckingham, burh built at, 132.
Budoceus. *See* S. Budoc.
Buhred, King of Mercia, 131.
Bullingdon Green, mounds on, 64.
Bundi the Stallere, 271.
Burford (Beorghford), battle of (752), 108; mansions belonging to, 223, 239.
Busney, i. q. Binsey, 61.

Cadwallader, King, imaginary charter granted to Cambridge by, 37.
Caerbossa, Oxford called, 5, 17, 19.
Caergrant, Cambridge called, 9, 37.
Caerleon, made by Rous and Dugdale to be Warwick, 8.
Caer-memre, Oxford called, 5.
Caer Oxon, ditto, 30.
Caer-penu-hel-goit, i. e. Exonia, 30.
Caer Wisc (Exeter), 353.
Caesar takes students from Cambridge to Rome, 35; crosses the Thames, 70.
Caius, John, the Cambridge champion in the Elizabethan controversy, 20.
Caius, Thomas, the Oxford champion in the Elizabethan controversy, 20.
Caleva, name applied to Oxford, 16; not Wallingford but Silchester, 66; not mentioned by historical writers, 73.
Cambridge, founded by Ganteber, 9; origin of, 24, 25; date of foundation, 28; Historiola or Cambridge Black Book, 25, 26, 34; Elizabethan controversy referring to the antiquity of, 9, 20, 39; speech of public orator at, 24; statement that Oxford borrowed its most learned men from, 26; houses at, *vastae*, 234.
Camden, story of the interpolation in his edition of Asser, 40, 45.

Canditch, 237.
Cantaber, founder of Cambridge, 25, 34.
Cante, river, 34.
Canterbury, Anglo-Saxon Chronicle compiled at, 123; Lanfranc's and Anselm's buildings at, 253; S. Mildred's Church at, 289; Archbishop of, *see* Theodore, Ælfric, Stigand, Lanfranc, &c.
Capitulo in, 215.
Carfax, 121–22, 275; market place at, 278; Port-mannimot at, 282. *See also* S. Martin's at.
Cassibelaunus made to honour Cambridge, 35.
Cassivelauni fines, 71.
Castle, Oxford, the Mound, 117, 119; associations, 162; Robert D'Oilgi's building, 203; the site and plan, 219–20; the view of, 276; the garrison, 283.
Catuwellani (Catyeuchlani), 71, 82.
Ceadwalla's grant to Abingdon, 89.
Ceawlin and Cutha, become masters of the Thames river (568–71), 80.
Cedwalla, Grekelade schools instituted by, 26.
Cenwalh of Wessex invades the Mercian territory (661), 84.
Ceolwulf, Bishop of Dorchester (c. 896), 138, 391–93.
Cerdic and Cynric, the landing and march of, 80.
Chembrigia, daughter of King Gurguntius, 35.
Chergrantium, name for Cambridge, 35.
Chertsey, monastery at, 88.
Cherwell, river protecting Oxford on the east, 118–19; boundary of S. Frideswide's property, 143.
Chester, Earl of. *See* Abrincis, Hugh de.
Cheyney Lane, once a high road, 68.
Chiltern Hills of Buckinghamshire, natural eastern boundary of the Dobuni, 71, 73; scene of battle (571), 81; over Wallingford (777), 110; the Danes pass over (1009), 150–51; William supposed to march along (1066), 192.
Cholsey ravaged by Danes (1006), 148.
Chorley Hurst, road beneath, 215.
Churn or Cern, the river, 71.
Cilla, foundress of a nunnery at Abingdon, 89.
Cirencester, city of the Dobounoi, 71; Roman road to, 65; name of, 72; taken (577), 82; fighting at (628), 83.
Cissa, king in Wessex (c. 675), 89.
Civitas, Oxford so called, 275.
Claudius, campaign of (47), 71.
Clementine constitutions (1311), 30.
Clewer, site of the old castle of Windsor, 205.
Clutterbuck, Rev. J. C., discoveries in Dorchester dykes, 74.
Cnut lands at Sandwich (1016), 156; victorious in Dorset and Wilts through Eadric's treachery, 156; besieges London and fails, 157; fights at Gillingham, Sherston, Brentford, Aylesford, and Assandun, 157; goes to Gloucestershire, 157; holds a gemot at Oxford (1018), 161; orders Eadwy Ætheling to be slain, 160; death at Shaftesbury (1036), followed by a gemot at Oxford to choose his successor, 173; laws of, 279, 281.
Coleman (Domesday), 224, 264; his house purchased, 264.
Columbanus, Abbot of Ensham, 242.
Confessio at S. Peter's, 251–2.
Corineus of Cornubia, 8.
Cornwealas, the, 130.
Corsham, Ethelred lies ill at, 156.
Corveiser, Henry, his land at Oxford, 274.
Coutances, Bishop of. *See* Geoffrey.
Cowley (Covele), granted to S. Frideswide, 143.
Creccanforda, now Crayford, 12.
Crespin. *See* Milo.
Cricklade, spellings of, 11; derivation of ditto, 12; the Danes march westward to, 116. For the story of the Greek philosopher *see* Greeklade.
Crowland, Lincolnshire, Ingulph describes, 197; Orderic Vital there, *ibid.*; MS. of Ingulph's Chronicle once preserved there, 387.
Cuddesdon, remains found at, 75.
Cuerdale, Lancashire, hoard of coins found at, 369–79.
Cumnor Hill, flint weapons found on, 64.
Curci, Richard de (Domesday), 224, 247.
Cuthwulf fights the British (571), 81.
Cutslow, near Oxford, two hydes at, granted to S. Frideswide's, 144, 165; leased to Siward, 263.
Cwichelm, King of Wessex, extends his kingdom up to Northumbria (626), 83.
Cwichelmshlœwe, Danes reach (1006), 148–49; view from, 109–10; on the map, 384.
Cynegils, the West-Saxon king, 86.

Damari, Gilbert of, gives a house to Ensham, 243, 274.
Danes, early incursions of the, 113; ravages of (in 993 similar to 832), 137; occupy East Anglia, 373. They come through Hampshire again to Reading and to Cwichelmshlœwe

(1006), 148; ravage Hampshire (1009), 150; reach Oxford and burn it (1009), 150; visit Oxfordshire (1011), 151.
Defenascire, 130.
Denewulf, a herdsman, said to become Doctor of Theology at Oxford and Bishop of Winchester, 49.
Derby, one of the five burghs, 133; gained by Æthelflæd, 134.
Dereman (Domesday *bis*), 224, 268.
Derewen (Domesday), 225, 269.
Derman the priest, his house purchased, 264.
Devadoboum. *See* Boso.
Didanus, a supposed king of Oxford, 91; father of S. Frideswide, 92; a Mercian king (or under-king), 95; death of, 97.
Diversoria; of roads, 19, 310; of monastic buildings, 92, 319.
Dobuni, territory of the, on north of Thames, 63, 71, 82.
D'Oilgi, Robert, builds Oxford Castle, 202–3; castle tower described, 254; founds the church of S. George in the Castle, 206–7; S. George's Crypt described, 254; of S. Mary Magdalen Church, 250; possibly builder of S. Peter's Crypt, 250; S. Peter's Crypt described, 250–254; probably builds S. Michael's Church, 216, 258; S. Michael's tower described, 258–61; referred to, 237; repairs at his own cost the parish churches in Oxford, 215; list of churches built or restored by, 215; builds Hythe bridge, 218; takes away King's mead from Abingdon, 212; his dream, 213; (Domesday), 224, 248; (Domesday), 225; holds houses belonging to Steventon, 228; Constabularius and governor of Oxford, 212, 304; aids in building S. Mary's Church, Abingdon, 215; benefactor to Abingdon, 304.
— Nigel, succeeds to his brother Robert's property, 304.
— Robert, the nephew, founds Osney, 203.
Domesday, date of the Survey, 222; the Domboc, 280; account of, 383–84.
Dorchester, on the north bank of the Thames, fixed on as the see for Wessex, 86; Register of the Church of, 86; but now lost, 171; possibly remains of the early Cathedral Church there, 171; Bishop's seat removed from to Lincoln, 171 (634–680), 86–7; Bishops of (737–1002), 138; (1002–1067), 172–3; Remigius Bishop of, 216, &c.
—camp at, 72; Roman remains at, 74.
Dorchester (Dorset), houses *destructae*, 234.
Dornsæte, 130.
Doylybys, Barony of, 207.
Drake, John, gift of the Orsnaford coin to the Bodleian Library, 369.
Droco of Audelys, 266.
Dunstable, near where the Icknield way joins Wætling Street, 385.
Dunwich (Dumnoc), Bishop Felix establishes his school at, 36.
Durham, William of, founder of University College, 52, 54.

Eadgar's law promulgated at Oxford (1018), 161.
Eadgar child, at Berkhamstead, 186; at Beorcham, 187; taken by William to Normandy, 187; would have been chosen king, 188.
Eadmund I, king, his policy in Mercia (940–946), 137.
— Ironside, marries the wife of Sigeferth (1015), 153–4; is chosen king (1016), 157; fights in several campaigns, 157; his treaty at Olney, 158; his death probably at Oxford on his way back to London, 158–9; probably by treachery, 158–9; is buried at Glastonbury, 158.
Eadnoth I, Bishop of Dorchester (965), 138.
— II, Bishop of Dorchester, promoted to the see (1008), 395; secures the body of Archbishop Elphege, 152; fights at battle of Assandun, and is slain (1016), 172; his death and mutilation, 395.
— III, Bishop of Dorchester, builds the church of S. Mary at Stowe, connected with Ensham, 172; dies (1049), *ib.*
Eadred's policy in Mercia (946–955), 137.
Eadric the traitor, made ealdorman of Mercia (1007), 150; accuses Wulfnoth of treason, (1009), *ib.*; his evil counsel, 150–52; murders the two Danish thanes (1015), 153; this event is confused by William of Malmesbury with the massacre on S. Brice's day, 146–7; prompts Cnut to kill Uhtred, 156; his evil counsel at Aylesford, 157; at Olney, 158; Cnut reinstates him in the earldom of Mercia (1017), 158, 160; rumoured to have been beheaded by Cnut, 158; slain in London (1017), 160; his character, as drawn by William of Malmesbury, 395.
— his son, who was monk at Abingdon, 266; (Domesday), 224, 266.
Eadward, the Confessor crowned (1043),

176; his birth-place, *ibid*; dies (1066), 184.
Eadward the Elder takes possession of Oxford (912), 125–6; fortifies Mercia, 125; and divides it into Shires, 132.
— the Martyr, murdered (979), 137.
— the Sheriff, 224, 246, 301; of Salisbury, 246.
Eadwi, *prepositus* of Oxford, 273, 302.
Eadwig Ætheling slain by Cnut (1017), 160.
Eadwin, Earl, in Oxfordshire, 226.
Eadwin the moneyer, his house purchased, 264, 273; no coins found bearing his name, 398.
Eadwine and his brother Morkere fight against Earl Tostig (1065), 184; appeal to Harold for help, *ib.*; desert Harold when he is fighting in Wessex, 185; yield to Duke William without striking a blow, 193; their treachery throughout, 199; said to meet Duke William at Berkhamstead, 186; at Beorcham, 187; said to depart to Northumbria, 188; said to submit to William at Barking, 189; taken by William to Normandy, 187.
Eadwine, Sheriff (?) of Oxfordshire, 246.
Ealdred, Abbot of Abingdon, prisoner at Wallingford (c. 1070), 204.
— Archbishop of York, at Berkhamstead, 186; at Beorcham, 187; meets William at London, 188; crowns William at Westminster (Christmas, 1066), 187–8; crowns Queen Matilda at Westminster (1067), 196.
Earcongota, a nun (640), 87.
Ebrancus, made to be builder of York, 7.
Ecgbryht, succeeds to Wessex (800), and extends his kingdom, 111.
Eddid (Domesday), 224, 267.
Edwacher's son, his land at Oxford, 274.
Edward, Edgar, &c. *See* Eadward, Eadgar, &c.
Elizabeth, Queen, speech before at Cambridge, 24.
Ellendun, battle of (823), 111.
Elnod (Eadnoth), Bishop of Dorchester, 138. *See* Eadnoth.
Elphege, Elfhelm, Elfstan, Elfwin, Elfwold, &c. *See* Ælfeah, Ælfhelm, Ælfstan, Ælfwin, Alfwold, &c.
Emma. *See* Ælfgyfu.
Engeric, his land at Oxford, 274.
Englefield, Danes defeated at, 114.
Ensham, battle of, near Oxford (571), 81; Abbey founded at, 170; charters relating to (1075), 242–3, 396; mills at Oxford belonging to, 243, 299; laws perhaps promulgated at, 394.
Eocce. *See* Ock.
Ermenold, land and house at Oxford, 274, 298; suit determined at Oxford, 274.
Ernulph. *See* Hesding.
Erpwald, founds a school in East Anglia, 14.
Ethandune, battle of (878), 116.
Ethelburga, Ethelric, &c. *See* Æthelburga, Æthelric, &c.
Evans, Arthur J., remains discovered by, at Woodeaton, 76; Roman villa excavated by, 78; Orsnaford coin in possession of, 380.
Evesham, Abbey of (Domesday), 224, 241–2; the monks exhibit relics of S. Egwin, 218.
Evreux, William, Earl of (Domesday), 224, 245.
Exe and Axe, places beginning with, 351.
Exeter, besieged by King Alfred (877), 28; gained by the Danes through treachery (1003), 148; besieged (1067), 196; house at, *vastae*, 234.
— Bishop of. *See* Osborn.
— college, line of old ditch near, 238.
Exincefort (Oxford), 350.
Exonia, transcribed *Oxonia*, 195–198.

Fairs, 278.
Faritius, Abbot of Abingdon (1100), purchases houses in Oxford, 264; leases house to Ermenold, 298.
Farndon, Eadweard dies at (924), 135.
Felix, Bishop, institutes a school in East Anglia, 14, 36.
Fencott, Roman remains at, 77.
Feng (saisivit, suscepit), 128.
Ferrieres, Henry of (Domesday), 224, 245.
Fitz Nigel, William, gives his house at Oxford to Ensham, 243, 274.
Five Burghs, the, 153, 155.
Flambard, Rannulph (Domesday) 224, 255; signs a charter as Rannulph the Chaplain, 302.
Folly Bridge, the old Grand-pount, 120.
Fosse-way, the, 65.
Fountaine, Sir Andrew, his view that ORS is an error for OX on the Orsnaford coins, 368–9.
Francis, Edmund, suits against University College, 54–7.
Frilford, Roman coffins found at, 78.
Fritheswitha, S. Frideswide, name so spelt, 102; wife of Ethelward, king of the West Saxons, 102.
Frithogith visits Rome (737), 102.
Fyfield, Berks, Ælfthryth's dic at, 137; Godric of, Sheriff of Berkshire, 245.

Ganteber, invented founder of Cambridge, 9.
Gardens at Oxford, 249.

Gemot at Kirtlington (977), 140; at Oxford (1018), 161; at Oxford (1036), 174; at Northampton (1065), 181; finally at Oxford, *ib.*
— various kinds of, and laws relating to, i. e. Hundred-gemot, Burh-gemot, Shire-gemot, 279; Husteng, Folkesmot, Wardmot, Portmannimot, 282.
Gernio. *See* Jernio.
Godfrey, Bishop of Coutances (Domesday), 224, 241.
— the Miller, his land at Oxford, 274.
Gifard, Walter (Domesday), 224, 256.
Gilbert, brother of Robert D'Oilgi, 207. *See* Damari.
Gildas, made to go to Oxford, 46.
Githslepe. *See* Islip, 176.
Gloucester taken (577), 82; houses at, *vastae*, 234; church of S. Aldate at, 293.
Goderun (Domesday), 225, 270.
Godestowe, near Binsey, 105.
Godric (Domesday), 225, 270; Sheriff of Berks, 245, 270.
Godwine, Earl, rule over the West Saxons entrusted to him, 174; becomes leader of the English party, 178.
— Bishop of Lichfield, signs a charter (1004), 144–5.
— ealdorman, signs a charter (1034), 165.
— the Reeve of the town of Oxford (c. 1050), 179; (Domesday, 1087) *bis*, 225, 270, 303.
— his land at Oxford (c. 1129), 274.
— the moneyer, his land at Oxford, *ib.*
— *Nicuma*, his land at Oxford, *ib.*
Goldsmith, John, bequest of Oxford property (1307), 53.
Goldwin (Domesday), 224, 268.
Gonwardby, Ph., holder of a tenement in All Saints parish (1307), 53.
Grand-pont Bridge, 298.
Grandpount, or Folly Bridge, 120; population of district, 229; pons magnus, 299.
Granta Girviorum, i. e. Cambridge, 34.
Grantanus, son of Cantaber, 34.
Grantchester University, near Cambridge, made to be founded by Bede, 14; Cambridge called so, 9.
Grantinus builds the bridge at Cambridge, 9.
Greek Hall, noted by Twyne, 58.
Greeklade, Greek University founded at, 1, 3, 5, 6, 10, 13, 14, 16, 26, 27, 29, 32; story supported by Thomas Caius, 27; attacked by John Caius, 31; imagined to be founded by Archbishop Theodore, 61; Beda made to study at, 61; perversion of the name Cricklade, q.v., 21.
Greglade, Grekecolade, i. q. Greeklade.
Grimbald, S., made to be the first Professor of Divinity in University of Oxford, 45; supposed discord between his disciples and the old scholars at Oxford, 46.
Guarenfort, Duke William said to cross the Thames at, 188.
Guimond, Prior of S. Frideswide's, appointed (1120), 94.
Gurguntius Brabtruc succeeds Brennius, 9; during his reign Cambridge founded, 25.
Guthrum, fights at Chippenham, and treaty made with (878), 116, 127; the Peace and the Danish boundary, 134.
Gyrth, brother of Harold, possibly earl over Oxfordshire, 179; charters addressed to, *ib.*; killed near Hastings (1066), 187, 199.

Hague, 228, 235.
Hampton, mansions belonging to (Domesday), Oxfordshire, 224, 257.
Hamtunshire, 129.
Harding of Oxford, benefactor to S. Ebbe's Church, 243, 267.
— (Domesday), 224, 266.
— the priest, court held in the house of (1111), 267.
Hargod the moneyer, 398.
Harkirk, discovery of coins at, 367.
Harold Harefoot chosen king (1036), 174; when lying ill at Oxford is visited by Lyfing, Bishop of Crediton, 175; dies at Oxford (1039), *ib.*
— Earl, passes Oxford on his Welsh expedition (1063), 180–1; at the Gemot in Oxford (1065), 181; sacrifices his brother to political expediency, 182; allows Cnut's law to be renewed, 183; surrenders to Earls Eadwin and Morkere the whole of the north of England, 193; elected king, Jan. 1066, 184; hastens to help Eadwine and Morkere, 185.
— Hardrada, invades England, 184.
Harthacnut succeeds Harold Harefoot (1039), 176; dies (1042), 176.
Hastings, William lands near, 187.
Headington, Roman roads near, 66, 67.
Hean the 'patrician,' founder of Abingdon, 89.
Hedington, granted to S. Frideswide's, 143–4.
Heiu, the first Northumbrian nun, 88.
Helenstave, a nunnery on the Thames, 90.
Henry. *See* Ferrieres, Corveiser, &c.
Hereford, Bishop of. *See* Robert.
Hertford, burh built at, 132.

Hesding, Ernulph of (Domesday), 224–246.
Hincksey, held by Abingdon, 169; land near, 213.
Holton, remains found at, 75.
Holywell, the manor of, held by Robert D'Oilgi, 225; two hydes there held by S. Peter's Church, *ib.*; church of, possibly erected by Robert D'Oilgi, 297; mill of, 225, 249, 299.
Holy Trinity, Chapel of the, 286, 295.
Honorius, Pope, charter to Cambridge, dated (624), 38.
Horseferth, &c., in Domesday, 378.
Hospitatae domi, 249.
Hourdes, 210, 259.
Hugh. *See* Abrincis.
Huiccas, the, 129, 131.
Humber, Rouse invents the origin of the name, 8; Mercia extended to the, 108.
Huntingdon, the burh at, 133; houses at, *vastae*, 234; Henry of, has heard old people speak of S. Brice's massacre, 147.
Husteng and Hustengs Court, 282.
Hyde, Thomas, attests Wood's copy of Twyne's statement, 43.
Hythe bridge built by Robert D'Oilgi, 215, 219, 298.
Hythe, the, and Hythe Bridge, 218, 219.

Ickleton way, same as Icknield, 70.
Icknield way, along the top of the Berkshire range of hills, 70, 110; supposed to be trodden by William the Conqueror, 192; joins the Wætling Street, 385.
Ine, king of Wessex (678), 85, 89, 101, 107.
Ingulph, said to have been a student at Oxford, 389.
Iren, made to be Icen, or Oxford, 60.
Isis, the name of the Thames near Oxford, 362–3; derived from glacies, 59; 'Isidis ad vadum,' &c. and 'ād ripas,' name for Oxford, 16.
Islip (Githslepe), birthplace of Eadward the Confessor, 176.
Ithamar, Bishop of Rochester (644), educated in Britain, 36.
Ivry, Robert of (Domesday), 224, 255; with Robert D'Oilgi founds S. George in the Castle, 206–9.

Jacet et *jacuit*, 238–9.
Jernio (Gernio) Domesday, 224, 257.
Jerusalem, Oxford like, 5.
John, the monk of S. David's, made to be Reader in Logic, 45.
Judoc, S., relics of, at S. Evroult and at Winchester, 296–7.

Kamber, whence Cambria, 8.
Kennington, road near, 121, 214; land at, held by Abingdon, 169.
Kentigern made to go to Oxford, 46.
Key, or Keys. *See* Caius
Kidlington, Roman remains found at, 76; leased to Siward, 263.
King's mead, Abingdon deprived of, 213, 283.
King's Mill, supposed road near, 67.
King's peace, the, 280.
Kingston Bagpuize, Berks, 245.
Kirklade (Greeklade), 14.
Kyrtlingtun, the council at, 140, 392.

Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury (Domesday), 223, 240; at Berkhamstead, 192.
Latinelade, Lechlade called, 14.
Laws: promulgated near Oxford, in Æthelred's reign, 394; mention of the Danes in the laws, *ib.*; Cnut's, renewed (1065), 181, 183; 279, 281; Eadgar's (1018), 161, 330; Sweyn's law, (1013), 184; repair of the burh, 236; promulgated at Oxford and written in the Domesday Survey, 280.
Lechlade, Latin University founded at, 14, 16; derivation of name, 15.
Leicester, one of the five burhs, 133; the Danish army at, *ib.*; gained by Æthelflæd, 134; Diocese of, joined to Lindsey, 138; Bishops of, *ib.* Bishop's seat at, 171.
Lenborough, battle of (571), 82.
Leofric, Abbot of S. Alban's (1006), 355.
— ealdorman, signs a charter (1034), 165.
— Earl, succeeded by his son Ælfgar (1057), 178; Oxford in his earldom, 179.
Leofstan, Abbot of S. Alban's, obtains Tew (c. 1051), 179; makes a road through Chiltern, 151.
Leofwine, brother of Harold, slain in the battle near Hastings, 187, 199.
— Bishop of Leicester (c. 960), 138.
— Budda, holds land in Oxford, 274.
— *Claudus*, holds land at Oxford, 274.
— the fisherman at Bentonia, healed by S. Frideswide, 100.
Leveva (Domesday), 224, 225, 267.
Levric (Domesday), 225, 269.
Lincoln, within the Danish lines, 133; slaughter at (1065), 182; houses at, *vastae*, 234; King William goes to, 196; chosen by Remigius for his see, 216; partly perhaps because within the Dane law, 216; Bishop of. *See* Remigius.

Littlemore, Roman pottery works discovered, 75.
Locrinus, whence Loegria, 8.
Lodowin (Domesday), 225.
London, 'set in order' by Ælfred, 127; Eadward takes possession of, 116; given to Eadward, 132; S. Mildred's Church at, 289; Bishop of, *see* Ælfhun.
Lowbury, site of the Danish camp, 115.
Lucius, King, connection with Cambridge, 37, 38; story of Lucius evidently accepted by the Abingdon Chronicler, 294.
Lyfing, Bishop of Credition, visits Harold Harefoot in Oxford, 175; instrumental in raising Eadward the Confessor to the throne, 178.
Lyford, S. Martin's Church at Carfax built in connection with, 164.
Lygean, name of the River Lee, 82.

Magdan (Maddan), father of Mempric, 5, 7.
Maldon, Eadward builds the burh at, (920), 134.
Maledoctus, Roger, his house purchased, 264, 273.
Malmesbury, Sigeferth's widow taken to, 153-5.
— William of, sees the charter at S. Frideswide's, 93; his error in copying the charter, 146.
Malun (Malim), brother of Mempric, 5, 7.
Manasses, the son of (Domesday), 224, 257.
— de Arsi, a landowner in Oxfordshire, 395.
Manors, distribution of, 271-2.
Mansiones and *Domus*, 170, 227, 235-6; '*hospitatae*,' 249; mansiunculi, 170; held by 'tenentes in capite,' 238, 271.
Market place, 278.
Marston, Roman road near, 68.
Masters, William, Public Orator, 24.
Medeshampstead (i.e. Peterborough) devasted by the Danes (870), 114.
Medley, near Binsey, 105.
Melkinus at Oxford, 46.
Mempric, supposed builder of Oxford, 1, 3, 5, 7, 10, 16.
Meonwara, the, 129.
Mercia, bounded on the south by the Thames (c. 626), 83; extended up to Northumbria under Penda (c. 650), 83; Wulhere extends the kingdom to Æscesdun (661), 84; invaded by Cenwalh (661), *ib.*; extended to the Isle of Wight (675), *ib.*; the Thames again the southern boundary (700), 85; extended to the Humber (733), 108; Cuthred invades the kingdom as far as Burford (752), 108; the kingdom again extended as far as Æscesdun by Offa (777), 109; but eventually becomes subject to Ecgbryht (827), 111.
Merlin, prophecy of, 60.
Mills at Oxford (Castle), 163, 223, 227, 243, 276, 299; (S. Ebbe's), 299; (Trill Mill), 299.
Milo Crespin (Domesday), 224, 244, 247; at Abingdon, 303.
Mint at Oxford, 366; moneyers, 225, 268, 274, 379, 397.
Monasteriolum, 164, 292.
Monks, expulsion of, and introduction of seculars, 139.
Mont de Juis, 163, 276.
Moreton, Earl of (Domesday), 224, 244.
Morkere, Earl, son of Ælfgar, elected earl of Mercia, 180; leader of the revolt, 183. *See* Eadwin and Morkere; also Sigeferth and Morkere.
Moseley, Professor, Roman villa excavated by, 78.
Moulsford, the Icknield way reaches, 386.
Murus, 236.

Name of Oxford, 348-365.
Nennius, said to come to Oxford, 46.
Neot, S., King Alfred said to have founded Oxford by counsel of, 47, 48, 50; first Regent in Divinity, 45; life of, does not mention Oxford, 28.
Netelton, supposed to borrow MS. of Asser, 43.
Nettlebed, neighbourhood of (571), 81.
Nigel, brother of Robert D'Oilgi, 207.
Northampton, the Danish army leaves, 133; Gemot at (1065), 181, 200; houses *vastae*, 234.
Northleigh, Roman villa at, 77.
Northumbria (1066) at the mercy of Harold Hardrada, and Tostig, 185.
Nottingham one of the five burhs, 133; King William marches to (1067), 196.
Nuns established in the country, 87; at Abingdon, 89; taken away from S. Frideswide's, 138.

Ock river, the (Eocce), 363-4.
Oddington, Roman pottery found at, 76.
Odelina, wife of Roger Maledoctus, 273.
Offa, king, takes Benesington, 109.
Odo, Bishop of Bayeux (Domesday), 223, 240.
Olaf, Northumbria, revolts (943), 137.
Olaney, in Gloucestershire, treaty at, (1016), 158.
Ora, value of the, 226.
Orbyrht, Bishop of South Saxons, signs a charter (1004), 144-5.

Orsnaford coins supposed to be struck at Oxford, Appendix C. 366–382.
Osanig or Ox-hey, Herts, 355.
Osanlea, name of a place, 356.
Osborn, Bishop of Exeter, has manors in Oxfordshire, 241.
Ose and Ouse, places beginning with, 355.
Oseney Abbey, founded (1129), 211, 283; suit with the Warden of University Hall (1427), 59; monk of, copied charter of S. Frideswide, 93; reference to MS. at, 12; name bearing on origin of name of Oxford, 354, 359-60; written in a charter Oxanee, 359.
Osgar, supposed Bishop of Lincoln, 96–7.
Oskytel, Suffragan Bishop of Dorchester (949), 138.
Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, has manors in Oxfordshire, 241.
Oswald of Northumbria stands godfather to Cynegils at Dorchester, 86.
Oswerd of Hergerdesham attends Harold at Oxford, 175.
Ouse river, the Dane law boundary, 134; name of, and notes on, 357, 360–1.
Ox or Oxen, places beginning with, 350.
Oxenchester, supposed name of Oxford, 30.
Oxenford (in Surrey), 351.
OXFORD. For references to events at Oxford *see* the Table of Contents at the beginning of the volume. For origin of name of Oxford *see* Appendix B.
Oxfordshire, Bishop of, 173; the 'Tenentes in capite,' 382, and Frontispiece.
Oxhey, Hertfordshire, land at, 356.
Oxonage or Osanig, 355.
Oxonia, Oxford called, 5; 46, 313; 195-98; 389; 396.

Partholoim, brother of Ganteber, founder of Cambridge, 9.
Penda, king of Mercia, Greeklade schools said to be instituted under, 26; rules over the Mercian kingdom, 83.
Peter, sheriff of Oxfordshire, 273, 302.
Peterborough, Anglo-Saxon Chronicle compiled at, 124.
Pevrel, William, 224, 245.
Philip of Spain, letter to (1544) acknowledging Cantaber founder of Cambridge, 25.
Phillips, Professor, flint implement found by, 64.
Plaga, 215.
Plegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, coins of, 374.
Pontesbury, battle at (661), 84.
Population of Oxford, &c., 229–33.
Porticus, 140.
Portmannimot, 282.
Port meadow, 68, 70, 300.
Port Street on the north of Oxford, 121, 143.
Portway, beneath the Berkshire hills, 70.
Prædiolum, 164.
Præpositus, Godwin, 179, Eadwi, 302, 347; Winsige, 393.
Preaux, Abbey of, manors in Oxfordshire, 243.
Preston, Kent, S. Mildred's Church, 289.

Radley, road near, 121.
Rainald, Abbot of Abingdon, 302.
Ralph (William), the baker, his land at Oxford, 274.
— or Rannulph. *See* Flambard.
Ravenig's land at Oxford, 274.
Reading, the Danes arrive at, 114.
Reeve. *See* Præpositus for Port-reeve, and Sheriff for Shire-reeve.
Reimund, his land at Oxford, 274.
Reinbodcurth, Wido of (Domesday), 224, 256.
Remigius, Bishop, monks of Ensham to be subject to him, 242; rewarded by William with the Bishoprick of Dorchester, 216; said to have given him a ship, *ib.*; removes see from Dorchester to Lincoln, 216; but date of translation doubtful, 217; William's reasons for removal of the see, 217; the Bishop's reasons according to Henry of Huntingdon, 396; Bishop of Lincoln (Domesday), 224, 241; title *Dorcensis sive Lincolniensis*, 217.
Rewley (De Regali Loco), 17.
Ribble river, coins found on the bank near Cuerdale, 376.
Ridohen or Rhyd-ychen, mythical name of Oxford, 5, 17, 19, 30, 58; accepted as a real name, 364.
Risborough, Buckinghamshire, mansion belonging to, 223, 239.
River communication, 214, 267.
Robert. *See* D'Oilgi, &c.
Robert, Bishop of Hereford (Domesday), 224, 241.
Rochester, crypt at, 253–4.
Roger. *See* Ivry, Maledoctus, &c.
Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, Chancellor (1122), 95.
Rolleston, Dr., excavations by, 78.
Rome, English school at, 28, 33.
Rous, in his youth a scholar at Oxford, 12.
Ruald, his house purchased, 264, 273.
Runcorn, the fortress at, 117.
Rythrenan, the, 182–3, 200.

Sabren or Sabrina, whence river called Severn, 8.
Schola or Scholæ, 29.
Sextary, measure of the, 227.
Sheriffs:— Eadward, 242, 246, 340, 345; Eadwine, 246; Alwi, 257, 266; Sawold, 270; Peter, 273; Suain, 384; summary, 301.
Shires, origin of the, 129.
Siege of Oxford in 1066, supposed, 193, 194, 195, 199, 200.
S. Aebba, Church of, connected with Ensham, 170, 242; (Domesday), 284, 295; mills belonging to, 299.
S. Aldate, Church of, in Oxford, 286, 291; the mythical Eldad, 291, 294; name 'Aldates' on Sticas found at Hexham, 398; church at Gloucester, so named, 294; story of church being obtained by S. Frideswide, 168, 292.
— Parish, population of, 231–2.
S. Briavel's, origin of name, 294.
S. Brice's day, the massacre on (1002), 92, 141, 147.
S. Budoc, a Cornish saint, 296; church of, at Oxford, *ib.*
S. Clement, chapel of, 286–7, 295.
S. Denys, Abbey of, holds Teynton, 241, 243.
S. Ebbe. *See* S. Aebba.
S. Edmund's, Abbey of (Domesday), 224, 241, 244; coins with the name probably struck there, 373.
S. Edward, Church of, 286, 290.
S. Egwin, relics of, exhibited, 218.
S. Frewisse, 102.
S. Frideswide, becomes a nun, 92; despises marriage, 94; selects Binsey, 90; flees to a wood, 94; besought by messengers to restore sight to the king, *ib.*; her body reposes in Oxford, 92, 94; life of, 92–95.
— Church of, Danes take refuge in, 92, 142; charter of King Æthelred to (1004), 142; signatures to the same, 144; lands of, and their boundaries, 143, 262; nuns taken away, secular canons introduced, 92, 138; secular canons driven out, 166; according to a Rochester MS. (1049) canons introduced, 168; said with its possessions to be given to Abingdon, 166; no chronicle kept at, 202; canons of, show no signs of activity till close of eleventh century. 217; lay claim to S. Mary Magdalen Church, 212; the monks (according to Thierry) take up arms against the Conqueror, 195; (Domesday), 224, 261; the church, 284; tower of, 148.
S. George, Church of, in the Castle, founded, 206–7, 284; remains of, 210; crypt in the Castle, 254; Droco of Andelys, a benefactor to, 266.
S. Giles, supposed ancient site of the University, 6, 13, 58; churches dedicated to, 209.
S. John (Thomas), house at Oxford, 274.
S. Martin's Church, Carfax, 121, 164–5, 284.
S. Mary Magdalen Church founded, 207–9, 284.
S. Mary's Church (Domesday), 223, 239, 284; the principal church, 6, 13.
S. Michael's, Priests of (Domesday), 224, 258.
— Church and Tower, 258–261, 284–5; line of old ditch near, 238.
S. Michael, 'ad Portam Australem,' church of, 286, 295.
S. Mildred, account of, 287.
— Church, 285–6, 289.
S. Peter *ad castrum*, church of, 286, 295.
S. Peter's-in-the-East (Domesday), 225, 284; probably built by Robert D'Oilgi, 250; the crypt, 250, 254.
S. Walery, Barony of, 207.
Salisbury, Bishop of. *See* Osmund.
Sarum, Old, fighting at (552), 80.
Saulf of Oxford, 273.
Savile, Sir Henry, supposed author of passage in Asser, 43; his edition of Ingulph, 389.
Sawold (Domesday), 225, 270.
— Sheriff, 301.
Scholastica, S., the day of the Oxford riot in (1354), 13.
Seacourt (Seckworth), road to, 68, 69, 169; law suit as to Botley Mill, 214.
Sefrida or Safrida, wife of Didan, 96.
Segrim (Domesday *bis*), 224, 225, 268.
— Bywall, his land at Oxford, 274.
Senlac, a name given to the battle place near Hastings, 185.
Sergius, Pope, imaginary charter to Cambridge, dated (689), 35.
Sewi (Domesday), 224, 269.
Shaftesbury, houses *vastae*, 234.
Shipton, Oxfordshire, mansions belonging to, 223, 239.
Shire ditch, the, 105–6, 118.
Shotover Hill, flint weapons found on, 64; remains found near, 75; road across, 68, 215; derivation of name, 348.
Sideman, Bishop, sudden death at Kyrtlingtun (977), 140, 392.
Sigbert, King, said to be founder of Cambridge University, 25, 36, 37.
Sigeferth and Morkere, thanes of the Seven Burghs, treacherously slain at Oxford (1015), 153.

Silchester, Roman road past, 65, 386.
Sinodun, kept in check by Dorchester, 3.
Siward, a monk from Glastonbury, 165.
— Cutslow and Kidlington leased to, 263.
Speen, Roman road past, 65, 385.
Spracheling (Domesday), 224, 266.
Stafford, burh built at, 132.
Staines, Roman road past, 65.
Stamford, story of the University being moved to, 50, 60.
Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, meets William at London, 188; with other magnates discuss at London who should be king, 188; submits to William at Guarenfort, 188; taken by William to Normandy, 187.
Stonesfield, Roman villa at, 77.
Stowe in Lincolnshire connected with Ensham, 170, 241.
Streatley, haga belonging to, 228; Icknield way leads to, 386.
Studium, 34.
Swain, sheriff, 301.
Sumersæte, 129–30.
Sumurtun, the battle of, 107; mentioned in Domesday, 391.
Suthrige, or Surrey, 130.
Sweting *Cadica*, his land at Oxford, 274.
Swetman, the moneyer, 225; further examples of his name on the coins of William the Conqueror, 397.
— 224, 225.
— (another), 225, 268.
Sweyn comes to Oxford, 152; the men of Oxford and Winchester submit to his laws, 153.

Tadmarton, house in Oxford belonging to, 297.
Tam, places with affix, 358.
Tamise-ford (Tempsford), 361.
Tamworth, Northumbrian attack on, 137; same kind of mound as at Oxford, 117, 204.
Taunton, given by Queen Fritheswitha, 102.
Tempsford, Danes go to, 152; written Tam-ese-ford, 360.
Teynton, held by S. Edmund, 224, 241, 244; held by S. Denys, 241, 243.
Tew (Oxfordshire), granted to S. Alban's, 179, 355, 394.
Thame, River, boundary of the Dobuni, 71, 73; boundary of S. Frideswide's property, 143, 361; name of, 358.
Thames, raids of the Danes up the, 114; southern boundary of Mercia (626), 83; ceases to be the boundary of Wessex (611), 84; south boundary of Oxfordshire, 133; S. Frideswide takes a boat upon the, 98; church of S. Mary (i.e. S. Frideswide) on the banks of, 101; navigation of the, 314; name of, and notes on, 357–8, 362.
Thancred, the monk, attends on Harold, 175.
Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, made to found Grekelade, 60.
Thomas, Rev. Vaughan, excavations at Wytham, 64.
Thomas. *See* S. John.
Thoresby, Ralph, notes on the Orsnaford coins, 368.
Thorkell's army ravages Oxford, 155.
Thornebirie, afterwards called Binsey, 92, 98.
Thurkill with his army attacks London (1009), 150.
Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, co-scholar with Rous at Oxford, 12.
Todeni, Berengar of (Domesday), 224, 247; a benefactor to S. Alban's Abbey, 397.
Tostig, earldom bestowed by Eadward (1055), 179; expedition against King Gruffydd (1063), 179; deposed and outlawed (1065), 180–81; his household men slain, 181, 200; comes over to England with a fleet, 184.
Towcester, Eadward makes burh at, 134.
Trill Mill stream, 118, 299.
Twyford, Bucks, mansion belonging to, 223, 239.
Twyne, Bryan, takes up the case for Oxford after the death of Thomas Caius, 37; interviews Camden, 1622, in respect of the Asser passage, 44.

Uhtred yields to Cnut, as he had done to Sweyn, and is slain by him, 156.
Uffington, probably Oftantune, 111.
Ulf, Bishop, succeeds Eadnoth at Dorchester (1050), 172; at the synod of Vercelli, *ib.*
Ulfkytel resists the Danes (1004), 148; overpowered by the Danes (1010), 151.
Ulmar (Domesday), 225, 270.
Ulric of Oxenford, 270.
University College, the foundation of, by William of Durham (1249), 52; the purchase of houses (1253–62), 52; made by Rous into the three halls founded by Alfred, 52; the lawsuits (1363), 78, 52, 53; their petition introducing Alfred as their founder (1379), 54; the thousandth anniversary of Alfred's foundation held, (1872), 62.
University, the, of Oxford, mythical accounts, 1, 3, 6, 9, 10, 13, 24, 31, 33; Great Hall of the, founded by

Prince Alfred, 26; moved from S. Giles', 67.
Usher, Archbishop, Thomas Caius' MS. left in his hands, 23.

Vastae Houses, 200, 227–8, 233–5, 277.
Vaux, the late Mr., note on the Ornaford coins, 381.
Virgae and *Virgatae*, 256.
Vuyt-hill, near Cambridge, 35.

Wætling Street, the, a Roman road, 65; the boundary of the Dane-law, 129, 131. 134, 152, 192.
Walchelin, Bishop of Winchester (Domesday), 223, 240.
Walker, notes on the Orsnaford coins, 368.
Wall of enceinte; early fortifications, 117; mural mansions and repair of walls, 224, 236; line of enceinte, 232; towers and character of the fortifications, 236, 258–60; north ditch, 237.
Wallingford, crossing at, by Aulus Plautius, 72; not Calleva, 66; boundary of Offa's conquest, 109; burned by the Danes (1006), 148; William builds a castle at, 204; hagae at, 228.
Walter, the Archdeacon, at Oxford, 161; supposed to have supplied the basis of Geoffrey of Monmouth's romance, 191; may have helped Henry of Huntingdon in his history, especially with any traditions of Oxford, *ib.*; Henry of Huntingdon mentions him as Archdeacon of Oxford, 394.
— Bishop of Hereford, at Beorcham, 187.
— *See* Gifard.
Waltheof taken by William to Normandy, 187.
Walton, lands at, granted by Robert D'Oilgi, 208; Hearne's fancy about, 61.
Wantage, Roman villa found near, 78; Ælfred's birthplace, 115; laws promulgated at, 394; the district of, 85, 109, 115, 386.
Wareham, houses at, *vastae*, 234.
Warine, the chaplain, his land at Oxford, 274.
Warwick, supposed by Rous to be Caerleon, 8; burh built at (913), 132; same kind of mound as at Oxford, 117, 204; given to Roger Beaumont, 197.
Waterperry, Roman remains found near, 76.
Wedmore, the Peace of, so-called, 127.
Westminster, William crowned at, 187; Queen Matilda crowned at, 196.
Wheatley, Roman road past, 66; remains found near, 75.
Whippingham, S. Mildred's Church at, 289.
Whitehill, near Oxford, granted to S. Frideswide, 143; one hyde at, 165.
White Horse, possibly mark of Offa's conquest, 111.
Whithill, near Cambridge, 38.
Wibbandun, fighting at (568), 80.
Wick, the farm beyond Grand-point, 298.
Wido. *See* Reinbodcurth.
Wigod of Wallingford, 248.
William, Earl (Domesday), 223, 240.
— the Conqueror, his march to London (1066), 186, 193; *via* Beorchamstede, 186; *via* Beorcham, 187; *via* Guarenfort. 188; *via* Winchester, *ib.*; at Berkhamstead with Lanfranc, 192; returns from Normandy (1067), and goes to Devonshire and Cornwall, Winchester, and then York (1068), 195; (Domesday), 224, 265; laws of, 281; at Abingdon and qy. at Oxford, 303.
— Rufus at Abingdon, 303; and qy. at Oxford, 303.
— *See* Peverel; Evreux, E. of; Fitz Nigel; Ralph, &c.
Wilsæte, the, 129, 133.
Wilson, Dr., remains found by, at Waterperry, 76.
Wiltshire (Wiltunscire), boundary of, &c., 110, 130.
Winchcombe Abbey, land belonging to in Oxfordshire, 243.
Winchendon granted to S. Frideswide, 143; ten hydes at, 165, 166.
Winchester, Anglo-Saxon Chronicle compiled at, 123; a pilgrimage from Oxford to (984), 390; King Eadward and Ælfweard buried at (924), 135; King William visits on way to London (1066), 188, 396; spends Easter at (1068), 195, 196.
Windsor, William builds a new castle at, 204, 205; old castle at Clewer, 205.
Wine, Bishop of Wessex (655), 87.
Wing, Bucks, crypt at, 250.
Winsige, 'Praepositus' at Oxford, the story of the stolen bridle, 392.
Witton, Rd., Warden of University Hall, in a suit with the Abbot of Oseney (1427), 57.
Wlfgar-coit-well, 61.
Wluric, *see* Leuric and Ulric (Domesday), 225, 269.
Woddesborough, (?) Woodborough, 111.

Wolvercote (Ulfgarcote) held by Roger of Ivry, 255; name derived by Hearne from Wolves'-cot, 61.
Wood-Eaton, Roman remains found at, 76.
Woodstock, laws promulgated at, 394.
Woolstone, Roman villa found at, 78.
Wootton, ten hydes at granted (985), 169; road past, 215.
Worcester, crypt at, 254.
Wulfhere extends Mercia up to Æscesdun (661), 84; to the Isle of Wight (675), 84.
Wulfnoth child, Eadric's accusation against, 150, 155.
Wulfwi succeeds Ulf at Dorchester (1053), 173; was the last of the English bishops, 173; Bull from Pope Nicolas II addressed to (1061), 395.
Wulstan, Archbishop of York, signs a charter (1004), 144–5.
— Bishop of Dorchester (945), 138.
— Bishop of Worcester, at Beorcham, 187.
Wulwi, the fisherman, 224; his house purchased, 264.
Wulwi, the moneyer, at Oxford, his coins, 398.
Wulwine, the Reeve of county of Oxford, 179, 303.
Wychwood Forest, hills capped by, 108–9; mentioned in Domesday, 131; Roman road past, 65.
Wytham Hill, graves near, 63; road across the north slopes of, 69; knoll near site of battle (571), 81; nuns removed there from Abingdon, 90; a fortress made on the hill of, *ib.*; nuns at and near Binsey, 105; Abingdon holds property at, 169.

Xenfort (Oxford), 350.

Yarnton, British habitations, 64.
York, Archbishop of. *See* Wulstan, Ealdred, &c.
York, Ebrancus made to be builder of, 7; slaughter at (1065), 182; devastated (1065), 196; the rebels at, 200; William marches to, 195; houses *vacuae*, 234.

Ziftele (Iffley), a boundary, 143.

INDEX AUCTORUM, &c.

An Index chiefly to authors quoted, but in a few cases to authors only referred to by other writers. An asterisk denotes the reference where the full title of a work and date or some account of the author, &c., will be found, and especially when it is not given with the first mention of the book.

Abingdon Abbey Chronicle: The foundation of Abingdon Abbey, 88–90, 318; charters signed by Mercian and Wessex kings (c. 737), 107; Offa's conquest (777), 109, 324; Berl meadow dispute (c. 945), 169; death of Bishop Sideman (977), 392; acquisition of land in neighbourhood of Oxford by Abingdon (952–985), 168–9; story of the theft of the bridle, (995), 393; charter concerning S. Martin's Church (1034), 164–5, 330; translation of relics of S. Eadward (c. 1034), 290; suits respecting tolls on the Thames (c. 1060 and 1111), 214; Godric's property confiscated (c. 1070), 245; on the disturbed state of the country (c. 1070), 204; castles built by William, *ibid.*; Ethelelm appointed abbot (1071), 212; William the Conqueror and William Rufus at Abingdon, 303; Prince Henry there at Easter (1084), *ibid.*; law-suit respecting Botley Mill (1089), 214; writ to Peter the Sheriff (c. 1090), 273, 302, 347; signature of Rannulph the Chaplain, 302, 347; story of S. Aldate's Church (c. 1140), 292; Robert D'Oilgi *praedives castellanus* 212; his taking away King's Mead, 212, 339; his character, 213; his benefactions, 215, 340; Edric the 'homo' of Droco, a benefactor to S. George's, 266; William the Sheriff, 265; houses purchased by Abbot Faritius, 264, 346; house of Harding, 267; of Thomas S. John, 274; Ermenold's house, *ibid.*, also 298–9; house of Richard Maledoctus, 273; licence for a court, 283; the Portmannimot, 282; the Market, 278; the ora, 227; Ælfric's will as to Osanig, 355; Osanlea, 356; the river Ock, 363–4.

Abingdon, *De Abbatibus*; the references included in the above.

Acta Sanctorum (vol. viii. p. 534): Myths relating to S. Frideswide perpetuated, 62; Bromton's date, 15; on king's entering Oxford, 99; S. Frideswide's journey to France and Rome, 102.

Agas's Map (1578): Streams south of Oxford, 118; Trill Mill stream, 299; plan of Castle, 220; number of houses, 233.

Aikin's Forty Miles round Manchester: Description of Runcorn, 118.

Alfred, King: Preface to Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*, 31; Life of, *see* Asser.

Amiens, Guy of, *De bello Hastingensi Carmen*, 191.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Battle with the Britons (571), 81, 317; Bishop Felix preaches (635), 36; Mercia and Wessex (661), 84, 317; Sumertun taken (733), 107; first mention of Hamtunscire (755), 129; battle of Benson (777), 109, 324; first mention of Dornsæte (837), 130; death of Bishop Alheard (897), 391; Eadward takes possession of Oxford (912), 116, 324; earliest spelling of name of Oxford (912), 348; Tamesford (921), 360; Eadward's death (924), 135, 325; the five burhs (941), 133; Wulfstan, Bishop of Dorchester (954), 138; Bishop Æthelwold restores monasteries (963), 139; the clerks driven out (964), 167; Oskytel, Bishop of Dorchester (971), 138; ealdorman Ælfthere expels monks (975), 139; Gemot at Kirtlington

(977), 140; Æscwin, Bishop of Dorchester (992), 392; massacre on S. Brice's day (1002), 141, 326; Danes reach Cwichelmshloewe (1006), 148, 327; reach Oxford (1009), 150, 327; surrendering of Æthelred (1010), 152, 328; Temesanford (1010), 360; Æthelmar submits to Sweyn (1013), 170; Oxford submits to Sweyn (1013), 152, 328; murder of Sigeferth and Morkere (1015), 154, 329; Eadmund's death (1016), 158, 329; fourfold division of the country (1017), 161; Eadgar's law proclaimed at Oxford (1018), 161, 330; death of Cnut, and Gemot at Oxford (1036), 174, 333; death of Harold at Oxford (1039), 175, 333; Bishop Ulf at Vercelli (1047). 172, 332; death of Bishop Eadnoth (1049), 172, 332; *Wylisca Axa* (1050), 353; Wulfwi succeeds to Dorchester (1053), 173; the great Gemot at Oxford (1065), 181. 334 *bis*; the northern rebels (1065), 183, 201, 334; landing of William the Conqueror and his march (1066), 187, 335 *bis*; Bishop Wulfwi dies (1067), 173, 332; the Domesday Survey (1085), 222, 341.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Dates of various editions of the 122–4; also 186; *see also* Contents, p. xiv.

Antonine Itinerary: Roman roads named, 65, 74; Isca, 353*.

Appianus, P.: *Cosmographia* misquoted by Ingram, 59.

Archaeologia: Vol. xxv, Sticas with name Aldate's, 396; vol. xxvi, Oxford coins, temp. Will. I. and II, 395; vol. xxxvii, excavations at Brighthampton, 64; vol. xlii, ditto at Frilford, 78.

Archaeological Journal: Vol. ii, Wheatley villa, 75; vol. iii, remains at Waterperry, 76; vol. iv, coins found near Shotover, 75; silver ornaments at Cuerdale, 370; vol. xix, on Ingulph, 43; vol. xxiii, on Caesar crossing the Thames, 71–73.

Asser's Life of Alfred: the original edition, 39; the MS. burnt, 40; the early copies of the MS., 41; the spurious passage from, 46, 312; first appearance in Camden's edition, 41; Wise's edition, 40; Archbishop Parker's preface, 45; reference by John Caius, 32; Alfred's birth at Wantage (849), 130; battle of Æscesdun (871), 115; Alfred restores London (886), 128; sovereignty over Mercia, 389; Æthelwerd's learning (913), 136; Caerwisc, 353.

Beda, *Hist. Eccl.*: Sigbert and Bishop Felix (636), 36; early religious communities (640–700), 88, 318; the Meonwara (661), 129; Ætla, Bishop of Dorchester (680), 87; Kings of Wessex (c. 680), 89; S. Æbba (683), 295; mention of Grantchester (695), 37; John of Beverley (705), 56; buildings *more Romano* (710), 261.

Bernard of Breydenbach: his reference to Noah's deluge quoted by Rous, 6.

Bright's Early Church History: Bishops of Dorchester, 87.

Bromton's *Chronicon Jorvallense*: two Abbots of Jervaulx so named, 15. Foundation of Cambridge and schools of Bishop Felix before Greeklade, 14*, 37, 309; foundation of Oxford by Alfred, 48, 314; only copies Higden, 47.

Burley's *Summa Causarum*, &c.: ref. to by Caius as to the Greek philosophers, 27, 58.

Burton Annals: ref. to by Caius as to Cambridge doctor's baptized (A. D. 141), 37.

Cadney (Nicasius): ref. by Twyne as to foundation of Cambridge, 58.

Caesar's Commentaries: *Fines Cassivelauni*, 71; Axona, 353; Tamesis, 357.

Caius, John, *De Antiquitate Cantabrigiensis Academiae*: Editions of his book, 21, 23; his life, 20*; calls himself a London man, 21, 310; general account of the controversy, 24; letter of the antiquary and the orator's speech, 25, 26; his remark on Leland's *De Academiis*, 28; his argument that the ancient historians are silent as to Alfred founding Oxford, *ibid.*; his argument on *schola* and *scholae*. 29; his attack on the Oxford Historiola, 29; references to the Clementine Canons (1311), 30; disquisition on the name of Oxford, *ibid.*; quotes Sir John Mandeville and Sir Thomas Gray for Oxford being founded by Alfred, 31; points out discrepancies, *ibid.*; general attack on the theory of Alfred founding the University, 32; the school at Oxford an error for the school at Rome, 33; blunders of later historians, *ibid.*; argument for Cambridge from King Sigbert's school, 37; from Grantchester named by Beda, and Caergrant by Nennius, *ibid.*; missionaries of Pope Eleutherius, 38; the spurious charters, *ibid.*

— *Historia Cantabrigiensis Academiae ab urbe conditae*, 23.

Caius, Thomas, *Assertio Antiquitatis Oxoniensis Academiae*: Reprinted after the author's death (1574), 21*; reprinted again by Hearne (1730), 23; life of the author, &c., 21, 24; unfair use made of his MS., which had been kept in Lord Leicester's library, 24; sets forth the general history of the philosophers coming to Greeklade, 27; references to Leland as to '*vadum Isidis*,' 16; prints the orator's speech, 26, 311; quotes Burley's treatise on Aristotle, 27.
—— *Animadversiones*: first printed by Hearne, 23.
Cambridge Black Book, by Nicholas Cantelupe: Account of, 34*; referred to as the Cambridge *Historiola*, *ibid.*; Leland's opinion of the same, *ibid.*; extract from, as to Julius Caesar and Cambridge, 35, 311; Greeklade schools instituted by Penda, 26; liberties granted by King Lucius confirmed by King Arthur, 38; spurious charters, *ibid.*; quoted for the date of origin of Cambridge, 58.
Camden's *Britannia*: extract from the Hyde Abbey Chronicle in, 45; spurious passage from Asser first appears in it, 41; the passage from Asser (q. v.), 46; description of Wallingford, 205; the Isis, 363; the Orsnaford coin, 368.
— *Anglica Normannica Hibernica*, &c.: The first edition of Asser with the spurious passage incorporated, 40.
Cantelupe (Nicolas): see Cambridge Black Book.
Capgrave: Life of S. Neot, ref. by John Caius, 28; legend of S. Frideswide in the *Acta Sanctorum*, 101.
Catalogue of Cottonian MS. by Smith: in re ancient MS. of Asser, 40.
— by Planta: in re Osney Cartulary, 91.
Cirencester, Richard of, the forged Itinerary of: followed by Stukeley, Hussey, &c., 66, 77.
Cyprian Leowitz: quoted by Twyne, 59; quotation misunderstood by Ingram, *ibid.*

De Caumont statistique Monumental de Calvados: Name of Robert D'Oilgi, 248.
Domesday Survey: date of the compilation, 222*; extent and contents of volume, 382*; Exon Domesday and Inquisitio Eliensis, 223; first page of the Oxfordshire portion, 223–5, 341, 382, and *frontispiece*; reference to Oxford in other parts of the Survey, 228; titles of Bishop of Lincoln, 217; property of Robert D'Oilgi, 226, 248, 344; of S. Frideswide, 105, 143, 262, 345; of Earl Eadwin, 226; of Earl Alberic, 239–40; of Earl William, 240; of Abbeys of Ensham, Battle, &c., 242, 244; of the Earls of Mortain, Chester, and Evreux, 244–5; of Henry of Ferrieres, 245-6; of Edward of Salisbury, Ernulph of Hesding, Berenger of Todeni, Milo Crispin, 246–7; of Roger of Ivry and others, 255–6; manors possibly connected with other tenants of Oxford mansions, 257, 266, 269–73; manors belonging to Oxford mansions, 239, 244, 257; Wychwood, 131; Scotore, 348; Ospringes, 355; Oselei, &c., 356; Tameseford, 361; Horseforth, 378; Estrighoiel, 294; Somertun, 391; laws promulgated at Oxford, 280; title of Bishop of Lincoln, 217; Jews names, 257; sheriffs, 301; the sextary, 227; the virgate, 256; mansiones, &c., 236; ditto, *hospitatae*, 249; term *vastae*, &c., 234.
Duchesne, *Hist. Norm. Scriptores*. *See* Orderic Vital; William of Poitiers; of Jumièges, &c.
Dugdale's *Monasticon*: transcript of S. Frideswide's charter, 91, 92, 166; Osney charters, 202, 209, 211, 274; king's writ as to translation of the see from Dorchester, 217, 340; Ensham charters, 242, 243, 273, 344, 345, 395; Jervaulx, Abbots of, as to Bromton, 15; Battle Abbey, 243; Westminster charter in re Sawold, 271; Greyfriars Oxford charters, in re blocking the town-way, 298; S. Mildred's Church at Canterbury, 289; Bishop Æthelric at Ramsey, 395; Earls named Algar, 390; Oxenford Surrey, 361; Tamiseford, 361.
— Warwickshire: Dugdale accepts Rous' fictions, 18.
Dunkin's history of Bicester: account of Aldchester, 77.
Durham, Simeon of, Historia Regum: Eadward taking Oxford (912), *125, 325; murder of Sigeferth and Morkere (1015), 154; William's march to London (1066), 187; Caer Wisc, 353.
— Continuation of History of: Ranulph the chaplain, 302.
— writers (*Tres Dunelm. Script.*) in re John of Bury, 60.
— Book, or Boldon Book, 383.

Eadmer's *Vita Audoeni*: description of the *confessio* at Canterbury, 252.
Eadwardi Regis Vita: the northern rebels (1065), 182, 201.

Eliensis Liber: Bishop Eadnoth's death, 395.
Ellis' Introduction to Domesday: siege of Oxford, 200; term *mansio*, 236.
Evesham, Chronicon Abbatiae de: S. Egwin's relics, 218, 341.
Eulogium Historiarum: Merlin's prophecy, 19; quoted by John Caius as to Ridohen, 30; Thame and Isis, 362.

Faden's map of Oxford: houses and population (1789), 229, 232.
Fountaine, Sir Andrew, *Numismata Anglo Saxonica*: The Orsnaford coin, 368.
Freeman's Norman Conquest: Eadmund's death, 158; submission of Oxford to William, 193.
Freeman's Reign of William Rufus: Rannulph Flambard, 256.

Gaimar, Geoffrey, *L'Estorie des Engles*: on the compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 123; Eadward takes Oxford (912), 126*, 325; mention of Walter, the Archdeacon, 161; Harold passes by Oxford (1063), 180.
Gervase, *De Combustione Dorob. Eccl.*; description of Canterbury crypt, 252.
Gildas: ref. by Rous, 8.
Glastonbury, John of, *Historia*: S. Neot and Alfred, 48.
Gloucester, Cartulary of S. Peter's Monastery at: S. Aldate's Church not named, 293.
Graius (i. e. Sir Thomas Gray), *Scala Cronica*: ref. by John Caius, 31, 389*; copies Higden's *Polychronicon*, 389.
Green's Conquest of England: Alfred's coins struck at Oxford, 366.
Grose's Antiquities of England and Wales: view of the chapel in the castle, 211.
Guardian Newspaper (1872): Commemoration of Alfred at University College, 62.

Hall and Pinnell's map of Gloucester: S. Aldgate's Church, 294.
Harding, John, History: quoted by Twyne as to Stamford University founded by Bladud, 60.
Hardy's descriptive Catalogue of Historians; on the forged passage of Asser, 44; MS. *Genealogia fundatoris*, 390.
Hawkins, Silver Coins of England: the Orsnaford coins, 371.
Hearne, edition of *De Antiquitate Cantab.*, by John Caius, 23; of the *Assertio Antiquitatis Oxoniae Acad.*, and of the *Animadversiones*, by Thomas Caius, *ibid.*; Hearne's arguments as to antiquity of Oxford, e. g. Wolvercot, Busney, &c., 61; his edition of William of Newbridge, with engraved plate of Oxford Castle, 211.
Hedges' History of Wallingford: a new castle built, 205.
Higden's *Polychronicon*: the earliest reference to Alfred's founding Oxford, 47; the passage in full, 47, 313; quoted by the *Liber de Hyda*, 14; by John Caius, 30; by Sir Thomas Gray in the *Scala Cronica*, 389.
Hildebrand, Anglosachsiska Mynt, Oxford coins, 349.
Historia Regia (= *Historia Buriensis*) quoted by Thomas Caius, 28*; called Higden's Mimic, 32.
Historiola, The Oxford: *see Munimenta Academica*.
— The Cambridge: *see* Cambridge Black Book.
Hoveden, Roger of, Annals: murder of Sigeferth and Morkere (1015), 154; William's march to London (1066), 187.
Huntingdon, Henry of, *Historia Anglorum*: Æthelbald's victories in Mercia (733), 108; Battle of Burford (752), *ibid.*; Eadward takes Oxford (912), 125*, 525; massacre on S. Brice's day (1002), 147, 327; murder of Sigeferth and Morkere (1015), 154, 329; details of Eadmund's death (1016), 159, 330; William's march to London (1066), 188, 336; removal of the see from Dorchester to Lincoln, 396; river *Usca*, 353.
— *De Contemptu Mundi*; on Bishop Remigius, 396.
Hussey's Roman Road: ancient road near Oxford, 66-69, 385; coins at Baldon, 75; remains at Woodeaton, Fencott, &c.. 76-7.
Hyda, Liber de: the University of Oxford said to be outside the north gate, 13*, 308; story of Alfred founding the University, 45-6, 312; probably quoted by Rous, 51; erroneously quoted by Plot, 67; Ethelward's learning, 136; Ealdorman Æthelmar's grant to Cricklade, 12.

Ingram, Memorials of Oxford: adopts most of the myths, 61; Appian and Cyprian, 59; Alfred's mint, 366.
Ingulph's Chronicle: Ingulph at Oxford, 43, 197, 387.

Jumièges, William of: William's march *via* Warengford, 189, 337.

Kelham's Domesday Book, illustrated: *Domus* and *Mansio*, 235.
Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*: references to Æthelred's title of *Dux Merciorum*, 131; Æthelred's charter of S. Frideswide (1004), 166; foundation of Ensham (1005), 170; S. Martin's Church (1034), 165; deputation from Canterbury to Harold at Oxford (*c.* 1039), 175, 333; Ælfgifu's gift to Canterbury, 240; Wlfwi, or Wlsi, Bishops of Dorchester (1053), 176, 179; charters relating to Oxfordshire (1053–66), 179; Eadward's charter referring to his birth at Islip, 176, 333; references to Berkhamstead, 192; places beginning with Ox, 350; Oxangehæge, 356; the river Ouse, 357; Tamu Villa, 361.
Kennett's Parochial Antiquities: account of Aldchester, 77; Eadward's font at Islip, 177; Nigel D'Oilgi constable of Oxford, 304; assigns 1132 as the date of the charter respecting the churches, 285.
King's Vestiges of Oxford Castle: the Keep, 203; S. George's Crypt, 211; conjectural plan of castle, 220.

Lappenberg's History of England: siege of Oxford, 195.
Leland's Itinerary: coins found at Dorchester, 74; description of Wallingford, 205; Fritheswiglia, 102; Eldad, 291; S. Budock's Church, 296; the Isis, 362.
— Collectanea: Institution of canons at S. Frideswide (1049), 167–8, 332.
— Cygnea Cantio: Caleva, 16; Granta, 34; opinion of the Cambridge Black Book, 25; the Isis, 362.
— Three passages supposed to represent a note to Polydore Virgil, 16, 27, 309; a work '*De Academiis*,' referred to by Thomas Caius, 28; ref. to in Vita Alfredi by Twyne, 16.
Loggan's map of Oxford: the Trill Mill stream, 299.
Londinensis: a name assumed by John Caius, 21.
Longmate's map of Oxford: S. Aldgate's Church, 294.
Lydgate: ref. by Twyne to in re foundation of Cambridge, 58.

Malmesbury, William of, Gesta Regum: Chenulph or Ceolwulf, Bishop of Dorchester (c. 900), 389; Æthelward's learning (924), 136, 326; Oxford subject to the laws of Sweyn (1013), 153, 328; the murder of Sigeferth and Morkere (1015) confused with S. Brice's Massacre (1002), 146, 336; Æthelred's Charter referred to, 93, 146; which he says he himself saw, 94*; King Eadmund's death (1016), 159, 330; character of Eadric, 394; Translation of S. Mildred (1030), 289, 347; William's march to London (1066), 188, 336; Eadwine and Morkere depart to Northumbria (1066), 188, 193; siege of Exeter, 196, 338; in Savile's edition 'Exonia' made to read 'Oxonia,' 197.
— Gesta Pontificum: Bishop of Dorchester (737–869), 138; summary of life of S. Frideswide, 94*, 323; refuge taken by the Danes in S. Frideswide's Church (1002), 146, 323; Remigius and the Bishopric of Dorchester (c. 1072), 216; Bishops at the consecration of Lanfranc (1070), 217; state of Dorchester (c. 1120), 171.
— De Antiquitatibus Glastoniae; erroneous ref. to by Twyne and Wood, 48, 95*.
Mandeville, Sir John; Travels: ref. to by John Caius, 30.
MSS. Bodleian:—MS. Laud No. 114. Life of S. Frideswide, 95*–101, 323;—E. Mus. 93; gift by Remigius of a vessel, 216;—MS. No. 1073. Letter from Pope Formosus in the Leofric Missal (896), 392;—Charters, Oxonea, 359.
— Cotton; Vitellius E. xv., Oseney Cartulary, 92*, 315; Nero E. I., 95*. *See also* Oxford *Statuta*, 11; Rochester annals, 167; Brompton, 309; Rous, 306; Abingdon Chron., 318; Wykes Chron., 206.
— Lansdowne. *See* S. Frideswidae Vita, 99*, 103.
— Ch. Ch. Oxford. *See* S. Frideswide, Cartulary, 93*.
— C.C.C. Oxford. *See* S. Frideswide Cartulary.
— Record Office. *See* Oseney Register, 207*; Petition to Parliament: Rolls, Patent, Close, &c., &c.
Monmouth, Geoffrey of, *Historia Britonum*: story of Mempric, 7*, 306; fanciful names, 8, 306; story of Gurguntius Brabtruc, 9; Boso Devadoboum in the camp of King Arthur, 18, 310; Boso Ridocensis, *ibid.*; Ridohen, 19; the Bull and the walls of Oxford, *ibid.*; reference to Walter the Archdeacon, 161; the name Eldad, 291; the name Budec, 296.
Monumenta Historia Britannica: notes on the forged passage in Asser, 42, 44; map of Roman Britain, 385; *See* also Antonine Itinerary, *Notitia*,

Florence of Worcester, Asser, Simeon of Durham, &c.
Munimenta Academica Oxoniensia: the *Historiola*, 13, 14, 26, 307*.
Munimenta Gildhallae Londinensis: S. Mildred's Church in London, 289; Churches named from gates, 294.

Necham Alexander, *de natura rerum*: curious references to Merlin's prophecy, 19, 60.
Notitia utriusque Imperii: Britannia Prima, 65; absence of references to South of Britain, 74.
Numismatic Chronicle: Coins found at Cuerdale with the word Orsnaford, 367, 370, 374, 376.

Orderic. *See* Vital.
Orosius: on Caesar's campaign, 72; mention of Tamesis, 358.
Osbern's life of S. Neot, ref., 32.
Oseney Annals: Castle built (1071), 202*, 204; S. George's founded, 206; claim of S. Frideswide by S. Mary Magdalen, 212.
— Cartulary MS. Cotton Vitellius E xv. with copy of S. Frideswide's charter, 92*; grants to Oseney, 274.
— Register in Record Office: foundation of S. George's and of S. Mary Magdalen's Church, 207–8*, 338, 339; Seynte Oolde, 295.
Oxford *Statuta Privelegia et Consuetudines*, MS. Cotton, Claudius D. viii. The *Historiola*, 11*, 307.
— Architectural Society's proceedings: Wytham graves, 63, Yarnton excavations, 64; Dorchester Dykes, 72; History of Dorchester, 73; Littlemore, 75; Beckley, 76; Northleigh Villa, 78; streams near Ch. Ch. 118; Beri Meadow, 169; Windsor transferred from Clewer, 205; S. Peter's Crypt, 251.
— University Calendar, 1885: University College, 62.
— Times (Dec. 9, 1876): a British village, 63.

Paris, Matthew, *Chronica Majora*: Siege of Exeter (1067), 198*.
— *Historia Minor*: Ditto, 198–9*.
Parliamentary Petition, No. 6329: petition of University College (1379), 54, 316*; ditto No. 6330 (1384), 55.
— Papers: Expenses (1841) in relation to the Cuerdale find, 370.
Peshall's ancient and present state of the city of Oxford: references to Appian, &c., 59; statement as to the Regulars replacing Seculars at S. Frideswide's (1060), 168; Ch. of S. Eadward, 290; Ch. of S. Aldate, 291; Monastery of S. Aldate, 292; Ch. of S. Budoc, 296; Orsnaford, 369*.
Pitisco's *Lexicon Antiquitatum Romanorum*: The Stonesfield pavement, 78.
Plott's Oxfordshire: Road from Wallingford to Alcester, 66*, 67; road near Holywell, 67–8; roads near Oxford, 68–9.
Population Returns: census of Oxford, 1801–81, &c., 229–231.
Poictiers, William of, Gesta Willelmi: William's march *via* Guarenfort, 189*, 191, 336; submission of Eadwin and Morkere at Barking, 189, 337.
Promptorium Parvulorum (1440): Oxforth, 350.
Ptolemy's Geography: Isar, Ischalis, 353–4; Tamaron, 358.

Ravenna, Anonymous geographer of: Roman names of places, 74; Tamese, and Tamaris, 358.
Rochester Annals: MS. Cotton, Nero D. 2. Institution of canons at S. Frideswide (1049), 167*, 332.
Rolleston, scientific papers and addresses: Wytham graves, 63; Yarnton excavations, 64; Littlemore, 75.
Rolls: Hundred Rolls. Holywell and S. Peter's Ch. 249.
— Patent Rolls. S. Budoc's Ch. 296; enclosure of road (1101), 298.
— Close Roll. Osenhey, 359; Hoxonia, 350.
Rous Historia: Mythical origin of Oxford, and situation in S. Giles, 5*, 305*; reference to the Noachian deluge, 6, 306; names of persons made to fit places, e. g. Bristol, Warwick, &c., 8, 307; origin of Cambridge, 9, 307; Rous a scholar at Oxford, 12; had seen the Oxford *Historiola*, but perhaps not the Cambridge, 34; treats the myth of Alfred as he had treated that of Mempric, 49; makes Alfred establish schools at Oxford (873), 50; to endow three halls in Oxford, 50, 315.
Rudburne *Historia Major*: Alfred's foundation of Oxford, 49*; Etheweard's education there, *ibid.*; Denewulf a doctor, *ibid*; also 314; quoted by Plott, 67.
Ruding's Annals of the Coinage: name of Oxford on coins, 349; Oxford coins, 397; Orsnaford coins, 368, 369.

S. Æthelwoldi, *Vita*: visit to his tomb by an Oxford citizen, 393.
S. Albani, *Gesta Abbatum*: Leofstan's road through Chiltern, 151; Oxfordshire within Leofric's earldom, 179; William I. and Lanfranc at Berkhampstead, 193; grant of Oxonage, 355.
— Annales (Trokelowe): Bishop Æthelric of Dorchester, 396; Berenger of Todeni, 397; Manasses de Arsi, *ibid.*
S. Augustini Cantuar, *Historia*: story of S. Mildred, 288.
S. Frideswide's Cartulary, Ch. Ch., Oxford: Æthelred's charter (1004), 93*, 142, 319*; the monks deprived, 166, 195, 331; signatures to the charter, 142, 321; churches granted to S. Frideswide, 286–7.
— *Vita*: In Collection of Lives, MS. Bodl. Laud. 114, p. 95*, 101, 323. In Collection of Lives, MS. Cotton.; Nero E. 5, 95*. In Collection of Lives, MS. Lansd. 436; 99*, 104.
Savile's *Scriptores post Bedam*: In William of Malmesbury's History, *Oxonia* for *Exonia*, 197; edition of Ingulph, 43, 197. 387.
Skelton's *Oxonia Antiqua*: View of S. Peter's crypt, 251; plan of the Castle, 220, 276.
— Oxfordshire: Remains found near Oxford, 74; at Oddington, 76; at Northleigh, 77.
Smith's Annals of University College: bequest of John Goldsmith (1307), 53; writ to the Sheriff of Oxford (1381), 55*; plea of the college (1388), 56; Richard Witton's plea, 57, 316.
Speed's Map of Gloucester: S. Aldame's Church, 294.
Spelman, *Ælfredi Magni Vita*, Orsnaford coins, 367.
Sprotti *Chronicon*, Hearne's edition, containing the Cambridge Black Book, q. v.
Stubbs (Bp.): *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, 145.

Taciti Annales: Tamesa, 357.
Taxatio *Papae Nicolai*: S. Aldate's Church, Gloucester (1291), 293.
Taylor, Isaac, Map of Oxford (1750), 229.
— Words and Places: Shotover, 348; Teutonic and Celtic names, 354; Oseney, 359; Rhedecina a name for Oxford, 364.
Thierry's Conquête de l'Angleterre, 195.
Thorpe's Laws and Institutes: Æthelstan's mints (924), 366; laws promulgated by Æthelred, 394; repair of walls, 236; Gemots, 279–80; Shire-gemot, husteng, &c., 282; the King's peace, burghbot, &c., 280–81; *praepositus*, 303; threefold division of the country temp. King William I, 162.
Thynne, Francis (ob. 1608): quoted by Twyne as an authority, 58.
Turner's selections from the City Records: the Hustings Court, 282; also calendar of Bodleian Charters, q. v.
Twisden's *Decem Scriptores*: see Bromton, Gervase, Simeon of Durham, &c.
Twyne (Bryan), *Apologia*: takes up the controversy after Caius, 39; adduces Leland's notes in support of his theory, 16; refers to the copy of Asser and attacks Archbishop Parker for omitting the spurious passage, 42; statement that the MS. of Asser was lent and not returned, 43; quotes a late passage as William of Malmesbury's, 48; his arguments for the antiquity of Oxford, 58, 60.

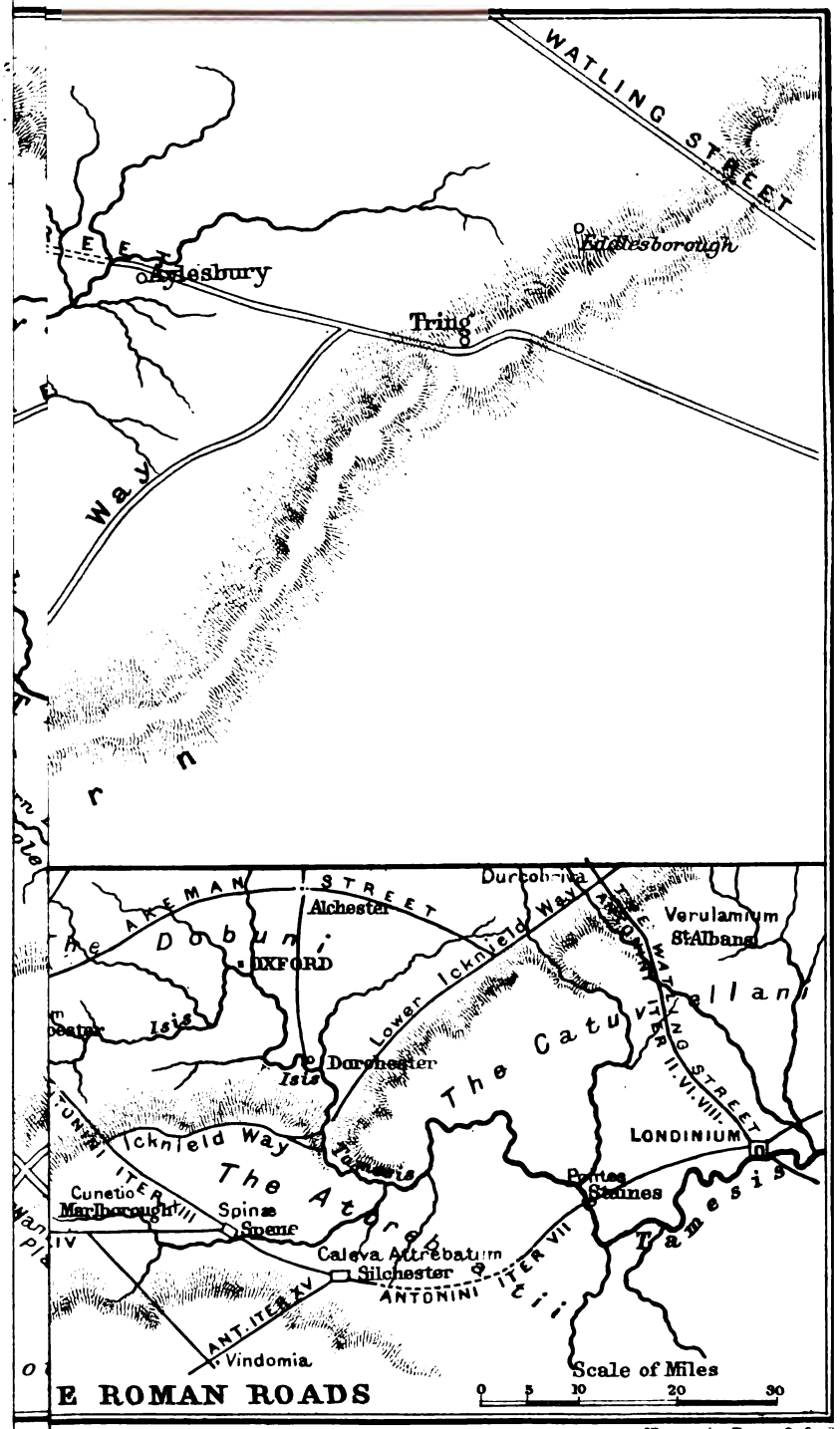
Viollet le Duc, Military Architecture: 'hourdes,' 210.
Virgil (Polydore), *Historia Anglica*: foundation of Cambridge, 35.
Vital (Orderic): quotes Florence of Worcester, William of Poictiers, and Guy of Amiens, respecting William's march, 190–1; siege of Exeter (1068), 197; his life, 197*; siege of S. Suzanne (1085), 222; Richard of Curci, 248.

Warton's History of Kiddington: ancient roads near Oxford, 67, 68*.
Waurin, Jehan de, Chronicle: Exincefort, Xenfort, &c., 350.
Wendover, Roger, Chronicles: siege of Exeter (1068), 198*, 338.
Westminster, Matthew of, Chronicle: siege of Exeter, 199.
Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*: *See* Rudburne, Winton Annals, Henry of Huntingdon, &c.
Wilkins's *Concilia*: Bull respecting see of Dorchester (1061), 393.
Winchester, Book of (1148), 383.
Wintonia, *Annales de*: Queen Frithes-witha, 102, 323*.
Wise's Catalogue of Coins: the Orsnaford coins, 369.
— Edition of Asser, 40.
Witton's Plea: *see* Smith's Annals.
Wood's Annals of Oxford: transcript of Twyne's interview with Camden respecting his edition of Asser, 43;

refers to Savile's edition of Ingulph, *ibid.*; follows Twyne in ascribing a passage to William of Malmesbury, 48; Twyne's arguments, 60; Ælfweard, Ælfred's son, at Oxford (913), 136; William the Conqueror and the scholars of Oxford, 195; the *domi hospitatae*, 249; assigns a date (1122) to S. Frideswide's charter respecting the Oxford Churches, 285.

Worcester, Florence of, History: Eadward takes Oxford (912), 125*, 324; Ælfweard dies at Oxford (924), 135, 326; Danes reach Oxford (1009), 150, 328; Oxford submits to Sweyn (1013), 152, 328; murder of Sigeferth and Morkere (1015), 154, 329; Eadmund's death at London (1016), 158; Harold's death in London (1039), 175; Oxfordshire subject to Sweyn (1051), 178; the Gemot at Oxford (1065), 334; William's march to London (1066), 187, 335; siege of Exeter, 196, 338; parentage of S. Æbba, 295; Æscwin, Bishop of Dorchester (992), 392; John of Worcester his continuator, 190*.

Wyke's Chronicle of Oseney: William's march *via* Winchester, 188, 396; S. George's in the Castle, 206*.



University Press, Oxford

University Press, Oxford.